

ARMENIAN SOURCES ON THE MONGOLS*

PRELIMINARY ISSUES

Before considering the Armenian sources on the Mongols, I need to be clear about what I mean by the words *sources*, *Mongols* and *Armenian*.

Sources

When I speak of sources here, I refer only to written sources, both literary and epigraphic. They can be primary or secondary. Primary written sources are contemporary with the facts they describe and reflect a direct and personal knowledge of them, whereas secondary written sources are accounts based on reworking and reinterpreting the information derived from primary sources.

The sources surveyed in this article are both primary and secondary. They were written between the 13th c., when the Mongols first appeared in the Caucasus, and the 18th, when the Mekhitarist Father Mik'ayēl Č'amč'ean published his *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* [History of Armenia]¹, which is to be considered the first modern attempt to write a history of the Armenian people. Only sources available in printed edition have been taken into consideration in this study².

* An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the workshop *The Mongols and the Euro-Mediterranean: Frontiers, Interactions, New Sources*, New York University, Villa La Pietra, Florence (19-20 November 2009).

1 Č'AMČ'EAN, M., *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* [History of Armenia], 3 vols, Venice 1784-1786, Engl. transl.: CHAMICH, M., *History of Armenia*, by J. Avdall, 2 vols, Calcutta 1827 [available on line through the catalogue of the Library of Congress: <http://lccn.loc.gov/05013161>].

2 Abbreviations used in this article: *AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana*, *AOH* = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, *BAISP* = *Bulletin de l'Académie impe-*

Mongols

The term *Mongols* is even more problematic. In a wider sense, it can be understood as referring to all the peoples speaking a Mongolian language or whose ancestors used to speak a Mongolian language throughout Asia and Eastern Europe, from the first emergence of the Mongolian speaking tribes down to modern times. A western Mongolian people are, for instance, the Kalmyks, living in Kalmykia, a North-Caucasian Republic of the Russian Federation on the shore of the Caspian Sea. In a narrow sense, the name *Mongol* applies to the tribes united under Genghis Khan's leadership and to the Empire he created at the beginning of the 13th c. This huge Empire began to brake up in the second half of the

riale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, *BEH* = *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani*, *BM* = *Banber Matenadaran*, *CAJ* = *Central Asiatic Journal*, *CCM* = *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, *CRM* = *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, *DOP* = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Ėjmiacin* = *Ėjmiacin. Paštōnakan amsagir Hayrapetakan At'oroy S. Ėjmiacni*, *GALSTJAN 1962* = *GALSTJAN, A.G., Armjanskje istočniki o Mongolah* [Armenian Sources on the Mongols], Moscow 1962; *HA* = *Handēs Amsōreay*, *HAKOBYAN 1951* = *HAKOBYAN, V.A., ed., Manr žamanakagrut'yunner ŽG-ŽĖ dd.* [Minor Chronicles of the 13th-18th c.], vol. 1, Erevan 1951; *HAKOBYAN 1956* = *HAKOBYAN, V.A., ed., Manr žamanakagrut'yunner ŽG-ŽĖ dd.* [Minor Chronicles of the 13th-18th c.], vol. 2, Erevan 1956; *HAL* = *The Heritage of Armenian Literature*, 3 vols, ed. HACIKYAN, A.J. et al., Detroit 2000-2005; *HJAS* = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, *JSAS* = *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, *Lraber* = *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri/Vestnik obščestvennyh nauk* (earlier *Telekagir*); *MASP* = *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, *MUSJ* = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, *PBH* = *Patma-banasirakan handes/Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal*; *PG* = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, accurate J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1856-1866; *PO* = *Patrologia Orientalis*, publiée sous la direction de R. GRAFFIN – F. NAU et al., Paris 1907-; *REA* = *Revue des études arméniennes*, *RHC 1* = *DULAURIER, É., Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol. 1, Paris 1869; *RHC 2* = *DULAURIER, É. – KOHLER, CH., eds., Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol. 2, Paris 1906; *ROAC* = *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, Société Orientale de France; *ROC* = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, *Sion* = *Siōn. Amsagir kronakan, grakan, banasirakan* (Jerusalem); *Telekagir* = *Telekagir haykakan SSR gitut'yunneri Akademaiyi/Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armjanskoj SSR* (later *Lraber*); *WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, *ZAP* = *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

13th c., giving rise to the Golden Horde, the Chagatai Khanate, the Ilkhanate and the Yuan Empire. Some of these states and their successors were still extant in the 18th c., although their Mongol identity was gradually eroded by different ethno-linguistic and cultural contexts. The case of Tamerlane is no less puzzling. Despite his Mongol origin and his aim to revitalise Mongol ideology and to restore the Mongol power, he was deeply Turkicized and Persianized. So the question is: Are we supposed to take the term Mongol in its strict sense as referring to the Mongol Empire or should we take into consideration all the successor states of that Empire and the political entities emerged from their disintegration?

In this article I choose the first option, focusing my attention on the Mongol Empire and on its immediate successor states, between the 13th and mid-14th c. This allows the research to include the Ilkhanate, with which Armenians had frequent contacts and significant relations. On the other hand, I had to leave out a remarkable work such as T'ovma Mecop'ec'i's *Patmut'iwn Lank-T'amuray ew yajordac' iwroc'* [History of Tamerlane and His Successors]³.

Armenian Sources

Finally, by *Armenian* written sources I mean texts written in Armenian, but not those written by an Armenian author in any language. Thus, a well-known and a widely-quoted work on the history of the Mongols such as *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* [The Flower of Histories of the East] is not included in the following survey. It was composed in 1307 by Hayton (Het'um), Lord of Corc (Korikos) in Old French and then translated into Latin by a certain Nicole Falcon de Toul to be presented to Pope Clement V (1305-1314), as attested by a colophon⁴.

3 See *infra*, Bibliography, s.v. T'ovma Mecop'ec'i.

4 For a critical edition of both French and Latin text see: *RHC* 2, pp. 113-253 (Fr. text); pp. 255-363 (Lat. text). For the translation and the presentation of the work to the Pope, see in particular pp. lviii-lix, 252-253 and 362-363.

The large number of extant manuscripts and translations⁵ of *La flor* shows its wide circulation among cultivated people throughout Western Europe. That is the reason why the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani recommends *La flor* and Marco Polo's *Il milione* to those who want to learn more about the Tatars⁶, and in Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* Het'um is referred to as *Charton Armenian* in a list of the most famous travellers, historians and geographers of the past that includes Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Jacques Cartier, and Marco Polo⁷.

1. COLLECTIONS OF ARMENIAN SOURCES ON THE MONGOLS

First of all, I will focus on those collections of Armenian sources on the Mongols that have been edited to date⁸.

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- 5 Het'um's work was translated into many European languages. In addition to the manuscripts and printed editions mentioned by Dulaurier and Kohler in *RHC* 2, pp. lvii-cxxx, see: HAYTON, *La flor de las ystorias de Orient*, edited from the unique ms, Escorial Z-I-2 by LONG, W.R., Chicago 1934 (old Spanish translation); HETOUM, *A lytell cronycle*, tr. by PYNSON, R., BURGER, G., ed., Toronto 1988 (Old English translation; Extracts in *HAL*, vol. 2, pp. 577-582); DÖRPER, S., ed., *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean de Long, «Traitez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaume de Aise» (1351). Kritische Edition, mit parallelem Abdruck des lateinischen Manuskripts Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 262, Frankfurt a.M.-Berlin-Bern 1998; HETHUM, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, ed. by BAUM, W., tr. by SENONER, R., Klagenfurt-Wien 2006. An Old Armenian version was published by AWGEREAN, M., *Patmut'iwn T'at'arac' šaragreal i Het'moy Aramean i kargē Prēmōnsdratenanc'. Yeleal i latin ōrinakē i hay barbar i jern H. Mkrtič' At'orikal vardapeti Awgerean* [History of the Tartars, Composed by the Armenian Het'um, of the Order of Premonstratensians. Translated into Armenian from the Latin Text by the Vicar Vardapet Fr. Mkrtič' Awgerean], Venice-San Lazzaro 1842 (Repr.: Venice 1951), cfr. *RHC* 2, p. cxxx.*
 - 6 VILLANI, G., *Nuova Cronica*, a cura di PORTA, G., vol. 1, Parma 1991, pp. 254-257.
 - 7 RABELAIS, F., *Œuvres complètes*, éd. JOURDA, P., vol. 2, Paris 1962, p. 401.
 - 8 Apart from collections of Armenian sources on the Mongols, there are more or less short surveys of Armenian authors dealing with the Mongols, mostly provided as introductory section to specific studies. Cfr. for instance: SPÜLER, B., *Quellenkritik*

Édouard Dulaurier was the first western scholar to draw attention to the importance of Armenian sources for the history of the Mongols. Between 1858 and 1860 he translated into French extensive passages of Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History* and Vardan Arewelc'i's *Historical Compilation* (or *Universal History*) and published them in the *Journal asiatique* under the title *Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens. Fragments traduits sur les textes originaux*⁹.

In 1869 Dulaurier published and translated into French extracts of Armenian authors relevant to the study of Mongol history – Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Smbat Sparapet, Vardan Arewelc'i, Samuël Anec'i, Nersēs Palianenc', Vahram Rabun – in his monumental *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens* (= *RHC I*). Being a collection of sources on the Crusades, however, the *RHC I* does not include many passages of the above-mentioned works, which deal with the Mongols but have little or no bearing on the history of the Crusades.

Between 1871 and 1874 the Armenian orientalist Keropé Patkanov (1833-1889), professor at the University of St. Petersburg, published the Russian translation of some Armenian historical works concerning the Mongols. In 1871 he translated the work of Grigor Aknerc'i, at that time attributed to the monk Małak'ia¹⁰.

zur Mongolengeschichte Irans, in *ZDMG* 92 (1938), pp. 232-233; LIMPER, B., *Die Mongolen und die christlichen Völker des Kaukasus. Eine Untersuchung zur politischen Geschichte Kaukasiens im 13. und beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert*, (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln), Köln 1980, pp. 11-18; DASHDONOG, B., *Mongol-Armenian Political Relations (1220-1335)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2008, pp. 12-31, now published as: EAD., *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*, Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 10-26.

- 9 DULAURIER, É., *Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens. Fragments traduits sur les textes originaux*, in *Journal asiatique* 5^e série, 11 (1858), pp. 192-197: Introduction; pp. 197-255, 426-473, 481-508: Extracts from Kirakos Ganjakec'i; 16 (1860), pp. 273-322: Extracts from Vardan's *History*; translation and part of the Armenian text.
- 10 *Istorija Mongolov inoka Magakii, XIII veka* [History of the Mongols of Małak'ia the Monk, 13th c.], tr. by PATKANOV, K.P., St. Petersburg 1871, pp. i-ix Introduction; pp. 1-57: Text; pp. 57-106 Notes.

Two years later Patkanov issued the first part of a work entitled *Istorija Mongolov po Armjanskim istočnikam* [History of the Mongols According to Armenian Sources], containing extracts from Vardan Arewelc'i, Step'annos Ōrbēlean and Smbat Sparapet, the second part of this work was published the following year, and consisted of extracts from Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History*¹¹.

Another collection of Armenian sources on the Mongols was issued in 1962 by A.G. Galstjan¹². Galstjan's main goal was to present a number of minor sources, i.e. not passages from the best known works of Armenian historiography, such as those of Kirakos, Vardan, and Grigor Aknerc'i, which had already attracted the attention of previous scholars, but extracts from minor chronicles and even from colophons. Apart from some pages of Smbat's *Chronicle* (pp. 47-64) and *Letter* (pp. 64-66), and of Het'um's *La flor* (pp. 67-70), which can indeed be numbered among the most widely known Armenian sources on the Mongols, Galstjan selected and translated into Russian eight minor chronicles (mostly extracts) – Ananun Sebastac'i/Anonymous of Sebaste (pp. 23-33), Step'anos Episkopos (pp. 33-43), Ananun/Anonymous (pp. 70-71), Het'um II (pp. 71-78), another Ananun/Anonymous (pp. 78-89), Mxit'ar Ayrvanec'i (pp. 89-91), Nersēs Palianenc' (pp. 92-102), Dawit' Bakišec'i (pp. 103-105) –, four colophons – Yovhannēs Vanakan Tawušec'i (p. 43), Ananun/Anonymous dated 1236 (p. 44), Ananun/Anonymous from a manuscript of 1248 (pp. 45-47),

11 PATKANOV, K.P., *Istorija Mongolov po Armjanskim istočnikam*, vypusk pervyj, *zaključajuščij v sebe izvlečenija iz trudov Vardana, Stefana Orbeliana i Konetablja Sembata* [History of the Mongols According to Armenian Sources, First Part, Containing Extracts from the Works of Vardan, Step'annos Ōrbēlean and Constable Smbat], St. Petersburg 1873, pp. iii-viii: Introduction; pp. 1-29: Extracts from Vardan; pp. 29-65: Extracts from Step'annos Ōrbēlean; pp. 65-67: Extracts from Smbat Sparapet; pp. 68-99: Notes; p. 100: Descendants of Genghis Khan according to Armenian sources; ID., *Istorija Mongolov po Armjanskim istočnikam*, vypusk vtoroj, *zaključajuščij v sebe izvlečenija iz istorii Kirakosa Gandzakeci* [History of the Mongols According to Armenian Sources, Second Part, Containing Extracts from the History of Kirakos Ganjakec'i], St. Petersburg 1874, pp. iii-viii: Introduction; pp. 1-108: Extracts from Kirakos Ganjakec'i; pp. 109-140: Notes.

12 GALSTJAN 1962; cfr. the review by HAMBIS, L., in *REA* 2 (1965), pp. 405-408.

and Grigor Ssec'i (p. 70) –, and an excerpt from the *Letter* of Catholicos Kostandin Barjrbərdc'i (pp. 44–45).

Many of the minor chronicles translated by Galstjan had been critically edited some years earlier by V.A. Hakobyan, whose work gathers Armenian chronicles written between the 13th and the 18th c. and contains much material dealing with the Mongols¹³.

A notable on-line collection of English translations of Armenian sources on the Mongols is being provided by R.G. Bedrosian¹⁴. Bedrosian's website is composed of four sections: «Selected Writings», «Historical Sources», «Chronologies», and «Maps». Although it does not deal exclusively with Mongol history, it has a particular focus on the Armeno-Mongol relations. In the first section, for instance, we find various interesting articles: *China and the Chinese according to 5-13th Century Classical Armenian Sources* (1981), *Armenia during the Seljuk and Mongol Periods* (1997), and the author's Ph.D. dissertation, *The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries*, which was defended in 1979 at the Columbia University¹⁵. The *Chronologies* include lists of rulers of Armenia and Western and Eastern Empires (Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine to 1453, Iranian, Arab, Saljuq, Mongol, Timurid, Ottoman to 1481), of Iberia/Georgia, the heads of Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, and Roman Catholic Churches to ca. 1500, Arab Governors (*ostikans*) of Armenia, Medieval rulers of Antioch, Cyprus and Jerusalem, Hellenistic dynasties of Egypt and Syria, of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Commagene, rulers of Egypt (partial), Assyria, Babylonia, Israel, Judah, Palestine, Judea, Galilee, and Ituraea. The *Historical Sources* of the second section of the website are *Armenian Historical Sources of the 5th-15th Centuries*, including some of the most relevant pieces of historiography dealing with the Mongols:

13 HAKOBYAN 1951 and HAKOBYAN 1956.

14 The link to Bedrosian's website is: <http://rbedrosian.com/historyw.html>.

15 The other studies of Bedrosian included in this section are: *Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Ancient Mythologies* (1993), *Soma among the Armenians* (2000), *The Sparapetut'iwn in Armenia in the 4th-5th Centuries* (1983), *Dayeakut'iwn in Ancient Armenia* (1984), *Historiography, Eventography: What is an Event?* (2008).

Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History of the Armenians* (1986), Vardan Arewelc'i's *Compilation of History* (2007), Smbat Sparapet's *Chronicle* (2005) and his *Letter to King Henry I of Cyprus* (trans. by H. Yule 1915), the *Chronicle* attributed to King Het'um II (2005), Grigor Aknerc'i's *History of the Nation of Archers* (2003), Het'um the Historian's *History of the Tatars* [La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient] (2004), T'ovma Mecop'ec'i's *History of Tamerlane and His Successors* (1987)¹⁶. On a cautionary note, it is to be observed that Bedrosian's translations sometimes skip passages considered less informative or of no historical importance.

Finally, I mention here the work of A.K. Sanjian, an English translation of selected Armenian colophons of the period 1301-1480 with valuable appendixes on: Personal Names (pp. 341-376), Scribes and Authors of Colophons (pp. 377-387), Geographical Terms (pp. 388-429), Peoples, Nations and Tribes (pp. 430-459). Though not specifically devoted to the Armeno-Mongol relations, this work offers a great variety of information on this topic, as we shall see below¹⁷.

2. ARMENIAN WRITTEN SOURCES ON THE MONGOLS

As we have seen, the Armenian written sources on the Mongols can be divided into literary sources and epigraphic sources.

A. LITERARY SOURCES

Literary sources can be classified according to the type of narrative employed. Thus, there are historiographical sources,

16 The other texts included in Bedrosian's site are: P'awstos Buzandac'i, Łazar P'arpec'i, *The Passion of Saint Šušanik* (trans. by MAKSOUDIAN, K.), Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon* (Armenian version), *The Primary History of Armenia*, Sebēos, Łewond, Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, Yovhannēs Mamikonean, Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *The Georgian Chronicle*, Mxit'ar Goš *Fables* and *The Ałuanian Chronicle*. Moreover in this section there is a link to *Early Historical Sources Pages* (Prehistory, and Assyrian, Greek, Hebrew, Hittite, Hurrian, Iranian, Latin, Urartian materials).

17 SANJIAN, A.K., *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480. A Source for Middle Eastern History*, Cambridge (MA) 1969.

hagiographic sources, colophons, and pieces of poetry. In particular it is worth noting that the period from the 14th c. to the beginning of the 17th c. had no Armenian historians, with the sole exception of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i. The last major historian of the Middle Ages, in fact, was Step'annos Ōrbēlean, followed in the mid-17th c. by Aṛak'el Dawrižec'i. Thus, other kinds of sources, which complemented the historiographical ones in the 13th c., appear to take on a greater importance in the 14th c. For instance, this is the case with hagiography and the colophons. Indeed, in the case of the latter, they seem «to take over the role of the regular chronicles which encompass longer periods. The chronicles fade as the colophons multiply»¹⁸.

The information provided by literary sources varies greatly in quality, quantity and content depending on where a work's main focus lies in geographical terms (Historical Armenia, a region of Historical Armenia, Cilician Armenia) as well as from a chronological standpoint. This, of course, has a bearing on the way Mongols are represented either physically or in their relations with subjugated people¹⁹.

A.1. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Historiographical sources can be categorized as either narrative histories or chronicles. Narrative histories are the most widely quoted Armenian sources on the Mongols, and the names of their authors – Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Grigor Aknerc'i (Małak'ia³) and Step'annos Ōrbēlean – are well-known among the historians dealing with Mongol history²⁰. The chronicles, on the other hand, have

18 SINCLAIR, T., *The Use of the Colophons and Minor Chronicles in the Writing of Armenian and Turkish History*, in *JSAS* 10 (1998-1999 [2000]), p. 45.

19 LIMPER, *Die Mongolen*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

20 Shortly after the middle of the 19th c., as we have seen, É. Dulaurier and K. Patkanov called attention to the importance of Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Grigor Aknerc'i (Małak'ia) and Vardan Arewelc'i as sources on the Mongols (*supra* §1). Step'annos Ōrbēlean's *History* was among the few Armenian sources taken into account by one of the first historical works on the Mongols ever written: D'OHSSON, C.M., *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchiunguiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Lanc*, 2 vols, Paris 1824.

often been considered as minor sources, and many of them are little known outside of Armenian studies. In the following pages I will present the historiographical sources, focusing in particular on the chronicles.

A.1.1 Kirakos Ganjakec'i

Kirakos Ganjakec'i (ca. 1200-1271) studied under the direction of Yovhannēs Vanakan at Xoranašat monastery, not far from Tawuš. In 1225 the Khwarazmian Sultan Jalal al Din's incursion into Xoranašat forced Yovhannēs Vanakan and his students to take shelter in a cave near the village of Lorut. In 1236 Kirakos and his teacher were captured by the Mongol commander Molar. They served as secretaries and several months later Kirakos escaped captivity.

The 65 chapters of Kirakos' *Patmut'awn Hayoc'* [History of Armenia] include Armenian religious, political and military history from the 4th to the 13th c., information on the Albanian Church and the events of Kirakos' own lifetime. In particular, from chapter 11 onwards, the *Patmut'awn* focuses on the Mongol invasion of Southern Caucasus and on the interaction between Armenians and Mongols. For unknown reasons, Kirakos' narrative ends abruptly in 1266/67, while describing the war between the Il-Khan Abaqa (1265-1282) and Berke Khan (1257-1267) of the Golden Horde.

Kirakos supplies first-hand information on the Mongol history, being acquainted with some of the major political actors of his own age, such as prince Prōš Xaḷabakean, who participated in the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, the King of Cilician Armenia Het'um I (1226-1269, d. 1270), whom he met after his visit to Mönke-Khan, and the prince Grigor Mamikonean, one of Kirakos' informants on Chinghiz Khan. Moreover, during his captivity Kirakos learned Mongolian and in chapter 32 of the *Patmut'awn* he gave a specimen of Mongol vocabulary, which ranks among the earliest extant monuments of this language.

A critical edition of Kirakos' *Patmut'awn* was published by K.A. Melik'-Öhanjanyan in 1961 and is based on the collation of

the relevant manuscripts and the three earlier editions: Moscow 1858, Venice 1865 and Tiflis 1909, the latter being fairly shoddy and inaccurate²¹. There is an Old French translation by Brosset (1870), while the English translation by Bedrosian (1986) was made from the 1961 critical edition, but omits a number of doctrinal and theological passages. Modern Armenian and Russian translations were issued in 1976 and 1982 respectively.

A.1.2 Grigor Aknerc'i (Małak'ia)

The authorship of the work known as *Patmut'iwn vasn azgin netoľac'* [History of the Nation of the Archers] had long been disputed. In the past, the *Patmut'iwn* has been attributed to Vardan Patmič' or to Małak'ia Abelay. Doubts about the authorship of Vardan were raised by Oskean²², who was rather sceptical about the attribution of the work to Małak'ia as well. Eventually, Žamkoč'yan²³, Akinean²⁴ and, more recently, Połarean²⁵ recognised Grigor Aknerc'i as the true author of the *Patmut'iwn*. Grigor was pro-

21 Cfr. the review of AKINEAN, N., in *HA* 24 (1910), cols. 253-254. For detailed bibliographical references of the editions and translations of texts discussed in this article, see *infra*, Bibliography.

22 OSKEAN, H., *Małak'ia Abelayi Patmut'iwn vasn Azgin Netoľac'* [History of the Nation of the Archers of Małak'ia the Monk], in *HA* 36 (1922), cols. 221-226; ID., *Yovhannēs Vanakan ew iwr dproc'* [Yovhannēs Vanakan and His School], Vienna 1923, pp. 114-122.

23 ŽAMKOČ'YAN, H., «*Patmut'iwn vasn azgin netoľac'*» *erki helinakə* [The Author of the Work «History of the Nation of the Archers»], in *Erevani Petakan Hamalsarani gitakan ašxatut'iwnner* [Scholarly Works of the State University of Erevan] 23 (1946), pp. 367-368.

24 AKINEAN, N., *Grigor K'ahanay Aknerc'i patmagir T'at'arac' patmut'ean (1250-1335). 'Vardan Patmič'' ew 'Małak'ia Abelay'* [Grigor the Priest of Akner Historian of the History of the Tartars (1250-1335). 'Vardan the Historian' and 'Małak'ia the Monk'], in *HA* 62 (1948), cols. 387-403; cfr. BLAKE, R.P. – FRYE, R.N., eds., *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'*, in *HJAS* 12 (1949), pp. 271-274.

25 *Patmut'iwn T'at'arac'* [History of the Tartars], ed. by POŁAREAN, N., Jerusalem 1974, pp. 5-11.

bably born in Cilicia around 1250 and was abbot of the Cilician monastery of Akner. His death has been placed around 1335.

The *Patmut'iwn* describes events that occurred in Greater Armenia and Cilicia between 1229/30 and 1273, the year of its composition according to a colophon²⁶. Despite some anachronisms in dating events prior to 1250 – the first appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus is dated to 1214 instead of 1220, the defeat of the Sultan of Rūm to 1239 instead of 1243 and Arghun's census to 1251/52 instead of 1253/54 – Grigor's work has to be considered a valuable source for Armeno-Mongol relations in the 13th c. In fact, it has some prosopographical importance, since it records the names of many Mongol chieftains in Greater Armenia along with a number of Mongolian juridical and military terms.

No edition of the *Patmut'iwn* is based on all the six extant manuscripts of the text²⁷. The two 19th c. editions issued in Jerusalem (1870)²⁸ and in St. Petersburg (1870), were based respectively on the oldest manuscript (Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library of St. James Ms 32, 13th c.) and on a much later one (Venice, Mekhitarist Library Ms 781, 17th c.). The text was published again by Robert Blake and Richard Frye in 1949, but the editors were unable to consult the Ms 32 of Jerusalem, so they had to rely on the Jerusalem edition. Blake and Frye say that «where dialectal forms appear in one MS (especially in *V* [*scil.* Ms 781]), and where *J* [*scil.* Ms 32] has the classical (*grabar*) form, we adhere to the latter»²⁹. Unfortunately, the editor of Ms 32 emended the text arbitrarily here and there³⁰. A new edition based on Ms 32 was issued in Jerusalem by N. Połarean in 1974.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

28 The editorship of the text is unknown, AKINEAN, *Grigor K'ahanay Aknerci'i patmagir*, op. cit., p. 391 erroneously attributes it to Sawalaneanc', cfr. *Patmut'iwn T'at'arac'*, op. cit., p. 13. Anyway cfr. COWE, S.P., *A Hitherto Unrecognized Chronicle to the Year A.D. 1272*, in *JSAS*, 3 (1987), pp. 15-34.

29 BLAKE – FRYE, eds., *History of the Nation*, op. cit., p. 276.

30 Cfr. *Patmut'iwn T'at'arac'*, op. cit., p. 14.

The *Patmut'iwñ* was first translated into a Western European language by Brosset, who gave a French version of the Ms 781 in 1851. A Russian translation by Patkanov followed in 1871. As for the English translation by Blake and Frye, I repeat here what has been written by Bedrosian in the «Translator's Preface» to his own English translation of Grigor's work: «Blake's translation, without a doubt a great contribution to Armenian and Mongol studies, nonetheless has a sufficient number of inaccuracies to warrant a retranslation. Some of these inaccuracies are due to typographical errors, others to the scholar's unfamiliarity with certain conventions in classical Armenian and with Armenian place names. The most serious of these mistakes have been identified in Akinean's review of the publication»³¹.

A.1.3 Step'annos Ōrbēlean

Step'annos Ōrbēlean (1250/60-1304 ca.), belonged to the illustrious family of the Ōrbēleans. He was Tarsayiç Ōrbēlean's son and was brought up by the prince Smbat Ōrbēlean. After receiving his education at Tat'ew, he was ordained Bishop by Catholicos Kostandin II in 1286, becoming metropolitan of the province of Siwnik'.

Step'annos' *Patmut'iwñ nahangin Sisakan* [History of the Province of Siwnik'], begins with the creation of the world and the deeds of Sisak, eponymous hero of the region, and continues until the end of 13th c. The *Patmut'iwñ* focuses on the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies of Siwnik', in particular on the history of his own family, while it gives almost no information about Cilician Armenia. The Mongols are mentioned in relation to Ōrbēlean family history. From chapter 66 onwards, Step'annos records the Ōrbēleans' interactions with the invaders and he himself paid visit to the Il-Khans in Tabriz three times. Thus he had a first-hand

31 *History of the Nation of Archers Attributed to Grigor of Akner*, tr. by BEDROSIAN, R., Long Branch (NJ) 2003 [on-line: <http://rbedrosian.com/hsrcces.html>]. For Akinean's review, see: AKINEAN, N., *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'* (Review), in *HA* 69 (1955), cols. 273-278.

knowledge of the major events occurred in Siwnik' in the last decades of the 13th c.

Step'annos' *Patmut'iwn* lacks a critical edition. The 1859 edition by Šahnazareanc', reprinted in Tiflis in 1910, is based on a single manuscript, like the edition published in Moscow by Mkrtič' Yovsep'i Ėmin (= Nikita Ossipovič / Jean-Baptiste Emin) two years later, in which, however, the variants from the earlier edition are also noted. A French translation with extensive notes (1864-1866) was made by Brosset on basis of both printed editions. A previous French translation, edited by Saint-Martin, was done on an inaccurate and partial text of the *Patmut'iwn* published in Madras in 1775³². In the 20th c. the work has been translated only into modern Armenian by Abrahamyan (1986).

A.1.4 Vardan Arewelc'i

Vardan called Arewelc'i (from the East) or Mec (the Great) was born in the first decade of the 13th c. Most of what is known about him comes from his own works, and from Grigor Aknerc'i's and Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *Histories*. Kirakos and Vardan were pupils of Yovhannēs Vanakan *vardapet* (d. 1251) and both of them made use of their teacher's *History*, now lost, which gave a detailed account of the Mongol period. After visiting Jerusalem, Vardan arrived in Cilicia, where he met the Armenian King Het'um I and the Catholicos Kostandin I Barjberdc'i (1220-1267). In 1243 the Catholicos wrote an encyclical letter and entrusted to Vardan the task of bringing it to Greater Armenia and having it signed by a number of Bishops, abbots and princes. During his first visit to Cilicia, Vardan composed a *Commentary on Grammar* and a *Miscellany on Passages of Scripture* for the King. He also played a role in the translation into Armenian of the Syriac *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian. Back to Greater Armenia, Vardan travelled to various monasteries, writing commentaries on many books of the Bible, theological eulogies and a *Geography*, primarily devoted to

32 Cfr. DULAURIER, *Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens*, op. cit., 1858, p. 193.

Armenia and the Caucasus. According to Grigor Aknerc'i, Vardan died in 1271, the same year as Kirakos.

Vardan's *Hawak'umn patmut'ean* [Historical Compilation] «falls into the category of chronicles rather than of histories in the early Armenian style»³³. Moreover, as the title suggests, we have to do with a collection of material drawn from earlier Armenian historians, such as Matt'ēos Urhayec'i (11th-12th c.) Mxit'ar Anec'i (12th-13th c.), Kirakos Ganjakec'i and Vanakan's *History*, but also the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian. The *Hawak'umn* covers the period from the Creation down to the death of Catholicos Kostandin in 1267, thus belonging to the genre of «universal histories». It focuses on the history of Greater Armenia and Cilicia and its information becomes more accurate and valuable as the narrative get closer to the author's own lifetime. Vardan deals with the Mongols only at the end of the *Hawak'umn*, from chapter 88 onwards³⁴, including details based on his own knowledge of events, such as in the account of his visit to Hülegü in 1264.

There is no critical edition of Vardan's *Hawak'umn*. The first edition of the Armenian text by Mkrtič' Yovsep'i Ēmin (Moscow 1861) was based on two manuscripts. The second edition, published in Venice by Ľ. Ališan in 1862, was based on the oldest surviving manuscripts, copied few years after Vardan's death.

In 1851 Brosset translated into French a passage of the *Hawak'umn* dealing with the first incursions of the Mongols in the Caucasus and discussed some topographical issues³⁵. Excerpts from Vardan's work were published in French translation also by Dulaurier in 1860 and in *RHC I* in 1869. A full Russian translation was done by Emin in 1861, whereas some years later Patkanov

33 THOMSON, R.W., *The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i*, in *DOP* 43 (1989), p. 126.

34 *Hawak'umn patmut'ean Vardany vardapeti lusabaneal* [Historical Compilation by Vardapet Vardan], <ed. by ALIŠAN, Ľ.>, Venice 1862, pp. 147-162 (Repr. Delmar NY 1991).

35 BROSSET, M.-F., *Addition XVIII. Renseignements sur les règnes de Giorgi-Lacha et de Rousoudan*, §1, in ID., *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1851, pp. 305-309.

published a Russian version of the passages relevant to the Mongols. Extracts concerned with the Muslim domination in Armenia and with the split between the Armenian and Greek Churches were translated into French by Muyltermans (1927) and Garitte (1952). In 1989 R.W. Thomson translated into English the Venice edition with a comprehensive introduction and detailed notes. Bedrosian's English translation, also based on the Venice edition, is partial, while a recent modern Armenian version was made in 2001 by Z. B. T'osunyan.

A.1.5 Smbat Sparapet

Smbat, son of Kostandin of Baberon, was born in 1208. He was an older brother of the Cilician King Het'um I (1226-1269, d. 1270), and of Ōšin Lord of Korikos. He held the title of *sparapet*, or Constable, i.e. commander-in-chief of the Armenian army, from 1226 to his death in 1275/76, after being hurled against a tree by his horse at the end of a successful battle against the Egyptians³⁶. Smbat was also an expert in legal issues – he translated a law code from French into Armenian (*The Assises of Antioch*) – and a diplomat. In 1246/47 he was sent to Karakorum to negotiate an agreement with the Mongols.

This journey lasted two years and is documented in several sources³⁷. In particular, its first part is recorded by Smbat himself in a *Letter* of 1247 to the King of Cyprus Henry I, Smbat's brother-in-law. Being written in Old French, this document is not an Armenian source according to my criteria, so it will not be considered here³⁸.

36 RHC I, pp. 607-608. See also MAT'EVOSYAN, A.S., ed., *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner ŽG dar* [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.], Erevan 1984, pp. 462-463.

37 GALSTYAN, A.G., *The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations*, in *Armenian Review* 29 (1976), pp. 33-34 (Original Armenian version: ID., *Hay-monṭolakan aṛājin banakc'ut'yunnerə*, in *PBH* (1964) No. 1, pp. 91-106).

38 See *infra*, Bibliography, s.v. Smbat Sparapet (Constable).

Smbat wrote the *Taregirk'* [Annals] running from 951 to 1274, when, for some reason, the text was interrupted. An anonymous continuator carried the account down to 1331³⁹. The first part of Smbat's work, from 951 to 1162, is a summary of the *Žamanagrut'iwñ* [Chronicle] of Matt'ēos Urhayec'i (from 951 to 1136) and of his continuator Grigor Erēc' (from 1136 to 1162)⁴⁰, with the addition of several passages. Thus, the original portion of the *Taregirk'* goes from 1163 to 1272.

The text has been transmitted in two recensions, a shorter one attested by two late manuscripts of Ējmiacin, that are now housed in the Matenadaran at Erevan, and a longer one witnessed by Ms 875 (old 1308) of the Library of San Lazzaro in Venice, which was discovered in the late 1870s⁴¹. The Venice manuscript has several lacunae at the beginning and at the end of the text, so the title of the work and its author's name are lost. Moreover the folia corresponding to the years 1023-1029, 1063-1064, 1070, and 1230-1251 are missing. This means that the account of Smbat's mission to Karakorum has not come down to us in the Venice manuscript, nor is it related in the shorter version.

The 19th c. editions of the text – Moscow 1856 and Paris 1859 – are based on the first recension, whereas the Venice edition of 1956 is based on the second one. However, its editor incorporated in smaller type the passages of Paris edition missing from the Venice text.

According to Der Nersessian the shorter recension derives from the longer one⁴², with later additions having been made. By

39 This continuation is included in 1856 edition of Smbat's work.

40 An English translation of Matt'ēos Urhayec'i and Grigor Erēc' is: *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, tr. by DOSTOURIAN, A.E., Lanham (MD) 1993.

41 This manuscript had been used by ALIŠAN, L., *Sisuan, hamagrut'iwñ haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Mecagorc* [Sisuan, Description of Armenian Cilicia and Lewon the Magnificent], Venice 1885 (French trans.: ALISHAN, L., *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie. Description géographique et historique*, Venice 1899), and ID., *Hayapatum. Patmič'k' ew patmut'iwñk' Hayoc'* [Armenian History. Historians and Histories of Armenia], Venice 1901.

42 DER NERSESSIAN, S., *The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or the «Royal Historian»*, in *DOP* 13 (1959), pp. 143-168 (Repr. in EAD., *Études byzantines et arméniennes*, vol. 1, Louvain 1973, pp. 353-377).

contrast, Dédéyan thinks that both recensions are based on a single archetype now lost, for the shorter Ējmiacin versions are written in a form of Middle Armenian closer to that in use in the 13th c., whereas the Venice text is closer to Classical Armenian⁴³. Moreover, the shorter versions sometimes have information absent from the longer one. The fact that in the Venice text Smbat is referred to in the third person, whereas in the Ējmiacin versions there are sentences like «I, Smbat, author of this work», which seem to have been added by later redactors, induced Ališan and Dédéyan to attribute the *Chronicle* to an anonymous writer.

Taking part into Cilician political and military affairs, Smbat witnessed many of the events related in the *Taregirk'*. Moreover, he was in a position to rely on first-hand information from the state archives and from the Armenian civil and ecclesiastical institutions. Thus, his *Chronicle* supplies data of the utmost importance concerning political and military issues regarding the relations between Cilician Armenia and the Seljuk Sultans, and the Mongol westward expansion.

An extract from the edition of Šahnazareanc' was translated into French by Victor Langlois in 1862, while Dulaurier's partial French version, based on the two printed editions, was published in 1869, followed in 1873 by Patkanov's Russian translation of some extracts. The Venice edition was partially rendered into French by Dédéyan in 1980, while excerpts had already been translated into English by Der Nersessian in 1959, and into Russian by Galstjan in 1962. A recent English version of the Venice by Bedrosian dates to 2005. There seems to be a full Russian translation by Galstjan (1974), which I have not had a chance to see.

A.1.6 Anonymous Continuator of Samuēl Anec'i

Samuēl Anec'i is mentioned by Vardan Arewelc'i among the prominent Armenian clerics of the 12th c.⁴⁴ and by Kirakos

43 DÉDÉYAN, G., *La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat. Introduction, traduction et notes*, Paris 1980, pp. 9-35 (Introduction).

44 *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, op. cit., p. 121.

Ganjakec'i as a priest of the Cathedral of Ani⁴⁵, while he himself claims to have witnessed the capture of Ani by the Georgian King Giorgi in 1161/62⁴⁶.

He wrote a *Chronicle* arranging historical events according to a complex calendrical system, which includes the Olympiads, the Christian Era, the regnal years of Byzantine Emperors, Armenian Kings and Catholicoi, and the Armenian Era. There is no full agreement about the last year covered by the original work of Samuēl Anec'i. Most scholars believe that it went down to the period when Catholicos Grigor IV Tlay (1179-1193) was in office, and most of them agree on the year 1179/80⁴⁷, whereas Galstjan suggests the 1193⁴⁸. According to Mat'evosyan, on the other hand, the original *Chronicle* reached the year 1163, under the reign of Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni (1113-1166)⁴⁹. Samuēl's work was continued by anonymous writers, who, according to Bedrosian, covered the periods 1179/80-1304/5 and 1257-1424/25⁵⁰, while Thomson states that the *Chronicle* «was continued by later writers to 1665»⁵¹. Moreover, in the introduction to his French translation of the *Chronicle*, Dulaurier says that the text he is going to trans-

45 *Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Patmut'yun Hayoc'* [Kirakos Ganjakec'i, History of Armenia], ed. by MELIK'-OHANJANYAN, K.A., Erevan 1961, p. 84.

46 *Samuēli k'ahanayi Anec'woy, Hawak'munk' i groc' patnagrac' yalags giwti žamanakac' anc'eloc' minč'ew i nerkeys* [Compilation of Historians' Writings on the Chronology of Past Times to the Present, Summarised by the Priest Samuēl Anec'i], ed. by TĒR-MIK'ELEAN, A., Valaršapat 1893, p.137.

47 *Samuēli k'ahanayi Anec'woy*, op. cit., p. E-Z (= V-VI); THOMSON, R.W., *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, Brepols-Turnhout 1995, p. 191; BEDROSIAN, R., *The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries*, Ch. 1: «The Sources» (<http://rbedrosian.com/dsources.htm>); *RHC* 1, p. 445 (1177/78).

48 GALSTJAN 1962, p. 129 n. 210.

49 MAT'EVOSYAN, K.A., *Samuel Anec'u «Žamanakagrut'yan» avartman t'vakano ev patviratun* [The Date and the Sponsor of the «Chronicle» of Samuēl Anec'i], in *PBH* (1992) No. 1, pp. 156-162.

50 BEDROSIAN, *The Turco-Mongol Invasions*, op. cit., Ch. 1, «The Sources».

51 THOMSON, *A Bibliography*, op. cit., p. 191.

late extends to the year 1339/40 (789 of the Armenian Era)⁵². Thus, information on the Mongols is found only in Samuēl's continuators, such as Step'anos Episkopos (see *infra*). They supply data on the Mongol rule in Near and Middle East and on the resistance opposed to the Mongol invasion by the Caucasian nations. Nevertheless, Galstjan complains about the continuators' inaccuracies and anachronisms, which are attributed to their being uncultured and poorly educated people.

A semi-critical edition of Samuēl's work was published in 1893 by Tēr-Mik'eleen. Although aware of the existence of other witnesses of the text in Venice and Paris, the editor based his work on 13 manuscripts, that are now at the Matenadaran in Erevan. All of these witnesses are more or less corrupt and rather recent, being not earlier than the 17th c. He simplified Samuēl's calendrical system, maintaining only the Armenian era, which proved to be more accurate. A new edition is presently being prepared in Armenia.

A Latin translation of Samuēl's *Chronicle* by Zohrab and Mai in *PG*, following that of the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, goes down to 1179. In 1876 the *Chronicle* and its continuation till 1358 was translated into French by M.-F. Brosset. Extracts of the *Chronicle* and its continuation, as we have seen, were published by Dulaurier in *RHC 1* (Armenian original and French translation), although the translator points out that he eliminated «*tous les faits qui sont particuliers aux annales de la Grande Arménie, conservant seulement ceux qui touchent à l'histoire des croisades, soit par une connexion directe, soit parce qu'ils eurent pour théâtre les contrées voisines de la Syrie et dont les destinées furent souvent liées au sort des colonies latines d'Orient*»⁵³. This means that not all the details concerning the Mongols are necessarily retained in Dulaurier's translation, as one can easily see by comparing it with the extracts translated into Russian by Galstjan (1962), who focuses on the Armenian sources on the Mongols.

52 *RHC 1*, p. 446.

53 *Extrait de la Chronographie de Samuel d'Ani*, in *RHC 1*, p. 446.

A.1.7 Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i is a historian of the 13th c. We know nothing about his life, except that he lived in the monastery of Ayrivank' (Gefard) and wrote a *Chronicle* from the Creation to 1289. As other chronicles, Mxit'ar's work supplies details about Armenian political and military life complementing the information found in other sources. The final part the *Chronicle* deals with the Mongols and Armeno-Mongol relations, from the first raids into the Caucasus of the Mongol generals Jebe-noyin and Sübedei (1221) to 1284, when Arghun assumed the throne of the Ilkhanate. Some details are recorded only by this source, as, for instance, Hülegü killing all the *ĵat'ans*, i.e. the Chaghataids, who were Chinggisid princes, and Tegüder fleeing to Svanetia⁵⁴ probably at the time of his rebellion against Abaqa, before the death of the Georgian King David (1279).

The Old Armenian text of this *Chronicle* has two 19th c. editions, one by Emin (1860), prepared on the basis of a single manuscript, and the other by Patkanov (1867), which is based on a better manuscript and acknowledges Emin's edition. Along with this edition, Patkanov published a Russian translation. We have a French translation of 1869 and a Russian version of the portions concerning the Mongols in Galstjan 1962. The most recent translation of this text to my knowledge is in Georgian (1990).

A.1.8 Het'um of Korikos

Het'um of Korikos, called *Patmič'*, Historian, was the youngest son of Ōšin, brother of King Het'um I. He was born around 1240 and became Lord of Korikos around 1280, after the death of his brother Grigor. From his works we know that he at-

54 DASHDONDOG, *Mongol-Armenian Political Relations*, op. cit., p. 30, see also EAD., *The Mongols*, op. cit., pp. 24-25; GALSTJAN 1962, p. 91.

tended twice to the enthronement of the «emperor of the Tatars»⁵⁵, while a *Chronicle* attributed, as we will see, to his cousin King Het'um II claims that he conspired against the Armenian King in 1293, and was forced to flee the country with his brother Ōšin⁵⁶. He came back to Armenia shortly before the turn of the century and joined the Premonstratensian Order in Cyprus, where he seems to have supported the attempt of Almaric of Tyre to usurp the Cypriot throne (1306). Het'um's travel to the Papal Court in France is likely to have been an unsuccessful diplomatic mission on behalf of the usurper. On that occasion, Het'um wrote his major work, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*⁵⁷. After the assassination of King Lewon III and Het'um II in 1307, Het'um returned to Cilicia, became Constable of the Kingdom and died probably shortly after 1310.

Apart from *La flor* Het'um of Korikos wrote a *Chronicle*, which survives in a unique copy (Ms 1898 of the Matenadaran, Erevan, ff. 123a-167b). It covers the period from the birth of Christ down to 1294. According to the title, the work is based on European sources, mainly Martin of Opava (Martin of Poland)⁵⁸, but much new information bearing on Armenian history has been inserted. Its focus is on the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, that is the reason why the *Chronicle* does not refer to the first Mongol incursions in the Caucasus, its first mention to the Mongols being concerned with Smbat Sparapet's visit to the Great Khan Güyük in 1246.

55 RHC-2, p. 149 (Latin), 285 (French). On Het'um's life and career see: MUTAFIAN, C., *Héthoum de Korykos historien arménien. Un prince cosmopolite à l'aube du XIV^e siècle*, in CRM 1 (1996), pp. 157-175.

56 *Hamarōt patmut'iwnn žamanakac' hawak'eal i zanazan patmut'eanc', aysink'n i hayoc', i frankac', i yunac', i yasoroc' greanc', ašxatut'eamb imoy, carayis K'ristosi Astucoy Het'moy Kurikōsoy, i t'vakani hayoc' Č'XE* [Compendious History of the Times, Collected from Various Histories, i.d. from Armenian, European, Greek, Syriac Writings, by Me, Het'um of Korikos, Servant of Christ God, in the Year of the Armenians 745 (=1296)], in HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 86-87.

57 Cfr. *supra*, Preliminary issues (Armenian sources) and notes.

58 Cfr. *infra*, A.1.14.

The *Chronicle* has been critically edited by Hakobyan in 1956, but to my knowledge it has not yet been translated into any language.

A.1.9 Het'um II

Het'um II was born in 1266 from King Lewon II and Anna of Lampron (called Kyranna or Keran, wherefrom the name Guerane) and died in 1307. He was crowned King of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in 1289, and in 1293 he abdicated and entered the monastery of Mamistra. In 1295 he resumed the throne, but the following year he was deposed and partially blinded by his brother Smbat. In 1299 he resumed the throne for the third time, and after having successfully campaigned against the Mamluks with the Mongols for the control of Syria, they were heavily defeated in the Battle of Marj al-Suffar (Shaqhab, south of Damascus), in 1303. Het'um abdicated in favour of his son Lewon III, and retired to a monastery. In 1307 the Mongol general Bilarghu assassinated Het'um together with his son Lewon III and their retinue, while they were visiting him at Anazarva.

He is considered to be the author of a short but informative *Chronicle* dealing with the political situation of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its international relations between 1076 and 1296. This work was composed in Cilicia between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th c., and later on it was continued down to 1351. The title claims that the author drew information from Armenian, European, Greek and Syriac sources. Moreover, Hakobyan shows that the *Chronicle* of Het'um of Korikos has influenced the composition of King Het'um's work. Nevertheless this source indubitably supplies details not to be found in any contemporary Armenian historical work⁵⁹.

In 1842 Awgerean published the Old Armenian text of the *Chronicle* as an appendix to his Armenian translation of *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, attributing both works to Het'um (of

59 HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 65-73; cfr. GALSTJAN 1962, pp. 126-127 n. 173.

Korikos) the Historian. This edition was based on two manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro (Venice), handing down a shorter version of the *Chronicle*. Awgerean's text was translated into French by Dulaurier in *RHC 1*, who shared the editor's view on its authorship. The surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, about ten in number, can be grouped in three redactions⁶⁰. The critical edition published by Hakobyan in 1951 is based on the expanded version of the text, from which Galstjan translated into Russian (1962) the portion of the *Chronicle* bearing on the Mongols, from 1246, when Smbat went to Güyük Khan, down to the events of the reign of Ghazan Khan in 1296.

Hakobyan points to some genealogical details found in the text, which could only have been written by King Het'um II⁶¹, a hypothesis put forward by Patkanov in 1880⁶². According to Bedrosian, however, «beyond these two passages, written in the first person, there are no other entries containing information of a personal nature or information obtainable only from within the royal family. Furthermore, in other parts of the *Chronicle* where King Het'um II is mentioned, the third person is used. There is great variation in the spelling of personal and place names, which is not unusual in medieval sources; though one might question whether Het'um (King Het'um II or Het'um the Historian) would provide different spellings of his own name, sometimes on the same page»⁶³. On the other hand, Hakobyan draws attention to the fact that a manuscript of the British Library containing the longer version refers to the author of the text as «John servant of God», and John was just the name King Het'um took, when he became a

60 A<KINEAN>, N., *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner, ŽG-ŽA dd.* (Review of: *Minor Chronicles of the 13th-18th c.*, ed. by HAKOBYAN, V.A.), in *HA* 71 (1957), cols. 505-507.

61 HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 69.

62 PATKANOV, K.P., in *P'orj* (1880) No. 1 (supplement), p. 31 (*non vidī*: quoted by GALSTJAN 1962, p. 127)

63 *Chronicle Attributed to King Het'um II*, tr. by BEDROSIAN, R., New Jersey 2005, Preface [on line: <http://rbedrosian.com/chetint.htm>].

Franciscan after abdication⁶⁴. Bedrosian's conclusion is that «it is possible that King Het'um II was the original author and that the *Chronicle* suffered very greatly at the hands of later copyists»⁶⁵.

If the attribution to Het'um II is correct, the *Chronicle* is not the only literary work of this King. As we shall see below, he wrote also an historical poem.

A.1.10 Kostandin Barjberdc'i

Kostandin Barjberdc'i was an Armenian Catholicos from 1220 to 1267. His surviving letters concern the union with Rome, but in a letter of 1251 he invites the Armenians living in Greater Armenia to follow the example of their Cilician compatriots and establish good relations with the Mongols.

The only existing copy of this letter is in the M.E. Saltykov-Šchedrin Public Library in St. Petersburg. The text was edited by Xač'ikyan in 1958 and partially translated into Russian by Galstjan in 1962. Extensive information about Konstandin and his activity, including the letters he sent to his Church in Greater Armenia, is provided by Kirakos Ganjakec'i⁶⁶. According to Kirakos, Kostandin wrote this letter when he learned of the oppression suffered by Greater Armenia under Mongol rule⁶⁷.

A.1.11 Chronicle of an Anonymous of Sebastia (Ananun Sebastac'i)

This anonymous *Chronicle* covers the period from the 1st c. AD to the end of the 13th c. For the earliest period it draws from other sources, such as Vardan Arevelc'i, Mixayēl Urhayec'i and

64 HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 69-70; for the manuscript see CONYBEARE, F.C., *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1913, pp. 291-292 (No. 116, fol. 135b). Cfr. also MUTAFIAN, *Héthoum de Korykos historien arménien*, op. cit., p. 163.

65 *Chronicle Attributed to King Het'um II*, op. cit., Preface.

66 *Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Patmut'yun Hayoc'*, op. cit., pp. 190, 278, 293, 295, 301, 311, 329, 355, 365.

67 *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.

Kirakos Ganjakec'i, but from the first appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus in 1220, and particularly for the years 1254-1300, the author relies on first-hand information. His *Chronicle* is thus one of the most important Armenian sources on the Mongols, either providing details not found in other sources, or corroborating the information supplied by other authors, such as Kirakos Ganjakec'i and Vardan Arewelc'i. The anonymous author focused on Greater Armenia, Cilicia and the region of Sebaste.

Although nothing is known about the author of the *Chronicle*, his acquaintance with Sebastia suggests that he was probably someone living there. According to Hakobyan, he could be identified with the scribe Awag, who wrote a colophon of the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Chronicle*, although the first part of the work can be attributed to another author⁶⁸.

The *Chronicle* is transmitted by three lacunose manuscripts housed at the Matenadaran in Erevan: Ms 2174 (ff. 28a-52b), Ms 3425 (ff. 1a-20b) and Ms 6617 (ff. 229a-247b). Ms 2174 dates to 1309, the year in which the above-mentioned colophon was composed. It is the oldest extant manuscript, but the leaves corresponding to the years 1221 to 1254 were lost. The narrative ends with the first Mongol attack on the Caucasus (1220) and resumes with the journey of King Het'um I to Batu Khan (1254), continuing until 1297. By contrast, Ms 3425 does not cover the period 1197 to 1225, but includes the years 1298-1300, whereas the later Ms 6617 stops in 1268. A fourth Matenadaran manuscript, Ms 2115, contains the *Chronicle* in a somewhat abridged form down to 1283, and, after a gap of some 150 years, also records the events that occurred between 1437 and 1477.

The first critical edition of this work, based on Mss 2174 and 3425, was published by G. Manvelyan and Abrahamyan in 1940. A more complete edition by Hakobyan, taking into account all the surviving manuscripts, was issued in 1956. Hakobyan based his edition on Ms 2174, supplying the missing portions of the text from Ms 3425, while the sections of Ms 3425 transmitted by both manuscripts are given in the notes. Moreover, he records the ver-

68 HAKOBYAN 1956, pp. 115-116.

sions of Mss 6617 (first column) and 2125 (second column) in the critical apparatus. Despite its accuracy, Hakobyan's edition omits some portions of the text regarded as being merely of theological interest. The omission is always indicated by an ellipsis.

The only existing translation of this work is Galstjan's Russian version of the pages covering the period 1220-end of the 13th c. Galstjan translated the text of the Ms 2174, but expanded it with material drawn from the Ms 6617.

A.1.12 *Step'anos Episkopos*

Step'anos Episkopos (Bishop) is a chronicler of the 13th c. He is reckoned among the continuators of Samuēl Anec'i's *Chronicle*⁶⁹. Step'anos's *Chronicle* covers a period of about 100 years, from 1193 to 1290. It is one of the most important sources for events that occurred in Southern Caucasus and Cilicia under the Zak'areans, the Mongols and the Mamluks.

The *Chronicle* was attributed to Step'annos Ōrbēlean by K'osean, Akinean, Abrahamyan and, more recently, by Bałdasaryan⁷⁰. This view has been challenged by Xaç'ikyan and Hakobyan⁷¹, with the latter eventually arguing that the author may be a certain Step'annos Bishop of Noravank⁷².

69 Cfr. *supra*, A.1.6.

70 K'ŌSEAN, Y., *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Sanasarean varžarani i Karin* [Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of Sanasarean College in Karin (= Erzerum)], in *HA* 35 (1921), cols. 173-181; AKINEAN, N., *Žamanakagrut'iwnk' Mik'ayēli Asorwoy, Samuēli Anec'woy, Step'anosi Ōrbēlean* [Chronicles of Mik'ayēl Asori, Samuēl Anec'i, Step'annos Ōrbēlean], in *HA* 35 (1921), cols. 177-178, and ID., *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner*, op. cit., cols. 504-505; *Žamanakagrut'iwn Step'annosi Ōrbēleani* [Chronicle of Step'annos Ōrbēlean], ed. by ABRAHAMYAN, A., Erevan 1942; BALDASARYAN, Ė.M., *XIII dari mi žamanakagrut'yun helinaki masin* [On the Author of a Chronicle of the 13th c.], in *PBH* (1971) No. 2, pp. 210-216.

71 HAKOBYAN, V.A. – XAČ'IKYAN, L.S., *Inč'pes č'petk' ē hratarakven patmakan skzbnafbyurnerā* [How Historical Sources Should Not Be Published], in *Telekagir* 1949 No. 2, pp. 77-82 (Repr. in XAČ'IKYAN, L.S., *Ašxatut'yunner* [Works], vol. 3, Erevan 2008, pp. 873-895); cfr. HAKOBYAN 1951, p. 33-34.

72 *Step'annos episkoposi Taregrut'yunā (XIII d.)* [Annals of the Bishop Step'annos (13th c.)], in HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 32-34.

The *Chronicle* is transmitted in Ms 8481 of the Matenadaran in Erevan. It was partially edited in 1913⁷³, whereas a complete edition was published in 1942 by Abrahamyan under the name of Step'annos Ōrbēlean. In 1951 the reference edition of this text was issued by Hakobyan, and it was partly translated into Russian by Galstjan some years later.

A.1.13 *Ananun*

A short anonymous text relating the events occurred between 1220 and 1236 has been translated by Galstjan (1962) from the Matenadaran Ms 1973, ff. 195r-199v. The manuscript contains the works of the great Armenian scholar Yovhannēs Sarkawag, also known as Imastasēr (Philosopher), who died in 1129. As result, there is no doubt that this short *Chronicle* is an interpolation due to a scribe. It deals with the Mongol conquest of Caucasian lands and recalls the prophecy of Catholicos Nersēs the Great (4th c.), predicting the destruction of Armenia at the hands of the Nation of the Archers.

A.1.14 *Nersēs Palianenc'*

A number of manuscripts transmit an Armenian translation of the *Chronicon continens chronologiam pontificum romanorum ac imperatorum, a Christo ad annum 1278* written by Martin of Opava (Martin of Poland). The translator is generally identified with Nersēs Palienc' (Palenc', Palon, Pałon), a member of the order of the *Fratres Unitores*, founded by the Dominican Bartholomew of Bologna, whose goal was the union of the Armenian Church with Rome by accepting the dogmatics, the rite and the discipline of the Roman Church⁷⁴. After being dismissed from his

73 Extracts were published in the review *Šolakat'* (1913) No. 1, p. 207 (*non vidi*: quoted by GALSTJAN 1962, p. 114, n. 80).

74 Cfr. VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, M.A., *Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Arménie*, in *Oriens Christianus* 40 (1956), pp. 94-112; 42 (1958), pp. 110-133; 43 (1959), pp. 110-119; 45 (1961), pp. 95-108; 46 (1962), pp. 99-116; ID., *Linguae Haicanae scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Congregationis Fratrum Unitorum et FF. Armenorum Ord. S.*

post as Bishop of Urmia, he travelled to the papal court in Avignon, where he was appointed Archbishop of Manzikert (Manazkert) in 1338. While there, he learnt Latin and participated in the writing of a *Libellus* addressed to the Pope, containing the errors of the Armenian Church.

However, Daniël Arčišec'i (known also as Davrižec'i or Mnur), in his *Responsio ad errores impositos Hermenis*, says that the Archbishop Nersēs Palienc' came from nearby Manzikert, being thus a native of Greater Armenia⁷⁵, while the translator of the *Chronicon*, whose name is recorded as Nersēs Palianenc' or Pali-nenc' in the best manuscripts, styled himself «Səsec'i (of Sis)» in introducing his translation, thus asserting his Cilician origins. Moreover, Nersēs Palianenc' calls himself simply a Latin priest in the same introduction written in 1348, whereas Nersēs Palienc' had been ordained an Archbishop ten years earlier. For all this reasons, van den Oudenrijn thinks that we have to do with two Nersēs, both living in Avignon around the same period: the priest Nersēs Palianenc' Səsec'i, translator of the *Chronicon* and Nersēs Palienc', author of the *Libellus*⁷⁶.

Nersēs Palianenc' interpolated into his translation of the *Chronicon* material dealing with the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, such as the conquest of Hromklay at the hand of the Mamluks

Basilii citra mare consistentium quotquot huc usque innotuerunt, Bernae 1960; PETROWICZ, G., *I Fratres Unitores nella Chiesa Armena*, in *Euntes Docete* 22 (1969), pp. 309-347.

75 DANIEL DE THAURISIO, *Responsio ad errores impositos Hermenis*, in *RHC* 2, p. 643: «Respondeo quod juxta Manasguerd civitatem, cujus terre dicit se esse archiepiscopum, et de illa circumferentia etiam ipse est oriundus...»; p. 619: «Catholicus, inveniens istum qui nominat se archiepiscopum Manasguardensem infamem et defectuosum in pessimis vitiis...».

76 OUDENRIJN, *Uniteurs et Dominicains*, op. cit., (1959), pp. 110-111 and ID., *Linguae Haicanae scriptores*, op. cit., p. 210-212 No. 499. GOLUBOVICH, G., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 4: *Dal 1333 al 1345*, Firenze 1923, p. 338 regards the author of the *Libellus* as being the same person as the translator, without addressing the inconsistencies shown by van den Oudenrijn. The same opinion is shared by PETROWICZ, *I Fratres Unitores*, op. cit., p. 329 n. 72, who clearly misunderstands van den Oudenrijn's point.

(1292), the dynastic struggles of the Hethumids, the Armeno-Mongol fights against the Mamluks, the capture of Ayas in 1321 and so on. According to Hakobyan, however, not all the information added to Martin's *Chronicon* and covering the years following the author's death (1278) can be ascribed to Nersēs. Thus, one has to assume the existence of a continuator of Martin's work. Moreover, the textual tradition of the Armenian version is often associated with a list of Armenian Princes, Kings and Patriarchs, extending from Biblical times down to 1351 and compiled by the translator of the *Chronicon*, as Nersēs himself states⁷⁷.

As yet, there has been no complete edition of Nersēs' translation of the *Chronicle*. M. Č'amč'ean was among the first scholars to use this source. In the second half of the 18th c. he published some passages of Nersēs' work in his *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'* [History of Armenia]⁷⁸, taking them from the original manuscript, dated 1348 and kept in the Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro in Venice under the number 1578⁷⁹. Č'amč'ean's *Patmut' iwn* is the source of Dulaurier quoting Nersēs Palianenc' in his partial edition of Smbat's *Taregirk'*, published in 1869⁸⁰. Two extensive passages of the *Chronicle* were published by Ališan in 1901. Hakobyan's critical edition of 1956 offers only those extracts of the text which can be attributed to Nersēs, leaving out Martin's text and his continuator's additions⁸¹. This edition is based on Ms 2037 of the Matenadaran

77 The text is edited by HAKOBYAN, V.A., on the base of Ms 2037 (A) ff. 131r-133v housed at the Matenadaran in Erevan, with the omission of the Patriarchs' list: *Išxanut' iwnk' ew t'agawork' Hayoc'* [Princes and Kings of Armenia], in HAKOBYAN 1956, p. 195: Introduction; pp. 196-206: Text; pp. 207-208: Notes. It does not contain material directly bearing on the Mongols.

78 Č'AMČ'EAN, *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, op. cit., vol. 3, Venice 1786, pp. 372-378, 383-384, 387-389.

79 ČEMČEMEAN, S., *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Venetik* [General Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Mekhitarist Library in Venice], vol. 7, cols. 355-362, No. 1586.

80 *RHC I*, pp. 608-609 and n. 1; pp. 656-664, 665-666 (Armenian original with French translation. Nersēs's text is in brackets).

81 Due to their historical interest, some passages attributed to Martin's continuator are quoted in some notes of Hakobyan's edition of the *Chronicle* of Het'um of Korikos,

in Erevan, recording the variant readings of the Mss 2038 and 3079 housed in the Matenadaran. The original manuscript of Nersēs Palianenc' in the Mekhitarist Library seems not to have been consulted. The passages concerned with the Mongol rule in Asia Minor and with the Armeno-Mongol campaigns against the Mamluks have been rendered into Russian by Galstjan (1962).

According to Galstjan, Nersēs' *Chronicle* is the only work to supply interesting information on Armeno-Mongol relations and on the struggles between Armenians and Muslims in the period of the decline of Mongol rule in the Near and Middle East⁸². Some details transmitted by this *Chronicle* alone are disputed by scholars. This is the case, for instance, with the visit of King Het'um II to Jerusalem, which some scholars dismiss as Armenian propaganda⁸³, while others consider it plausible⁸⁴.

A.1.15 Dawit' Bafšec'i

Dawit' was born at the beginning of the 17th c. (1610 ca.) and became superior of the Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Bafš (Bitlis), on the south-western shore of Lake Van, where he worked as scribe and translator. In 1669 he withdrew for a time to the hermitage of the islet of Lim, in Lake Van. During a second sojourn, he died there on December 31, 1673, while praying in a church with other pilgrims. He was buried on the island.

cfr. HAKOBYAN 1956, pp. 91-92 n. 215 (on the occupation of Tripoli) and n. 217 (on the occupation of Acre).

82 GALSTJAN 1962, p. 131 n. 237.

83 Cfr. STEWART, A.D., *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289-1307)*, Leiden 2001, pp. 14 n. 55 and 144 n. 351; AMITAI, R., *Mongol Raids into Palestine (A.D. 1260 and 1300)*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1987), pp. 245-246 (Repr. in ID., *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands. Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate*, Aldershot 2007, No. VIII).

84 Cfr. SCHEIN, S., *Gesta Dei per Mongolos. The Genesis of a Non-Event*, in *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), p. 810; EAD., *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314*, Oxford 1991, p. 163; MUTAFIAN, C., *Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie XII^e-XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1993, p. 73.

His main work is a *Chronicle* or *Anthology* of historical writings consisting of two parts. The first one is a survey of the history of the Armenian nation from the ancient times to 1662, while the second part is an abridged historical account, starting from Abraham and focusing on Rome and Byzantium to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Among Dawit's sources for the Mongol period one can mention Kirakos Ganjakec'i, the continuators of Samuēl Anec'i, and T'ovma Mecop'ec'i.

Dawit's *Chronicle* has long been neglected by scholars. P'irlalēmean⁸⁵, T'öp'čean (=Kilikec'i)⁸⁶, Ališan⁸⁷ and Ałaneanc'⁸⁸ were among the first to draw attention to this work. They were followed, some decades later, by Abrahamyan⁸⁹. The first part of the *Anthology* has been edited by Hakobyan in 1956, whereas the second part remains unedited. Hakobyan's edition is based on a manuscript housed at Baku Central Library and records the variant readings found in the Mss 7589 and 4044 of the Matenadaran in Erevan. To my knowledge there is no complete translation into any modern language. Galstjan rendered into Russian the passages of Hakobyan's edition concerning the Mongol period, from 1221 to 1264.

A.1.16 Aṛak'el Dawrižec'i

Aṛak'el Dawrižec'i was born toward the end of the 16th c. in Tabriz. He studied in Ējmiacin under Catholicos P'ilippos Ałbakec'i (1632-1655). There he took the holy orders and became

85 P'IRLALĒMEAN, Ł., *Nōtark' Hayoc'* [Armenian Notaries], Constantinople 1888, pp. 86, 122-123, 148, 209-210.

86 KILIKEC'I (= Y.Y. T'ÖP'ČEAN), *Dawit' Bališec'i*, in *Ararat* (March-April 1898), pp. 120-124; ID., *C'uc'ak jeragrac' Xač'ik vardapeti Dadean* [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Vardapet Xač'ik Dadean], Vałaršapat 1898, pp. 96-99.

87 ALIŠAN, *Hayapatum*, op. cit., p. 129.

88 AŁANEANC', G., *Diwan Hayoc' patmut'ean*, girk' Ž: *Manr matenagirk' (ŽE-ŽT'dar)* [Records of Armenian History, vol. 10: Minor Writers (15th-19th c.)], Tiflis 1912, pp. LA-LG (xxxi-xxxiii), 41-56.

89 ABRAHAMYAN, A.G., *Davit' Bališec'u taregrut'yunə ev nra aržek'ə hay matenagrut'yan hamar* [Davit' Bališec'i's Annals and Their Value for Armenian Literature], in *Ējmiacin* 3 (1946) Nos. 8-10, pp. 55-59; Nos. 11-12, pp. 35-42.

a legate of the Catholicos and travelled around Greece and the Middle East as a representative of the Holy See of Ējmiacin. He died in 1670 and was buried in the Congregational Cemetery of Ējmiacin.

His *Patmut'iwñ* [History], commissioned by the Catholicos, covers the period from 1602 to 1662, describing such momentous events as the Turco-Persian wars and the deportation of Armenians by Shah Abbas. The work «is not a closely knit narrative»⁹⁰. In particular, chapter 56 belongs to the genre of chronicles, giving the gist of facts that took place in Armenia between 561 and 1666, including information dealing with the Mongol period. Despite Araḳ'el's lack of acknowledging his sources, he certainly drew on the work of Amiras Erznac'i (from Erznka/Erzincan), who wrote a chronicle covering the same period as the aforementioned chapter⁹¹. It is for that reason that Araḳ'el seems to be so well-informed about Erznka/Erzincan, giving details not to be found in other Armenian sources⁹².

The reference edition of Araḳ'el's *Patmut'iwñ* was edited by L.A. Xanlaryan in 1990, which has been translated into English by G.A. Bournoutian in 2005/06 and in 2010 (revised translation).

A.1.17 Zak'aria Sarkawag K'anak'erc'i

Zak'aria K'anak'erc'i was born in K'anak'er, today a suburb of Erevan, in 1627. He studied at Yovhannavank', a monastery not far from Aštarak, but was never ordained a priest, because he was lame. He remained a deacon (*sarkawag*) and spent his life teaching. His *Patmagrut'iwñ* [Historiography] seems to be his only written work.

90 BARDAKJIAN, K.B., *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit 2000, p. 68.

91 XANLARYAN, L.A., *Araḳ'el Davrižec'u albyumeric' mekə* [One of the Sources of Araḳ'el Dawrižec'i], in *PBH* (1984) No. 2, pp. 82-86.

92 LIMPER, *Die Mongolen*, op. cit., p. 16.

The *Patmagrut'iwn* consists of three parts. The first deals with Persian and Armenian kings, and other foreign sovereigns ruling over Armenia from ancient times to Zak'aria's own day, thus providing information on Ak-Koyunlu, Kara-Koyunlu and Tamerlane. The second focuses on political and religious events of the 17th c. The third part is a *kondak* [chronicle of the monastery⁹³], as the author calls it, of Yovhannavank', in other words it is a history of the monastery through inscriptions and colophons, containing information on the Mongol domination as well.

The Armenian text of Zak'aria's *Patmagrut'iwn* was published in 1870 in Vałaršapat and it was translated into French by M.-F. Brosset in 1876. An annotated Russian translation by M.O. Darbinjan-Melikjan appeared in 1969, and more recently (2004) an English version with commentary has been published by G.A. Bournoutian.

A.2. HAGIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Hagiography is a literary genre dealing with saints' lives, deeds, miracles, martyrdoms and relics. Apart from hagiographic writings in the strict sense of the term, Armenian hagiographical material can be found in some liturgical books as well, such as the *Yaysmawurk'* [Synaxary], and in historiographical works.

The *Yaysmawurk'* arranges its hagiographic content by date, so that the life and deeds of a saint can be recalled and celebrated on the day of the saint's commemoration. Scholars recognize at least five stages in the development of the Armenian *Synaxary*: (a) a *Synaxary* drawn from earlier Greek hagiographical material slightly Armenized⁹⁴; (b) Tēr Isra(y)ēl's *Synaxary* from the first half of the 13th c. (ca. 1240); (c) Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *Synaxary* (first edition: 1252; second edition: 1269); (d) Grigor Anawarzec'i's *Synaxary*, of the beginning of the 14th c.; (e) Grigor Ce-

93 This part of Zak'aria's work is more likely to be considered a «Klosterchronik» than a «Kartular in striktem Sinne»: LIMPER, *Die Mongolen*, op. cit., pp. 273-274 n. 67.

94 ZANETTI, U., *Apophtegmes et histoires édifiantes dans le synaxaire arménien*, in *AB* 105 (1987), pp. 170-174.

renc'i's (Xlat'ec'i's) *Synaxary*, composed at the beginning of the 15th c.

The intricate relations among these redactions and their versions are still waiting to be clarified and interpreted⁹⁵. Suffice to say that the canonical edition of the *Yaysmawurk* by Bayan in *PO* is presented as Tēr Israyēl's redaction, despite its being based on the *Synaxary* of Kirakos Ganjakec'i (1252)⁹⁶, while the text edited by Pēštimaljean in 1834 reflects a reworking of Grigor Anawarzec'i's *Synaxary*, notwithstanding its claim of being Tēr Israyēl's work. On the other hand, the *editio princeps* of 1706 is based on Grigor Xlat'ec'i's text, the most voluminous and popular *Synaxary*, handed down by about 200 Matenadaran manuscripts, the other recensions amounting to about thirty. The first two volumes of the new edition of Tēr Israyēl's *Synaxary* under preparation in Erevan have already been published by Archbishop E. Petrosyan (2008 and 2009), who is also the editor of the preCerenc'i versions of the Armenian *Synaxary* (vol. 1, January, 2008; vol. 2, February, 2009).

As for the commingling of hagiography and historiography, I can say that it is a significant feature of Armenian tradition. From the beginning of historical writing to the Middle Ages, in fact, many pages of Armenian historians are interwoven with hagiographic passages.

Some of the hagiographic material concerning the Mongol period was published in 1903 by Ačarean and Manandean in their *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)* [New Armenian Martyrs (1155-

95 For a more detailed analysis cfr. PETROSSIAN, Y., *Latin Saints in the Synaxaries of the Armenian Church*, in TAFT, R.F., ed., *The Formation of a Millennial Tradition. 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Witness (301-2001)*, Roma 2004, p. 8; ID. (= E. Petrosyan), *Naxacerenc'yan haysmawurk'ayin xmbagrut'iwnnerə* [The Pre-Cerenc'i Version of the Synaxary], in *Ējmiacin* 61 (2005) No. 1, pp. 52-61; ID., ed., *Yaysmawurk' Tēr Israyeli*, A., *Yunuar* [Synaxary of Tēr Israyel, vol. 1: January], *Ējmiacin* 2008, pp. 5-31 (Introduction).

96 Cfr. MÉCÉRIAN, J., *Bulletin arménologique, deuxième cahier: Section II: Introduction à l'étude des synaxaires arméniens (Yaysmawurk')*, in *MUSJ* 30 (1953), pp. 99-188; ZANETTI, *Apophtegmes et histoires édifiantes*, op. cit., pp. 167-199.

1843)], a collection of hagiographies gathered partly from the works of Armenian historians, partly from the *Synaxaries* and from the lives, deeds and martyrdoms of ecclesiastic and secular individuals⁹⁷. From the 1970s Tēr-Davt'yan translated into Russian a number of hagiographic accounts from the 5th to the 19th c.⁹⁸.

Among the hagiographic episodes relevant to the Mongols that are transmitted by historians I can mention the martyrdom of the old father Step'annos, superior of the cloister of Geret'i, accused of poisoning a Mongol chieftain and roasted to death in 1257, as related by Grigor Aknerc'i⁹⁹. Or again, there is the case of the pious prince Jalal, who was imprisoned in 1261 and handed over to Arghun, because he was unable to pay the required taxes and in particular «because of his strong Christian faith», as Kirakos Ganjakec'i puts it. His daughter Ruzuk'an, wife of Bora noyin (Bōra-nuin), son of the Tatar's leader Charmaghun (Č'armahun), interceded for him with Hülegü's wife Doquz Khatun (Tōlus xat'un), but Arghun had him killed by tearing his body into pieces. Finally, he was buried in his ancestral cemetery at Ganjasar monastery¹⁰⁰.

97 MANANDEAN, Y. – AČAREAN, H., eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843). Gitan kan hratarakut'iwn* [New Armenian Martyrs (1155-1843). Scientific Edition], Vałaršapat 1903. This work had been preceded by a popular edition: ID., eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žolovrdakan hratarakut'iwn)* [New Armenian Martyrs (popular edition)], hator A. (1155-1485) [vol. 1: (1155-1485)], hator B. (1486-1843) [vol. 2: (1486-1843)], Vałaršapat 1902.

98 *Pamjatniki armjanskoj agiografii* [Monuments of Armenian Hagiography], tr. by TER-DAVTJAN, K.S., Erevan 1973; *Armjanskije žitija i mučeničestva V-XVII v.v.* [Armenian Lives and Martyrdoms 5th-17th c.], tr. by ID., Erevan 1994; *Armjanskije žitija V-XV v.v.* [Armenian Lives 5th-15th c.], tr. by ID., Erevan 1996; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki (1155-1843)* [New Armenian Martyrs (1155-1843)], tr. by ID., Erevan 1998.

99 *Patmut'iwn T'at'arac'*, op. cit., pp. 38-39; BLAKE – FRYE, eds., *History of the Nation*, op. cit., ch. 10, pp. 326, 328 (Armenian); pp. 327, 329 (English): the date 1251 (p. 327) as corresponding to the year 706 of the Armenian Era is surely a misprint for 1257; MANANDEAN – AČAREAN, eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, op. cit., pp. 98-100; ID., eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žolovrdakan hratarakut'iwn)* hator A., op. cit., pp. 70-72; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki*, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

100 *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, *Patmut'yun Hayoc'*, op. cit., pp. 390-392; MANANDEAN – AČAREAN, eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, op. cit., pp. 101-103; ID., eds.,

Other pieces of hagiography concerning the Mongols belong to the hagiographic production in the narrow sense of the word. I think, for instance, of the *Martyrdom of Grigor Baluec'i, Simēon and Kirakos*, written by David Baluec'i, Grigor's nephew and disciple. By the time when the city of Kharberd (Xarberd) was attacked by troops from Damascus and Aleppo (the Mamluks) in 1290, Grigor had been living there for five months. Xarpand ala, «a commander from the Nation of the Archers, or from the Persians, from a prominent family, lived in the city of Kharberd, as ruler of this region». His army was defeated by the enemies, and his brother was taken captive to the «city of Msir», that's to say to Egypt, and had to be ransomed. Thus, the magnates of Kharberd decided to impose a tax on the population, but the palace they were gathered in collapsed on top of them, killing them all. This fact appeared as a divine punishment against their decision, saving the population from certain ruin. The consequent strengthening of the Christian faith resulted in retaliation from the Tačiks, the Persians and the Xōšamatik', a local population, who accused Grigor unjustly and had him put to death with his two servants Simēon and Kirakos. Another 45 distinguished Armenians, imprisoned with them, were going to face a similar fate, but they were saved by «a chief called T'at'arar, of the Nation of the Archers», who set them free with the help of his troops saying: «You slay such citizens! What shall I answer to the sovereign Khan, for I have been sent here by him to take care of this city?»¹⁰¹.

Another interesting example of a purely hagiographic account documenting the Mongol-Armenian relations is the *Martyrdom of Grigor Bishop of Theodosiopolis* (Karin, Erzerum), an ano-

Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žolovrdakan hratarakut'iwn) hator A., op. cit., pp. 73-74; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki*, op. cit., p. 48. Cfr. also *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, op. cit., pp. 152-153, Engl. transl.: THOMSON, *The Historical Compilation*, op. cit., p. 218.

101 MANANDEAN – AČAREAN, eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, op. cit., pp. 104-118; ID., eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žolovrdakan hratarakut'iwn) hator A.*, op. cit., pp. 75-84; *Armjanskije žitija i mučeničestva*, op. cit., pp. 352-358; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki*, op. cit., pp. 49-55. Cfr. AČAREAN, H., *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran* [Armenian Prosopographical Dictionary], vol. 1, Beirut 1972, pp. 581-582 No. 355 (s.v. Grigor).

nymous work that has come down to us in a manuscript copied after 1567¹⁰², although the author seems to have been contemporary with the events he describes¹⁰³. The text reads as follows:

«During the rule of the Nation of the Archers, since the Ismaelites became strong again, persecutions were perpetrated against all Christians, and particularly against the Armenian land. And mournful Hagarene¹⁰⁴ winds blew like that of the Kings Decius, Diocletian, and Julian the Apostate, for the Nation of the Archers converted to the religion of Ismaelites and for the sake of a carnal religion they gave themselves laws: they accepted circumcision and through their service many evils were brought upon the churches of the Christians and they strived to drive the servants of God away from the saint churches of God. And in many places they plundered and ravaged, but Lord Jesus hindered and will hinder the onslaught of the infidels through the power of his <Holy> Spirit. And sizing the Christians, they forced them with bitter torments to abjure the Christian faith, which is in the Father, and the Son and the Most Holy Spirit. They withdrew again and imposed a tax on the Christians, they took seven-eight *dahekan*¹⁰⁵ per

102 MANANDEAN – AČAREAN, eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, op. cit., pp. 121-128; ID., eds., *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žolovrdakan hratarakut'iwn) hator A.*, op. cit., pp. 87-93; *Armjanskije žitija i mučeničestva*, op. cit., pp. 359-364; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki*, op. cit., pp. 56-60. See AČAREAN, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bararan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 590 No. 425 (s.v. Grigor).

103 *Armjanskije žitija i mučeničestva*, op. cit., pp. 350; *Novye armjanskije mučeniki*, op. cit., p. 267.

104 Synonym of «Muslim». Armenian historians generally accepted the tradition according to which the Arabs were descendent from Abraham through his second wife Hagar, cfr. THOMSON, *The Historical Compilation*, op. cit., p. 177 n. 7.

105 General designation of different kinds of gold or silver coins in use over many centuries, cfr. MANANDYAN, H.H., *Nyut'er hin Hayastani tntesakan kyank'i patmut'yan* [Materials for the History of the Economic Life of Ancient Armenia], in ID., *Erker, D* [Works, vol. 4], Erevan 1981, pp. 127-130 (Repr. from *Telekagir HSXH Gitut'yan ev Arvesti Instituti* (1928) No. 4, pp. 43-82); SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., p. 446 (s.v. Dahekan).

head each year: either abjuring Christ or giving the *dahekan*, that is a *xarač*¹⁰⁶; those with a strong faith and brave did not submit to their deceitful doctrines, but agreed to pay the tax yearly. And our people and the Christians professing Christ brought the yoke of taxes upon themselves and gave joyfully their goods and paid and gave their possessions yearly and this tax was collected starting from twelve-year-old children, and many people left the country because of it. But the Christians, paying all this, remained strong in the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Now, in the year 770 of Armenian era (*scil.* 1321), a certain wicked and impious man from the Nation of the Archers, whose name was called Damur Daš¹⁰⁷, that's to say Iron-stone, came to the land of the Hřomk' (Byzantines) and saw Cilicia, the land of the Armenians, staying there like an olive branch, while they were living in peace on a small and narrow land beaten by scorching winds and <afflicted> with many tribulations, between two impious nations, the Egyptians and the Arakliac'ik'¹⁰⁸.

And so, that impious Iron-stone was driven by envy towards the Armenian King for some reason and boastfully meditated to plunder the land and growled like a lion, gathered troops, equipped the cavalry, sent emissaries with deceitful messages, in order to size the King of the Armenians and to plunder the land. Being aware of the evil intention of that treacherous man, they did not comply with

106 Loanword from arabic and persian *xarač* meaning «tax», cfr. LAZARYAN, R.S. – AVETISYAN, H.M., *Mijñ hayereni bařaran* [Dictionary of Middle Armenian], vol. 1, Erevan 1987, pp. 330-331 (*s.v.* *xarač*).

107 Ter-Davřtjan reads «*Damur Tař asi*» (he was called Damur Tař) instead of «*Damur Tařasi*», cfr. *Armjanskje řitija i mučeničestva*, op. cit., p. 475 n. 4. The reference is to T'amurt'ař, who was appointed governor of Anatolia in 1316, during the reign of the Ilkhan Abdū Sa'id. He fled to Egypt and was put to death by the Mamluks in 1328, cfr. SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., pp. 370-371 (*s.v.* T'amurt'ař).

108 That is the Turks living in the region of Argalia, around the city of Heraklea, cfr. HEWSEN, R.H., *Armenia. A Historical Atlas*, Chicago-London 2001, p. 140 (map 124).

his order, but they fortified themselves in their fortresses and strongholds, in the caves and in other impregnable places. And that impious Iron-stone entered the Armenian land with many infantry and cavalry troops, and they committed great ravages and set the magnificent church of Ējmiacin on fire, and half the city together with it. They burnt harvest of the land as well, and killed and brought into captivity a lot of men. And leaving that place, they came to Caesarea of Cappadocia and they took the cross of Serax and broke it into pieces, because it was made out of pure gold, and many priests among the Greek Christians were martyred...».

The narrative goes on to relate the martyrdom of Grigor Bishop of Karin.

As one might expect, the main information provided by hagiographic sources has to do with the condition of Armenians, as Christians, under Mongol rule. The general picture coming out from these documents illustrates the worsening of Armenians' situation at the time when the Mongols converted to Islam under Ghazan Khan (1295-1304) and their being subjected to heavy taxes¹⁰⁹. Before this turning point, they were generally protected, as Christians, by the Mongols, despite cases such as that of prince Ĵalal killed by order of Arghun. Other pieces of information that can be gleaned from this kind of sources concern the relations between Mongols and the other political actors they got in touch with, as the Mamluks, or they have a prosopographical character, shedding light on the matrimonial ties of Armenian leading families with the Mongol *élites*, as in the case of the marriage links referred to in the account of prince Ĵalal's martyrdom.

In other instances, the Nation of the Archers symbolizes the forces of Evil in an apocalyptic view of Armenian history, as is the

109 TER-DAVT'YAN, K'.S., *XI-XV darei hay vark'agrut'yunə* [Armenian Hagiography of 11th-15th c.], Erevan 1980, pp. 83-84.

case with the vision of the 4th c. Armenian Catholicos St Nersēs¹¹⁰. Since the base manuscript used for the Venice edition of Nersēs' *Life* was copied in 12th c.¹¹¹, the reference should be to the Turks rather than to the Mongols¹¹². Be that as it may, this passage of Nersēs' prophecy was taken to refer to the Mongols as well¹¹³. Thus, even the lives of saints and martyrs of early Christian Armenia may well help scholars put together other pieces of the jigsaw puzzle of Armenian perception of the Mongols.

A.3. COLOPHONS

A colophon is an inscription generally added at the end of a manuscript, or at the end of a long portion of a text, or even, in the case of briefer colophons, on the margins of a manuscript. Colophons were usually written by the scribe of the manuscript, sometimes by the commissioner of the text or by the artist who illuminated it, or even by the craftsman who did the binding and by the subsequent recipients or restorers of a manuscript. A colophon usually records details about the circumstances of a manuscript's

110 *Patmut'iwn srboyn Nersisi Part'ewi Hayoc' Hayrapeti. Yalags zarmic' srboyn Grigori Hayoc' Lusawor'i ew patmut'iwn srboyn Nersisi Hayoc' Hayrapeti* [History of St Nersēs Part'ew Patriarch of the Armenians. About the Descendants of St Grigor the Illuminator of the Armenians and the History of St Nersēs Patriarch of the Armenians], in ALIŠAN, L., ed., *Sop'erk' Haykakank'* [Armenian Writings], vol. 6, Venice 1853, p. 91. French transl.: *Généalogie de la famille de saint Grégoire, Illuminateur de l'Arménie et vie de saint Nersès, patriarche des Arméniens*, tr. by EMINE, J.-R., in LANGLOIS, V., ed., *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, vol. 2, Paris 1869, p. 37.

111 *Patmut'iwn srboyn Nersisi*, op. cit., p. 8.

112 Cfr. for instance *Généalogie de la famille*, op. cit., p. 37; *Pseudo Epiphaniī Sermo de Antichristo (Armeniaca de fine temporum)*, ed. by FRASSON, G., Venezia-S. Lazzaro 1976, pp. 21, 189; PERTUSI, A., *La «Visio Norsei», profezia di s. Nersete il Grande e il «Sermo de Antichristo dello Pseudo-Epifanio»*, in ID., *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente* (ed. postuma a cura di MORINI, E.), Rome 1988, pp. 129-150.

113 Cfr. *supra*, A.1.13; SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., pp. 53-54 No. 5; 58-59 No.1; 65-66 No. 1. See also the contribution of A. Sirinian in these Proceedings.

production, e.g. the name of the scribe, the date and place of composition, the name of the sponsor. However some colophons contain extended narratives that do not confine themselves to information of a local and routine nature, rather they provide valuable data on social and economic issues, major political events and natural calamities, such as earthquakes, epidemics, and famines. Moreover they were often written close, in time and sometimes in place, to the events they describe. They are thus chronologically more accurate and reliable than later sources. Their value, as B. Limper says, «liegt in ihrer Unmittelbarkeit, die sie jeweilige Stimmung im Land widerspiegelt. Sie artikulieren die Leiden des Volkes unter der mongolischen Herrschaft und bisweilen seinen Protest»¹¹⁴. In other words, they are important primary sources for the history of Armenians and the peoples in contact with them.

The history of the use of Armenian colophons as sources for historical research has been outlined by Avedis Sanjian¹¹⁵. Therefore, I need not elaborate on this. Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that, although colophons have been already used as sources on Armenian history by the 13th c. Armenian historian Step'annos Ōrbēlean, by the 17th c. historian Aṛak'el Davrižec'i and by the Mekhitarist scholars Mik'ayēl Č'amč'ean, Lewond Ališan and Garegin Zarbhanalean between the 18th and 19th c., as well as by scholars such as M.-F. Brosset¹¹⁶ and I.A. Orbeli¹¹⁷, «it was only after the publication of the catalogues of Armenian manuscripts, which began in earnest toward the end of the nineteenth century, that the utilisation of the colophons for historical research acquired unprecedented proportions»¹¹⁸.

Today we can rely on the complete catalogues of some of the world's largest collections of Armenian manuscripts, viz. those in

114 LIMPER, *Die Mongolen*, op. cit., p. 17.

115 SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., pp. viii-ix.

116 Cfr. BROSSET, M.-F., *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'en 1469 de J.-C.*, St. Petersburg 1851.

117 ORBELI, I.A., *Hasan Džalal, knjaz' hačenskij* [Hasan Jalal, Prince of Xaç'ēn], in *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, VI serija, 3 (1909) No. 6, pp. 405-436.

118 *Ibid.*, p. viii.

Jerusalem¹¹⁹, Venice¹²⁰ and Vienna¹²¹. The Matenadaran collection in Erevan, on the other hand, is still waiting for the completion of its analytical catalogue¹²². Moreover, we have a large collection of colophons spanning from the 5th c. to the 1500, published by Yovsēp'ean, Xaç'ikyan, and Mat'evosyan¹²³. The colophons translated into English by Sanjian in the aforementioned book of 1969, were chosen among those published by Xaç'ikyan between 1950 and 1958, covering the period 1301-1480. The relevant data found in this publication concern «the Seljuks of Asia Minor; the Mamluks of Syria and Egypt; the Mongol Ilkhans of Persia, and the breakdown of their empire following the death of Abū Sa'id Khān in 1335, as well as the successor dynasties. There is also consid-

119 POLAREAN, N., *Mayr c'uc'ak jeragrac' Srboc' Yakobean' / Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, 10 vols, Jerusalem 1966-1990.

120 SARGISEAN, B. – SARGSEAN, G. – ČEMČEMEAN, S., *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Venetik / Grand Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque des PP. Mekhitharistes de Saint-Lazare*, 8 vols, Venice 1914-1998 (vols 1 and 2 by SARGISEAN, B., vol. 3 by SARGISEAN, B. and SARGSEAN, G., vols 4-8 by ČEMČEMEAN, S.).

121 DAŠEAN, Y. – OSKEAN, H. – SEK'ULEAN, Ö., *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Vienna/Katalog der Armenischen Handschriften in der Mekhitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols, Vienna 1895-1983 (Vol. 1 by DAŠEAN, Y., vol. 2 by OSKEAN, H., vol. 3 by SEK'ULEAN, Ö.).

122 To this day only 5 out of the 37/40 planned volumes saw the light: EGANEAN, Ö. – ZĚYT'UNEAN, A. – ANT'ABEAN, P'. – K'EÖŠKEREAN, A., *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Maštoc'i anuan Matenadarani/General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran*, vols 1-5, Erevan 1984-. In addition to this detailed catalogue, a briefer and less analytical one has been published: EGANYAN, Ö. – ZEYT'UNYAN, A. – ANT'ABYAN, P'. – MALXASEAN, A., *C'uc'ak jeragrac' Maštoc'i anuan Matenadarani/Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran*, vols 1-3, Erevan 1965-2007. For a comprehensive repertory of catalogues of Armenian manuscripts, cfr. COULIE, B., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens*, Turnhout 1992 and supplements: ID., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens. Supplément I*, in *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), pp. 115-130; ID., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens. Supplément II*, in *Le Muséon* 113 (2000), pp. 149-176; ID., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens. Supplément III*, in *Le Muséon* 117 (2004), pp. 473-496.

123 Cfr. *infra*, Bibliography, A.3. Colophons, Texts.

rable information on the Golden Horde and the White Horde, and the Tatar kingdom in Crimea (Girāy) and Kazan; the Djalā'irid dynasty founded by Shaykh Hasan Buzurg in Mesopotamia; the Čaghatai of Transoxiana and the Khwārizmī, both in Central Asia; the Shīrwānshāh of Shīrwān, the Karamānids of Karamān; the Kara-Koyunlu and the Ak-Koyunlu federation of Turkoman tribes, the first in Persia and Mesopotamia and the second in the region of Diyarbakir, as well as their mutual struggles for power; the Dhu'l-Kadrid Turkoman dynasty which ruled for nearly two centuries (1337-1522) the region of Marash-Malatya, as clients first of the Mamluk and later of the Ottoman Sultans; and the Čübānid dynasty of Mongol amirs in Asia Minor. There is also a vast amount of information in the conquests of Tīmūr Lang (Tamerlane) and his successors, the Tīmūrids; the Ottoman rulers of Asia Minor; and the Kurdish principalities or the amirates of Bitlis, Khizān, Khilāt, Ardjīsh, Wustān, and Hakkārī, including data on the Shambo and Rūzagī kurdish tribes»¹²⁴.

- Thus, Sanjian's material provides a great deal of data – on warfare, census-taking, tax-collecting, etc.¹²⁵ – concerning the successor states of the Mongol Empire, particularly the Ilkhanate, in the first half of the 14th c., that is the lower chronological limit of the present survey. As was to be expected, Armenian view on Mongols after their conversion to Islam is generally biased against them.

Nevertheless, Xaç'ikyan and Yovsēp'ean published only a small part of the existing colophons, because they had no access to the entire collections of manuscripts of Venice and Jerusalem when they compiled their collections in the 1950s. At that time those collections had only been partially catalogued.

Moreover, there is as yet no translation for the colophons of the 13th c., published partly by Yovsēp'ean in 1951 and partly by Mat'evosyan in 1984. They cover such crucial events as the first appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus in 1220, the conquest

124 SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., pp. ix-x.

125 *Ibid.*, p. 53 (yr. 1314 No. 2).

of the region in the subsequent decades, the capture of Baghdad in 1258 and the establishment of the Ilkhanate, the engagements with the Egyptian Mamluks, and the conversion of Ghazan to Islam.

The interest of this kind of material can be grasped from the three colophons of Yovsēp'ean's collection, that Galstjan included in his *Armianskie istočniki o Mongolah*. The first one, an anonymous colophon on a Gospel, written in 1236 in the city of Xarberd (Kharput), deals with the Mongol invasion of the Ararat region and the capture of A(g)ni, briefly describing the invaders, called *Xa-rat'at'ar* (Black Tatars)¹²⁶. Another anonymous colophon of 1248, found in the Amenap'rkič' monastery of Nor Ĵuła (New Julfa), relates to some popular Western-Asiatic legends on the origin of Mongols¹²⁷, while the third one, written by a certain Grigor Ssec'i in 1244, briefly mentions the Mongol invasion in Asia Minor¹²⁸.

To conclude, I would like to add that a careful investigation into the Armenian colophons as sources on the Mongols should perhaps take into consideration the materials gathered in the 19th c. by P'irłalēmean and Sruanjteanc'. P'irłalēmean collected colophons composed between 887 and 1596, but only those written between 1393 and 1467 have been published¹²⁹. The manuscript of his complete collection is now in the Matenadaran in Erevan¹³⁰. The work of Sruanjteanc' has been published in two volumes in 1879 and 1885¹³¹. Despite the fact that these scholars often gave a

126 GALSTJAN 1962, p. 44; GAREGIN I KAT'OLIKOS (= G. YOVSEP'EAN), ed., *Yišatakarank' jeragrac'*, hat. A: (*E daric' minč'ew 1250 t'*) [Colophons of Manuscripts, vol. 1: (From the 5th c. to 1250)], Antelias 1951, cols. 905-906.

127 GALSTJAN 1962, pp. 45-47; GAREGIN I KAT'OLIKOS, *Yišatakarank'*, op. cit., cols. 990-993.

128 GALSTJAN 1962, p. 70; GAREGIN I KAT'OLIKOS, *Yišatakarank'*, op. cit., col. 961. On these and other colophons of 13th and 14th c. see the contribution of A. Sirinian in these Proceedings.

129 P'IRŁALĒMEAN, *Nōtark' Hayoc'*, op. cit., Constantinople 1888.

130 Matenadaran Archives Nos. 4515, 6273, 6332.

131 SRUANJTEANC', G., *T'oros Ałbar: Hayastani Čambord* [Brother T'oros: Traveller of Armenia], 2 vols, Constantinople 1879-1885 (*non vidi*): according to SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., p. 5 «The section entitled "Manuscripts and Colophons" in the

summary of the original colophons, their works are of especial interest since a number of manuscripts they surveyed were destroyed during the World War I.

A.4. POETRY

Poetry is generally associated with emotions and aesthetic values, rather than being considered as evidence for historical events. Nevertheless, it can contribute to an investigation of the collective imagination of particular historical circumstances. The Armenian poetical production offers some remarkable instances of poems bearing on the impact of Mongol conquest and domination on Armenian society, which help to understand the way Mongols were perceived by Armenians and to get a better picture of the facts as well.

First of all I would like to mention the *Otanawor barepašti t'agaworin Hayoc' Het'moy B* [Versified Poem of the Pious King of Armenia Het'um II], which consists of 226 lines¹³². The poem summarizes the history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, mentioning the attacks of the Mamluks and their invasion of Armenia, made possible by the delay of the Mongols, allies of the Armenians¹³³, and the capture of Acre. This work was published thrice at the end of the Armenian Bible, in the editions of Amsterdam by Oskan Erewanc'i (1666), of Constantinople (1705) and of Venice (1733)¹³⁴. In 1869 the text was edited twice: in the review *Ararat* and in *RHC I* with a French translation by Dulaurier.

second volume contains descriptions as well as the colophons of more than 350 manuscripts».

132 On the author cfr. *supra*, A.1.9.

133 *RHC I*, p. 552, vv. 89-92.

134 *Astuacašunč' Hnoc' ew Noroc' Ktakaranac' ner parunakoł* [The Bible Including Old and New Testament], ed. by OSKAN EREWANC'I, Amsterdam 1666, pp. 829-832; *Astuacašunč' Hnoc' ew Noroc' Ktakaranac' ner parunakoł* [The Bible Including Old and New Testament], Constantinople 1705; *Astuacašunč' girk' Hnoc' ew Noroc' Ktakaranac'* [The Bible: Old and New Testament Books], ed. by MXIT'AR SEBASTAC'I, Venice 1733.

Another piece of poetry alluding to the Mongols is Vahram Rabun's *Otanawor patmut'iwn Rubeneanc'* [Versified History of the Rupenids] also known under the title *Vipasanut'iwn* [Epic Narrative], a monorhyme poem in lines of eight syllables. Vahram, a native of Edessa, lived in the 13th c., and served as chancellor of King Lewon III. At the request of his lord he composed the *Vipasanut'iwn*, summarizing the main events from the rise of the Armenian principalities and the establishment of kingship to the reign of Lewon II (1269/70-1289). The Mongols appear in Vahram's work only after the death of Zabel (1252), daughter of King Lewon I. Vahram says that a fearless people, known as T'at'ars and called Mułal in their native land, came from the northern regions spreading desolation wherever they penetrated. So that what was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet was fulfilled: «I see a boiling pot, tilted away from the north» (Jer 1:13). The account relates King Het'um's travel to the land of the Mongols, in order to negotiate with them an alliance, the Mamluk attack on Antioch and Cilicia, when T'oros, Het'um's younger son, was killed in battle, while his older brother Lewon was captured. Het'um returned from the Mongol court and paid a large ransom for his son's release. The last part of the *Vipasanut'iwn* deals with the attacks on Cilicia under the reign of Lewon II and the King's relations with the Il-Khan Abaqa (1265-1282). There are three old editions of Vahram's work: one made in Madras in 1810, another in Calcuta in 1832 and the third in Paris in 1859. The Armenian text edited with a French translation by Dulaurier in 1869 is a reprint of the Calcutta edition with some variant readings found in the Paris edition. An English translation of the text dates to 1831, while another French version was published in 1864 by S. Bedrosian.

Vahram is known as a scholar and historian. Frik, on the other hand, is an authentic poet. He was probably born during the period of the Mongol incursions into Armenia, around the third decade of the 13th c., and travelled a lot, in search of his son, who had been carried off by the Tatars. He died at the beginning of 14th c. in a monastery, but we do not know whether he took monastic vows. His poems, written in a colloquial language and in Middle Armenian, deal with secular and religious themes, and in some of

them he reflects the dreadful situation of an Armenia invaded and dominated by the nomadic tribes from Central Asia. Apart from generic protest verses about the Mongol domination and the miserable condition of the subjected people, a poem composed in 1289 and entitled *Vasn Arhun k'anin ew Buḡayin* [On Arghun Khan and Bugha] refers to specific and historically relevant facts: the evil deeds committed by the Tatar Bugha, tax collector in Armenia, his plots against the Il-Khan Arghun and his punishment. This poem is generally considered a verse chronicle rather than a true piece of poetry¹³⁵, because «it combines descriptions of historical developments with national and social insights, expressing popular attitudes and Frik's own bitter outlook on the barbaric Mongol-Tatar regime»¹³⁶. On the other hand, the verses containing Armenians' passionate laments about their miserable conditions and imploring the mercy of God are viewed as more poignant, in other words more poetic, at least according to an idea of poetry based on the distinction between poetry and non poetry typical of a certain idealistic aesthetics. Nevertheless, information of historical relevance is found in these verses too. Such is the case when Frik writes: «*in winter, we went crying to winter quarters; in summer we were baked on endless marches*», referring to the fact that Tatars forced a part of the population to follow their troops as servants¹³⁷. In Frik's view, the sufferings of his fellow countrymen are the result of sin, and eventually God listened to the prayers of his people and punished their oppressors.

Frik's poems were published by Archbishop Tirayr in 1952, and by Łanalanyan in 1982, and together with the works of other medieval poets by Kostaneanc', between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th c. The poems referring to the Mongols are partially quoted in the introduction to Frik's life and work by Tchobanian, while they are just mentioned in *HAL*. The poem

135 TCHOBANIAN, A., *La roseraie d'Arménie*, vol. 2, Paris 1923, p. 76; *HAL*, vol. 2, p. 526.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 526.

137 TCHOBANIAN, *La roseraie*, op. cit., p. 76.

Vasn Arhūn k'anin ew Buḷayin was translated into Italian by Gu-gerotti in 1982¹³⁸.

Another verse chronicle of great historical interest was written by Grigor Xlat'ec'i, born around 1345 and martyred in 1423. This work, preserved in two versions, the original and its abridgement, is known under the title *Yišatakaran aḷētic' i žamanakis merum, zor asac'eal ē Grigor vardapeti, or makanun Cerenc' koč'i Xlat'ec'i* [Memorial of the Tragedies Which Occurred in Our Time, by Grigor Vardapet Xlat'ec'i, Surnamed Cerenc'] I don't go into detail about this poem because it deals mainly with the Timurid invasion of Armenia, covering many decades from 1386, when the army of Tokhtamish (T'uxt'amiš) Khan of the White Horde invaded Armenia, to the beginning of the 20s of the 15th c., when Shāh Rukh, fourth son of Tamerlane and first Timurid sovereign, fought against the Turkoman Kingdom of Kara-Koyunlu. The chronicle nature of this work comes out most clearly with the precise dating of events, e.g. «*In the year eight hundred and thirty-five / Of the Armenian Era (A.D. 1386), / On January 1... The tribe of the barbarians Caused great harm in šahastan... On the fifth of January they entered T'arvēz (Tabrīz); / And on the twenty-ninth Naxč'əwan (Nakhijewan)...*»¹³⁹, and so on.

The original version of the *Yišatakaran* was published by Xalat'eanc' (1897) and by Ališan on the basis of a single manuscript copied at Van in 1462. The critical text, based on four manuscripts was prepared by Xaç'ikyan (1955). This work has been fully translated into French by Tchobanian (1923) and into English by Sanjian (1969).

B. EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

An inscription is a text carved in stone and usually intended for public view. It may be found on the walls of religious and sec-

138 On Frik and other Armenian poets on the Mongols see the contribution of T.M. van Lint in these Proceedings.

139 Tr. by SANJIAN, *Colophons*, op. cit., pp.150-151.

ular buildings, and on the typical Armenian stone memorials called *xač'k'ars* (stone crosses). As in the case of colophons, we can find inscriptions of few lines, recording the name and genealogical information of the sponsor or the dedicatee of the monument on which the text is carved, and the date of its erection. However, there are also longer inscriptions that supply information on the historical situation when the monument was built, the names of the local Bishop, of the Catholicos, and those of the secular lords, among whom are the Il-Khans, and the state of economy and some features of taxation.

The use of epigraphic material as source on Armenian history is not a recent achievement. The Armenian historian Step'annos Ōrbēlean used to draw information from inscriptions already in the 13th c. During the 19th c. a large number of inscriptions were collected and published more or less occasionally by travellers and historians, but a systematic collection and publication of Armenian inscriptions began in 1913 with Kostaneanc's *Vimākan Tarēgir* [Annals of Inscriptions], which is still the reference work for the inscriptions of Western and Southern Armenia. The epigraphic material found at Ani and great part of the inscriptions on the territory of the Republic of Armenia have been published in the eight volumes of the *Divan Hay Vimagrut'yan/Corpus Inscriptionum Armeniacarum* issued to date by the Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

Inscriptions may supply prosopographical information of a socio-political nature, shedding light on the relations between the Mongols and Armenian leading *élites*, as it is the case of an inscription of Ganjasar dated 1280¹⁴⁰.

The significance of epigraphic material for the study of Armenian economic life under the Mongol domination has long been recognized. Some inscriptions have helped to elucidate the Mongol taxation system, as it is the case of the important Persian inscription of Abu Sa'id (1315-1335) at Ani, which was published and

140 *Divan Hay Vimagrut'yan/Corpus Inscriptionum Armeniacarum*, vol. 5: *Arc'ax*, ed. by BARXUDARYAN, S.G., Erevan 1982, p. 41 (No. 85). Cfr. DASHDONOG, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, op. cit., p. 76.

discussed by Bartol'd in 1911¹⁴¹. An undated inscription of Širakan records a tax called *susuni*¹⁴², which is not attested elsewhere. It is a kind of «provision-tax»¹⁴³, which could have been an *ad hoc* demand for supplies in aid of the upkeep of visiting members of the military *élite*, as was the case for other kinds of tributes¹⁴⁴.

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- 141 BARTOL'D, V.V., *Persidskaja nadpis' na stene anijskoj mečeti Manuče* [The Persian Inscription on the Wall of Manuchihr Mosque of Ani], St. Petersburg 1911 (Anijskaja serija, 5) (Repr. in: ID., *Sočinenija*, vol. 4, *Raboty po arheologii, numismatike, epigrafike i etnografii* [Essays, vol. 4, Works on Archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Ethnography], Moscow 1966, pp. 313-338). Cfr. also SINCLAIR, T., *The Economy of Armenia under the Il-Khans*, in *JSAS* 11 (2000), pp. 39-52. The Persian text had already been published by ALIŠAN, Ł., *Sisakan: telagrut'iwn Siwneac' Ašxarhi* [Siwnik': Topography of the Land of Siwnik'], Venice 1893, p. 56.
- 142 KOSTANEANC', K., ed., *Vimakan tarēgir. C'uc'ak žolovacoy arjanagrut'yanc' Hayoc'* [Annals of Inscriptions: Collection of Armenian Inscriptions], St. Petersburg 1913, p. 247.
- 143 LAZARYAN – AVETISYAN, *Mijin hayereni bařaran*, op. cit., vol. 2, Erevan 1992, p. 340 (s.v. *susuni*). Cfr. MANANDYAN, H., *K'nnakan tesut'yun hay žolovrdi patmut'yan* [Critical Survey of the History of Armenian People], vol. 3, Erevan 1952, p. 284; DASHDONDOG, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, op. cit., p. 116.
- 144 SINCLAIR, *The Economy of Armenia*, op. cit., p. 46.

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¹⁴⁵ The following bibliography is based on: THOMSON, R.W., *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, Brepols-Turnhout 1995; ID., *Supplement to A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD: Publications 1993-2005*, in *Le Muséon* 120 (2007) Nos 1-2, pp. 163-223; BARDAKJIAN, K.B., *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit 2000; GREENWOOD, T., *Armenian Sources*, in WHITBY, M., ed., *Byzantines and Crusaders in non-Greek Sources 1025-1204*, Oxford 2007 (Proceedings of the British Academy, 132).

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NŽDEHEAN, G., *Grigor Xlat'ec'woy patmakan vipasanut'ean yaweluac* [Supplement to the Historical Poem of Grigor Xlat'ec'i], in *Ararat* (1897), pp. 411-413.

HET'UM II (HAYTON II) (13th-14th c.)

TEXTS

Patmut'iwn

Hamarōt patmut'iwnn žamanakac' hawak'eal i zanazan patmut'eanc', ay-sink'n i hayoc', i frankac', i yunac', i yasoroc' greanc', ašxatut'eamb imoy, carəyis K'ristosi Astucoy Het'moy Kuṛikōsoy, i t'vakani hayoc' Ć'XE [Compendious History of the Times, Collected from Various Histories, i.d. from Armenian, European, Greek, Syriac Writings, by Me, Het'um of Koṛikos, Servant of Christ God, in the Year of the Armenians 745 (=1296)], in HAKOBYAN 1951, pp. 65-73 Introduction; pp. 74-89 Text; pp. 90-101 Notes.

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nian Het'um, of the Order of Premonstratensians. Translated into Armenian from the Latin Text by the Vicar *Vardapet* Fr. Mkrtič' Awgerean], Venice-San Lazzaro 1842 (Reprint: Venice 1951, pp. 81-90).

Poem

Otanawor barepašti t'agaworin Hayoc' Het'moy B [Versified Poem of the Pious King of Armenia Het'um II], in *Ararat* (1869) No. 2, pp. 39-42.

Poème de Héthoum II, roi d'Arménie, in *RHC I*, pp. 541-549: Introduction; pp. 550-555: Armenian text and French translation.

TRANSLATIONS

Patmut'iwn

English

Chronicle Attributed to King Het'um II, tr. by BEDROSIAN, R., New Jersey 2005 [on line: <http://rbedrosian.com/chetint.htm>].

French

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Russian

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Poem

French

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HET'UM OF KORİKOS (PATMIČ'/HISTORIAN) (13th-14th c.)

TEXT

Patmut'iwn Xronikonin zor nēwast carays K'ristosi Het'ums tēr Kurikawsoy p'oxec'i i frang groc' i t'uin Hayoc' Č'XE [Chronological History, Which I, the Humble Servant of Christ Het'um Lord of Korikos, Translated from European Writings in the Year of the Armenians 745 (=1296)], in HAKOBYAN 1956, pp. 33-36: Introduction; pp. 37-80: Text; pp. 81-93: Notes.

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KIRAKOS GANJAKEC'I (13th c.)

TEXT

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TRANSLATIONS

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French

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KOSTANDIN BARJRBERDC'I (12th-13th c.)

TEXT

XAČ'IKYAN, L., *Konstandin Barjrberdc'u xratakan t'ult'ə, arak'vac arevelyan Hayastan, 1251 t'vakanin* [Konstandin Barjrberc'i's Advisory Letter, sent to Eastern Armenia in the Year 1251], in *BM* 4 (1958), pp. 267-284.

TĖR-MIK'ELEAN, A., *Konstandin I kat'otikosi mi t'ult'n aĖ Het'um t'a-gaworē* [A Letter of Catholicos Kostandin I to King Het'um], in *Ararat* (1892), pp. 944-973; 1044-1058.

TRANSLATIONS

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MXIT'AR AYRIVANEC'I (13th c.)

TEXT

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TRANSLATIONS

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NERSĖS PALIANENC' (14th c.)

TEXT

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TRANSLATIONS

French

Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie par le connétable Sěmpad, op. cit.

Russian

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SAMUĒL ANEC'I (continuators 14th-15th c.)

TEXT

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TRANSLATIONS

French

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Latin

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Russian

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SMBAT SPARAPET (CONSTABLE) (13th c.)

TEXTS

Chronicle

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Letter

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TRANSLATIONS

Chronicle

English

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French

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Letter

English

YULE, H., *Cathay and the Way Thither*, op. cit. (cfr. *supra*), p. 162 n. 1 (Repr. in BEDROSIAN, R., *Letter of Smbat Constable to King Henry I of Cyprus*, on-line: <http://rbedrosian.com/lsmbat.htm>) (Extract).

French

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Russian

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STEP'ANOS EPISKOPOS (13th c.)

TEXT

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TRANSLATIONS

Russian

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Riassunto

LE FONTI ARMENE SUI MONGOLI

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Lo studio esamina le fonti armene scritte, sia primarie che secondarie, relative ai Mongoli nel periodo XIII-metà XIV sec. Una prima sezione del lavoro passa in rassegna le raccolte di fonti armene sui Mongoli pubblicate fino a oggi, mentre la seconda sezione è dedicata alle singole fonti, divise in letterarie – tra le quali sono incluse opere storiografiche, agiografiche, colofoni e poesia – ed epigrafiche. Per ciascuna fonte si danno informazioni sull'autore e l'epoca della sua produzione e si presentano le edizioni in lingua originale e in traduzione. Segue un'articolata bibliografia, scandita secondo le sezioni e sottosezioni dello studio, nella quale sono riportate le indicazioni relative alle fonti trattate nell'articolo (edizioni critiche e traduzioni nelle diverse lingue), oltre ai principali studi circa l'opera in questione e il suo autore.

