ACTA ORIENTALIA

ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

ADIUVANTIBUS
K. CZEGLÉDY, A. DOBROVITS, L. FEKETE, J. NÉMETH, S. TELEGDI

REDIGIT
L. LIGETI

TOMUS XIII FASCICULI 1–2

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST
1961

AN ARMENO-KIPCHAK PRINT FROM LVOV

BY

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The knowledge we have in Armenistic literature about the short lived venture of a printing house which began to operate in 1616 in Lvov, is based on the data of M. Bzhshkiants' work[1] and the colophon of the Armenian Psalter of 1616.[2]

Priest Hovhannes Karmatanents (Karmadanients), son of Murad K. of Baγes (Bitlis) and Anna, set up on the side of the Armenian monastery of Lvov "with great exertion and at large expense, in the course of one year", a printing press and "first, in the way of an experiment", printed the psalms of David (*Յաղմոս ի Դաւիթ*) the 15th of December, 1616.[3]

According to M. Bzhshkiants, Karmatanents, in addition to the Armenian Psalter, also published medical and *aγtark* (Zauberbuch) works. According to St. Aconts Kiwer (Kövér), on the other hand, "beside the psalter an *aytark* book was found in that area, including *bžškaran* (medical recipes), set up in even cruder type and coarsly printed; we believe that this also issued from the same press".[4] Unfortunately neither author tell us where he received his information from. It would appear from the words of M. Bzhshkiants that

[1] *Čanaparhordutiwn i Lehastan* [Travel into Poland]. Venice, 1830, pp. 99—100. — The data of M. Bzhshkiants are not known to G. Zarbhanalian in: *Patmutiwn hayerèn dprutean* [The History of Armenian Literature] II. Venice 1905², pp. 234—235 and idem: *Patmutiwn haykakan tpagrutean* [The History of Armenian Printing]. Venice 1895, pp. 64—67. therefore he takes the Psalter for the single product of the Lvov press.

[2] See G. Zarbhalanian: *Haykakan matenagitutiwn* [Bibliographie Arménienne]. Venice 1883. p. 598; idem: *Tpagrutiwn*, loc. cit.; Gh. Alishan: *Kamenicʿ*, pp. 171—172.; N. Akinian: *Simèon dpir*, p. 345.

[3] The booklet, which has 478 unnumbered pages (towards the end a few pages are missing) and is decorated with pictures and marginal figures, also contains, after the psalms, several prayers. — This copy was found by the vardapet H. Hovhannes Zohrapian — as an inscription in his own hand tells us — in the course of his journey in Poland in Śniatyn (Zarbhanalian: *Tpagrutiwn*, p. 64). — According to St. Aconts Kiwer, the place was Stanislawów *(Ašxarhagrutiwn čʿoričʿ masancʿ ašxarhi* [Geography of the Four Parts of the World], Part II, vol. 2. Venice 1802. p. 136).

[4] „... *girkʿ mi aytaracʿ handerj bžškaranaw*", *loc. cit.*

he did not see the book(s?) in question. A. Kiwer's specific statement about the quality of the printing, however, would imply that it came from an eyewitness. Thus, it is safer to assume as more probable that we have to hold only one *aytark*-book in evidence.

Of these only the Psalter has so far been found and even this is extant in a unique copy in the Mekhitarist library in Venice.

Beyond these facts literature knows little about the life and work of H. Karmatanents. It is for his use that Simèon dpir (scribe) in Lvov, in 1618—19, copied the translation of a collection of sermons by Gregorius Theologus (Gregory of Nazianzus: *Aṙ ors* = *Πρὸς τούς*) and its expositions *(lucmunk')*.[5]

According to J. Dashian (Tashian), a missal copied by Marutha dpir in 1645 was also made for him.[6] But the Ter (Der) Hovhannes mentioned here can hardly be identified with our Karmatanents for the owner of this missal is called in the colophon a "newly ordained priest", whereas Karmatanents, already in 1616 figures as *erec'* and in 1618 as *k'ahanay*.

The information we have about the last years of Karmatanents is in St. Roszka's Chronology: "1671. Hovhannes Karmatanents of Leopolis, suffragan bishop (i.e. auxiliary b. or vicar) administered our churches when archbishop Nicholas was in Rome. He instituted many reforms, ordered the mass-book and the ritual properly orthodox, he was in Rome and after many exertions died in Christ in the year of the Lord 1678."[7]

However, the output of the printing house in Lvov was not limited to Armenian books; it also included an Armeno-Kipchak print aswell.

The existence of this Armeno-Kipchak print has hitherto escaped the attention of the Turcologists. In a note to his article on the Armenian books in the Amsterdam library, Fr. Macler mentions a "pièce rarissime", a "mi-arménien, mi-tatar" prayer book which was printed in Lvov in 1618.[9]

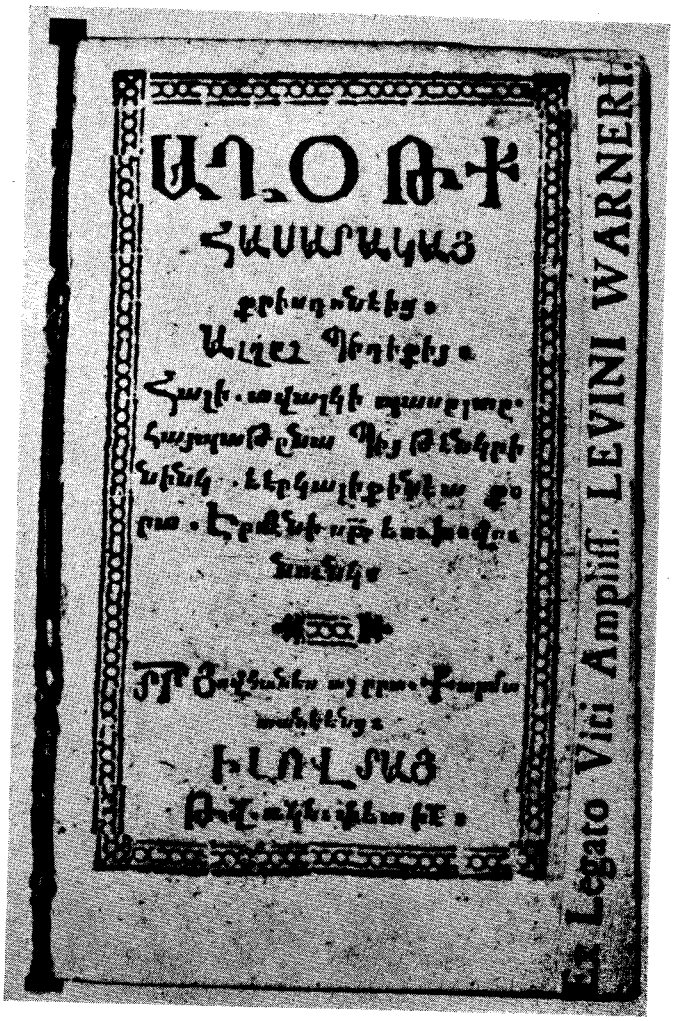
[5] See the colophons in *op. cit.* of N. Akinian, pp. 393—394. — The dating of the colophon of the *Aṙ ors* is partly blurred. J. Dashian does not concern himself with the question of the date; he assigns it to before 1700 on the basis of Karmatanents' bibliographical data *(Cat. Mechit.* Wien, p. 365). — Gh. Alishan publishes it to be read, first as 1618 and, in the second instance, as 1659 [*op. cit.* pp. 174, resp. 193). The second reconstruction (1659) is unwarranted, especially in view of the data of the "*Lucmunk'*". Cf. N. Akinian: *op. cit.* pp. XXX—XXXI.

[6] *Cat. Mechit.*, p. 366. — See the colophon: *Cat. Hofbibl.*, Wien, p. 22.

[7] Alishan: *op. cit.* p. 143. — To the problems concerning the personality of Karmatanents I shall revert an other time.

[9] *REA* VII. p. 83. — Following him A. Sarukhan: *Hollandan ew hayerə žz. — žł. darerum.* [The Netherlands and the Armenians in the 16th to 19th centuries.] Vienna 1926. p. 191. *(= Handes Amsorya* 1928. col. 453.) and H. S. Anasyan: *Haykakan matenagitut'yun e—žə dd.* [Armenian Bibliology of the 5th to 18th centuries.] Yerevan, vol. I. 1959. col. 628.

After having found access, with the zealous mediation of the Interlibrary Loan Service of the Széchényi Library and by the courtesy of the University Library of Leyden, to the microfilm of the booklet, it became clear that the work is an Armeno-Kipchak prayer book, which has only the title of the

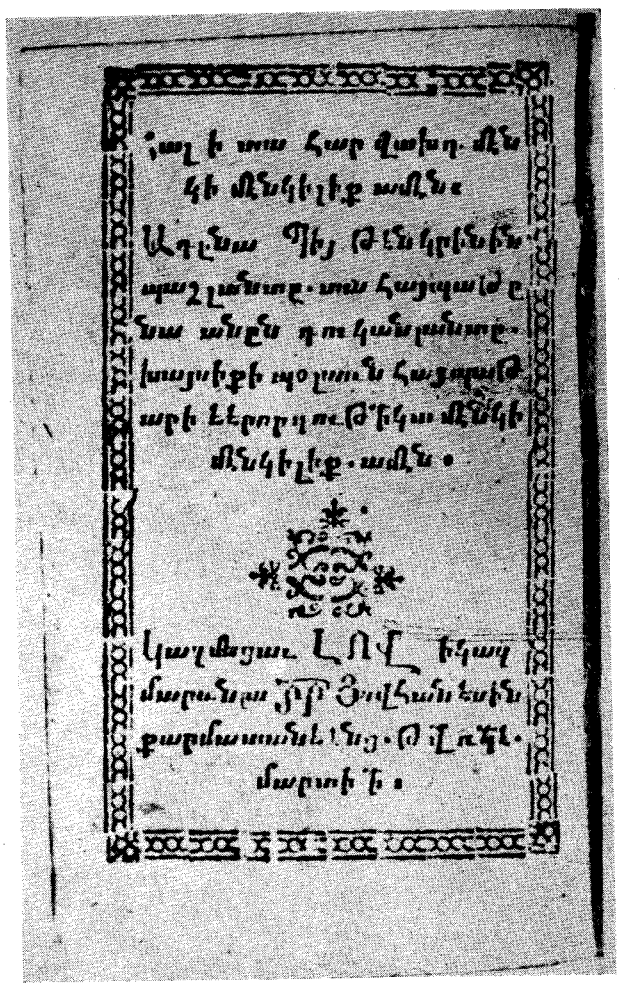


book and, in some instances, the title or opening words of psalms in the Armenian language.

Without doubt, the booklet is a translation from Armenian. Already the title page tells us that the breviary was made for the followers of the Armenian rite. Although I have not succeeded by correspondance in identifying the original of the book, it is obvious that the booklet, both as regards

its structure and the major part of its contents, agrees with the accepted breviary of the Armeno-Catholics.[10]

The Armenian origin is also borne out by the language of the translation which follows with servile accuracy the Armenian original. (This is also be-



trayed also by the translators errors, resp. the calque-s.) The liturgical terms and the biblical proper names are left in their Armenian forms.

[10] *Kargaworutiwn hasarakacʿ ałoticʿ hayastaneaycʿ ekełecʿwoy arareal S. Sahakay hayrapeti, Yovhannu Mandakunwoy ew aylocʿ srbocʿ harcʿn merocʿ*. Venice 1934. (Abbrev.: Karg.) = *Breviarium Armenium sive dispositio communium armeniacae ecclesiae precum (a Sanctis Isaaco patriarcha, Mesrobio doctore, Kiudo atque a Joanne Mantagunensi habita nunc primum in latinam linguam translatus)*. [J. Aucher]. Venice 1908. (Abbrev.: Brev.).

The Description of the Booklet

Armeno-Kipchak Prayer Book, printed in Lvov, 27th of February to the 20th of March, 1618. In-32, 168 pages. "Reliure orientale gaufrée avec deux (4) lanières de cuir en guise de fermoirs . . . Relié *ibidem* la même année."[11] Leyden, University Library, B. U. 878. G. 9. (Ex Legato Viri Ampliss. Levini Warneri).[12]

Contents

Title page: *AΓOTᶜKᶜ | hasaragacᶜ | k̔ristonèicᶜ. | Alγyš Bitiki. | Hali, avalgi basyldy, | hajbatyna Biį tengri|ning, jergalikinja ko|ra, Ermeni s[ur]p juχovunung. | — D[E]R Hovhanes ašyra, Karma|daneenc (sic!). | ILOVDA | tv[aganin] r̄kè[= 1067] pᶜed[rvar] īè[= 27].*

Preces communium[13] christianorum. Prayer Book. Now printed for the first time to the glory of the Lord God according to the rite of the Armenian Holy Church. — Der Hovhanes . . . Karmatanents. In Lvov. The 27th of February, 1618.

p. 2. Agnus vexillifer.[14]
3— 6 Ad . . . lectorem *[. . . Sarnaučiga]*.
7— 10 Reference to Pater noster. Domine si labia mea aperies, os meum canet laudes tuas. (Karg. p. 5., Brev. p. 1.)
8— 10 Psalm 3 (Karg. 6—7, Brev. 1—2).
10— 15 Ps. 87 (Karg. 7—9, Brev. 2—3).
15— 22 Ps. 102 (Karg. 9—11, Brev. 3—5).
22— 26 Ps. 142 (Karg. 11—13, Brev. 5—6).
26— 32 Praeconium invitatorium (Karg. 16—19, Brev. 8—9).
32— 37 Preces matutinae *(Aγotk̔. — Šukurlu men sendan jaratučisi jerning da koknung . . .)*.
37— 40 Ps. 6 (Karg. 338—339, Brev. 241—242).
40— 45 Ps. 31.
45— 52 Ps. 37.

[11] Fr. Macler obviously stresses this because he understands the word *kazmaran* in the colophon in the modern, general sense 'bindery', whereas as used by Karmatanents it means 'printing press'.

[12] L. Warner was Dutch ambassador to Constantinople around 1662. See Sarukhan: *op. cit.* p. 95. Cf. *Levini Warneri De rebus Turcicis, epistolae ineditae.* Lugd. Bat. 1883.

[13] catholicorum.

[14] This ancient Christian religious emblem appears also in the Lvov court where decisions were confirmed by a special seal which "bore the image of the lamb carrying the banner and above it a circular legend in Armenian". A. B. Karinyan: *Aknarkner hay parberakan mamuli patmutyan* [Survey of the history of the Armenian periodical press] I. Yerevan 1956. p. 66.

52— 59 Ps. 101.
59 Reference to Psalm 50.
60— 61 Ps. 129 (Karg. 206, Brev. 142).
62 Reference to Psalm 142 (Karg. 206—207, Brev. 142—143).
63— 64 Repleti sumus mane misericordia (Karg. 123, Brev. 91).
64— 65 Introduction to the Benedictio trium puerorum.
66— 80 Benedictio trium puerorum (ex proph. Danielis, cap. III, v. 26—45, 52—88; Karg. 124—129, Brev. 92—96).
80— 82 Canticum Mariae Dei genetricis (Luc. I, v. 46—55; Karg. 132, Brev. 98).
82— 86 Benedictio Zachariae (Luc. I, v. 68—79; Karg. 133—134, Brev. 98—99).
86— 87 Oratio Simeonis Senis (Luc. II, v. 29—32; Karg. 134, Brev. 99).
87 Reference to Psalm 50 (Karg. 152—154, Brev. 106—107).
87— 91 Ps. 148 (Karg. 156—158, Brev. 109—110).
91— 93 Ps. 149 (Karg. 158—159, Brev. 110—111).
93— 94 Ps. 150 (Karg. 159, Brev. 111).
95—100 Gloria in excelsis Deo (Karg. 160—161, Brev. 111—112).
100 Praecatio (Karg. 162, Brev. 112).
101—110 Oratio Manassae regis (Karg. 198—202, Brev. 143—146).
110—128 Preces Sancti Narsetis Clajensis (Karg. 403—409, Brev. 283—288.)
128—143 The Creed before Confession *(Tawanuti[un], χostovanutiwn alnyna).*
144—149 Ps. 50 (Karg. 245—247, Brev. 174—175).
150—152 Prayer at Sunset *(Alγyš tum zamanyna).*
152—156 Supplication towards Sunset *(Xoltχa tumga χarši).*
155 Reference to the prayer of Nerses Clajensis and the Pater noster.
155—156 Ave Maria.
156—160 Hymnus Ambrosianus (Supplication towards Sunset).
160 Reference to Psalm 6.
160—163 Bearing the Body of Our Lord *(Koturganda Bijimyznyn tenin).*
163 Reference to p. 112.
163—167 Gloria tibi, Domine (Karg. 397—398, Brev. 289—290).
167—168 Oratio.
168 Colophon (in Armenian): Made in Lvov in the printing house *(կաքսիտպան)* of Der Hovhanes Karmadanjenc. The 20th of March, 1067 [= A. D. 1618].

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But we can find references to Armeno-Kipchak prints in Armenian literature also.

In his standard work (in the chapter:. . . on the printing of Armenian books) M. Chamchian says the following: "In that time, as well as earlier,

other Armenian books had been printed at various places, among them in Poland, where a prayer book was printed in the Tatar language in Armenian characters for those who had come from the country of the Tatars and had been brought up in that language."[15] Although M. Chamchian fails to give the exact date and place of the publication in question, it would appear that this prayer book was identical with the one discussed above.

Further M. Bzhshkiants informs us that the printing house of Lvov produced also a Tatar Psalter in 1705.[16] One must be, however, cautious in assessing this information, because 1705 is too late a date as compared with the ascertained age of the Armeno-Kipchak texts known to us. I think we are entitled to suppose that M. Bzhshkiants misunderstood his source, in all probability M. Chamchian's words. In the lines immediately preceding the part quoted above Chamchian speaks of the bible published in Constantinople in 1705. It may be assumed that Bzhshkiants identified the adverbial "in that time" with 1705 (the date of the appearance of the Constantinople bible) and disregarded the appended "as well as earlier" phrase of the rather vague and loose indication of time. Thus, I think we are right to infer that his laconic reference concerns the same book, the Armeno-Kipchak prayer book of 1618.

Very noteworthy is the remark made about Armeno-Kipchak books by Christophorus Lukácsi, parochus Armenopolitanus: "Armenopoli in Bibliotheca Parochiali ostenduntur libri, armenicis characteribus sed Tatarico idiomate scripti, continentes preces quotidianas; manifesto Argumento linguam Tataricam Armenis nostris fuisse olim admodum familiarem."[17] The reference is rather problematic. Although in the 16th and 17th centuries as also in later Armenian literature, it is "Tatar" the common denomination for Armeno-Kipchak, doubt may still arise as to the above mentioned Tatar books, if they were undoubtedly Armeno-Kipchak linguistic records. That we think in the first place of Armeno-Kipchak texts, is justifiable on the grounds that we possess no information about other kind of Tatar texts written in Armenian characters in this area. At all events, it still remains a question whether Lukácsi did not use "liber" in the sense of 'liber manuscriptus, codex'; such an interpretation would seem to be suggested by "scriptus".[18] Up to now I have failed

[15] *Patmutiwn Hayoc'* [History of Armenia] Venice. vol. III. 1786. p. 664.

[16] *Op. cit.* p. 100. The dates 1705 and 1618, even in Armenian lettering, can hardly be confounded.

[17] *Historia Armenorum Transsilvaniae,* Viennae 1859. p. 15.

[18] The Szamosujvár—Gherla MSS were catalogued decades ago. (Cf. Fr. Macler: *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Transylvanie, Sept.—Oct. 1934. Manuscrits arméniens de Transylvanie.* Paris 1935. p. 20.). As I have been kindly informed by Dr. V. Inglisian, the catalogue comprising 51 Armenian MSS, which will appear shortly in the Vienna Mechitarist Tipography, contains no Tatar MS in Armenian script.

in my efforts to trace down by correspondence the "Tatar" books in question. The organ of the Transylvanian Armenians[19] also made mention (on Lukácsi's authority) of a Tatar book in the parochial library at Szamosujvár (Gherla—Armenopolis), but when I had access to the microfilm of this book, it appeared that it was a synoptic catechism in Polish and Tatar,[20] which cannot be identical with any of the books mentioned by Lukácsi, because the catechism was printed in Latin characters. I could only hope to throw some light on this problem by a personal visit to Transylvania.

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The question arises as to how to account for the remarkably short life (1616—1618?) of the printing press of Lvov whereas the demand for books in the region would have justified its further operation. This refers also to a potential market for books in the Armeno-Kipchak language for Kipchak (Tatar) continued to be the vernacular of that province for a long time after 1618.

The circumstance that Armenians who gave votive commissions for the copying of books gave their preference to hand-written works can hardly explain the early termination of the Armenian printing venture in Lvov, for the products of the printing press, through the activity of Armenian merchants, could have reached far-away places with Armenian inhabitants, as we see this through many centuries in the history of Armenian printing.

One might find some explanation in the low aesthetic standard of the printing house's products. The equipment must have been quite simple, and the types were even more primitive[21] than those of the first Armenian prints that had been made a century ago.

Still we have to seek an explanation rather in the situation of the local church: the vigorous opposition of the Armenians of Gregorian creed against the tendency for a union with Rome; the long-wearing era of the Armenian archbishop Nicol Thorossowicz, not very favourable to cultural endeavours[22], — and last but not least the personal career of Karmatanents and eventual economic difficulties which still waite for an elucidation.

Our Armeno-Kipchak print — the hitherto only extant product of this kind — is at any rate an interesting document of cultural history. We shall publish a few specimens of it in one the next numbers of our periodical.

[19] "*Armenia*" I/1. (1887) p. 9. and, mostly on basis of this information, also other weeklies edited by Transylvanian Armenians.

[20] *Katechizm z Okazyi Tatarzyna....* Lemberg 1728.

[21] Karmatanents seems to have had a flair for rapid work. The printing of the "Alγyš Bitiki" took less than a month. It may be assumed that he had his primitive characters made in Lvov. Cf. Aconts Kiwer: *loc. cit.*

[22] Arakel Tavrizhetsi, cap. XXVIII., etc.