

# ARMENIA

ART, RELIGION, AND TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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ART, RELIGION, AND TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by Helen C. Evans

At the foot of Mount Ararat on the crossroads of the eastern and western worlds, medieval Armenians dominated international trading routes that reached from Europe to China and India to Russia. As the first people to convert officially to Christianity, they commissioned and produced some of the most extraordinary religious objects of the Middle Ages. These objects—from sumptuous illuminated manuscripts to handsome carvings, liturgical furnishings, gilded reliquaries, exquisite textiles, and printed books—show the strong persistence of their own cultural identity, as well as the multicultural influences of Armenia's interactions with Romans, Byzantines, Persians, Muslims, Mongols, Ottomans, and Europeans.

This unprecedented volume, written by a team of international scholars and members of the Armenian religious community, contextualizes and celebrates the compelling works of art that define Armenian medieval culture. It features breathtaking photographs of archaeological sites and stunning churches and monasteries that help fill out this unique history. With groundbreaking essays and exquisite illustrations, *Armenia* illuminates the singular achievements of a great medieval civilization.

352 PAGES; 282 COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS;  
MAP; GLOSSARY; BIBLIOGRAPHY; INDEX













# ARMENIA

ART, RELIGION, AND TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by Helen C. Evans

THE  
MET

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK  
DISTRIBUTED BY YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN AND LONDON



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# FOREWORD

As a medievalist who has long appreciated Armenian art, I am pleased to introduce this first exhibition to explore the importance of Armenians' remarkable artistic achievements during the Middle Ages as part of the world's history of art and culture. The exhibition explores their creation, as the first Christian nation, of a unique visual identity used to link Armenian communities as they expanded west to create the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and then farther east to control the trade routes for the Safavid Persian Dynasty. It concludes with the widespread introduction of printed books in the East as Armenian trade routes spanned the globe.

Major Armenian repositories of their art and culture are the primary lenders to the exhibition with some works traveling for the first time in centuries. The Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, the Matenadaran, Yerevan, and the History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan, with the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia; the Holy See of Cilicia in Lebanon; the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro Abbey in Venice are lending exceptional works. The Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, the Alex and Marie Manougian Museum in Michigan, and the Armenian Museum of America in Massachusetts are also participating, as well as select non-Armenian institutions.

Helen C. Evans, Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator of Byzantine Art at The Met, conceived the exhibition with the aid of major experts on Armenian art. Quincy Houghton, Deputy Director for Exhibitions, and C. Griffith Mann, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge of the Medieval Department and The Cloisters, offered invaluable guidance to the process. Constance Alchermes, the exhibition's research assistant, worked tirelessly to ensure the success of the endeavor.

I especially want to thank the trustees of The Hagop Kevorkian Fund—Martin Polevoy, Michele

Tocci, and Ralph Hattox—for their lead sponsorship of the exhibition offered in honor of the Fund's former president Ralph D. Minasian. Their gift exemplifies the Fund's decades of generous support of galleries, programs, fellowships, and exhibitions at The Met. I extend my gratitude to Dr. Vartan Gregorian and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Giorgi Family Foundation, the Karagheusian Foundation, The Nazar and Artemis Nazarian Family, the Ruddock Foundation for the Arts, The Strauch Kulhanjian Family and The Paros Foundation, Aso O. Tavitian, the National Endowment for the Arts, Allston Chapman, Sandra Leitner, the Alice Lawrence Foundation, and The Bennett and Arzoomanian Family Fund. The Armenian General Benevolent Union has been an ardent advocate for this exhibition and we are grateful for its support of the educational programs and performances. I thank The Armenian Center at Columbia University for making possible both the exhibition's symposium and publication. Special appreciation is due to the Michel David-Weill Fund, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Dolores Zohrab Liebmann Fund, the Ruben Vardanyan and Veronika Zonabend Family Foundation, Joanne A. Peterson, The Tianaderrah Foundation, Elizabeth and Jean-Marie Eveillard, and Souren G. and Carol R. K. Ouzounian for their commitment to this beautiful catalogue.

This exhibition is the latest in a series organized by The Met over the last four decades that have championed the exceptional beauty of East Christian art. The earlier exhibitions focused on the breadth of the East Christian world usually through the prism of the Byzantine Empire and focused on its relations with neighboring cultures. It is a pleasure to share with our readers the groundbreaking work of outstanding scholars on a centuries-old civilization that remains a vital presence in today's world.

Daniel H. Weiss, President and CEO  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

# MESSAGE FROM HIS HOLINESS KAREKIN II

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Թիւ 766

Գոհունակութեամբ ողջունում ենք Նիւ Եորքի Մետրոպոլիտեն թանգարանում հայկական գեղարուեստական ու մշակութային արժէքներին նուիրում ջուրհանդէսի կազմակերպումը, որին իր մասնակցութիւնն է բերում նաեւ Մայր Աթոռ Սուրբ Էջմիածինը:

Մշակոյթները իրենց արտայայտած գաղափարներով մերձեցնում են ժողովուրդներին, նպաստում աշխարհում փոխադարձ հասկացողութեան ու վստահութեան ամրապնդմանը: Անտիկ դարաշրջանից սկիզբ առնող հայկական մշակոյթի հարուստ ու բազմաժանր ժառանգութիւնը՝ գեղանկարչութիւն, գրականութիւն, ճարտարապետութիւն, երաժշտութիւն եւ այլն, կրում է մեր ժողովրդի աշխարհընկալումի, հաւատքի, հայ ինքնութեան կնիքն ու դրոշմը, խաղաղ կեանքի, արդար աշխարհի ու ստեղծագործ աշխատանքի նրա իղձերն ու երազները: Ապահով ժամանակներում թէ պատմութեան բերած փորձութիւնների մէջ՝ մեր ժողովրդի զուակները չեն դադարել արարել ու ստեղծագործել՝ առաւել լուսաւոր գալիքի տեսիլքն ու յոյսն իրենց սրտերում:

Աշխարհով մէկ սփռուած մեր ժողովրդի հետ հայ մշակոյթը տարածուել ու ճանաչում է գտել նաեւ Հայաստանից դուրս: Աշխարհի բազում երկրներում այսօր էլ պահպանուել են մեր ժողովրդի շնորհալի զուակների կերտած կառոյցները, ստեղծած արուեստի գործերը, որոնք արժանի տեղ ունեն համաշխարհային մշակութային ժառանգութեան մէջ:

Մենք մեծապէս ուրախ ենք, որ Նիւ Եորքի հանրահռչակ Մետրոպոլիտեն թանգարանի մշակոյթի ու արուեստի պատկառելի հաւաքածուի կողքին ցուցադրուելու են նաեւ հայ մշակոյթի արժէքաւոր գործերը: Այս գովարժան նախաձեռնութիւնը հնարաւորութիւն պիտի տայ թանգարանի այցելուներին՝ բացայայտելու մեր ժողովրդի անցեալը, ծանօթանալու նրա հոգու ու մտքի արարումներին:

Հայրապետական Մեր օրհնութիւնն ու բարձր գնահատանքն ենք յղում Մետրոպոլիտեն թանգարանի ղեկավարութեանը, Յուցահանդէսի պատասխանատու Դոկտ. Հելեն Իվընսին, կազմակերպիչներին ու բոլոր աջակիցներին՝ մաղթելով Ամենախնամ Բարձրեալի զօրակցութիւնը:

Առ Աստուած աղօթքով բարի ընթացք ու յաջողութիւններ ենք մաղթում ցուցահանդէսին:

Օրհնութեամբ՝

Գարեգին Բ

ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

# MESSAGE FROM HIS HOLINESS KAREKIN II

## PONTIFICAL BLESSING

No. 766

With gratitude we salute this exhibit dedicated to Armenian artistic and cultural treasures at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, an exhibit in which the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin is also represented.

The ideas expressed by various cultures draw people closer to one another and contribute to the strengthening of mutual appreciation and trust in the world. The rich and varied legacy of Armenian culture, beginning from ancient times, and consisting of art, literature, architecture, music, and the like, bears the stamp and seal of our people's understanding of the world, our faith and the Armenian identity, as well as their aspirations and dreams for a peaceful life, a just world, and their creative achievements. During both peaceful and turbulent times in our history, our people have never ceased to build and create, always keeping the vision and hope of a brighter future in their hearts.

The culture of the Armenian people can be found wherever they have settled throughout the world, and

it has been recognized outside Armenia. Today in many nations of the world one can find buildings and works of art created by our gifted people, which hold a worthy place in the cultural legacy of the world.

We are very happy that valuable works of Armenian culture will be displayed alongside the venerable collection of New York's renowned Metropolitan Museum. This praiseworthy initiative will provide museum visitors with the opportunity to learn about our people's past and introduce them to the creations of the Armenian spirit and mind.

We convey our Pontifical blessings and highest appreciation to the leadership of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, to the exhibit's curator, Dr. Helen C. Evans, and to the organizers and collaborators, wishing them the succor of the all provident and most high God.

With prayers unto God, we extend our best wishes for the success of the exhibition.

With blessings,  
Karekin II  
Catholicos of All Armenians





# SPONSOR'S STATEMENT

It is with pleasure that The Hagop Kevorkian Fund continues its support of Near and Middle Eastern Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art by sponsoring "Armenia!" The history of the Armenian people since their migration to their homeland east of Anatolia before the sixth century BC has been often turbulent and occasionally deeply tragic. This exhibition will, we hope, serve to give the public an appreciation of the rich and nuanced culture that grew out of that experience, particularly as it reflected an artistic tradition closely tied to the Christian faith that they embraced in the early fourth century.

Our sponsorship of this exhibition is particularly fitting. Hagop Kevorkian, the eponymous founder of the Fund, was an Armenian born in the Ottoman town of Kayseri in 1872. He was an archaeologist, a collector, and a patron of the arts, whose relationship with The Met began in the early twentieth century and continued until his death in 1962.

Ralph D. Minasian, who served for many years as President of the Fund until his passing in November 2017, was born in New York of Armenian parents in 1927. He was associated with the Fund almost since its inception; he was a friend of and advisor to Mr. Kevorkian and, in the decades after the latter's death, served the Fund in a variety of capacities. He always remained one of the staunchest advocates for the Fund's continued support of The Met. This latest exhibition was of particular interest to him, and he continued to promote it until his death. We are proud to dedicate our support of this landmark show to his memory.

Martin Polevoy  
Michele Tocci  
Ralph Hattox  
The Trustees of  
The Hagop Kevorkian Fund







# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This exhibition and catalogue are the result of years of development and collaboration. Many must be thanked for helping to make the art and culture of the Armenian people accessible to all. We shall attempt, but certainly fail, to acknowledge everyone whose assistance has brought this landmark project to The Met.

The exhibition would not be possible without the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia. We thank Minister of Culture Lilit Makunts and her predecessors Armen Amiryan and Hasmik Poghosyan for their encouragement over the years. In Armenia, appreciation is also due to Vigen Sargsyan, former Minister of Defense, who encouraged the project at its inception, and to the staff of the Ministry of Culture, who have facilitated our efforts, including Deputy Ministers Arev Samuelyan and Nerses Ter-Vardanyan, as well as Luiza Arakelyan and Artashes Arkakyan. Ambassador to the United Nations Zohrab Mnatsakanyan and Ambassador to the United States Grigor Hovhannissian have been most generous in their interest in the exhibition, as has been Richard M. Mills, the American ambassador to Armenia.

Three great institutions in Armenia have shared exceptional works from their collections. His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, approved loans from the museums, treasury, and even the audience chamber of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin. At the Holy See, we also thank His Eminence Archbishop Natan Hovhannissian for his support of the project. Father Asoghik Karapetian, Director of Etchmiadzin's museums and archives, is to be applauded for all his efforts on the exhibition's behalf, assisted by Sona Vardanyan. We extend deep gratitude to His Eminence Archbishop Khajag Barsamian of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Church of America for all he has done to encourage the exhibition and to foster the collaboration between the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin and The Met. The History Museum

of Armenia in Yerevan has lent monumental works of art that suggest the grandeur of Armenia's exceptional churches. We are indebted to the generosity of Director Grigor Grigoryan and appreciate the information provided by Anelka Grigoryan, director emerita, and Iveta Mkrtchyan and Aida Frunjyan for the catalogue entries. The "Matenadaran" Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, and its staff under Director Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan have been vital partners to the exhibition since its inception, and we offer thanks to Shushanik Khachikyan, Ara Khzmalyan, Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan, and Sona Baloyan for their assistance.

The exhibition is enriched by works from three major repositories of Armenian culture outside of the Republic of Armenia. His Holiness Aram I, Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon, approved significant loans from their collections. We appreciate the assistance provided by the Very Reverend Father Housig Mardirossian, and the Very Reverend Father Barouyr Shermnezian, Director, the Cilician Museum, in selecting the loans and all that Chancellor Khatchig Dedeyan has done to make their transport to the United States possible. His Eminence Archbishop Oshagan Choloyan, prelate of the Eastern Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America, is to be especially thanked for his support and encouragement, along with Iris Papazian. The loans from the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem were generously facilitated through the good graces of Patriarch Nourhan Manoukian with the approval of the Synod of the Holy Fathers and the support of Father Samuel. In Venice, the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation graciously lent from the Library of San Lazzaro Abbey through the backing of His Excellency the Most Reverend Archbishop Levon Boghos Zekiyan, Abbot General, and his predecessor Father Elia Kilaghbian with the support of the Synod of Holy Fathers. Particular appreciation

is owed to Father Serop Jamourlian, Alberto Peratoner, and Raffi Tchakerian for their help with the loans.

Additional critical support for the exhibition has come from many countries. In Canada, David Thomson's interest and that of David Franklin, curator of his collection, were vital to the exhibition. In Italy at the Biblioteca Universitaria Bologna, we thank Director Mirko Degli Esposti and Rita De Tata, former director, as well as Giacomo Nerozzi, Sara Mantovani, Marinella Marvelli, and Francesca Tancini. In Portugal, Penelope Curtis, Director of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum and her staff, especially Jose Rodrigues and Razmik Panossian, have lent compelling works from the museum's Armenian collection.

In the United Kingdom, at the British Library, London, we are grateful to Roly Keating, Andrea Clarke, Scot McKendrick, Barbara O'Connor, and Lesley Thomas. In London, Sir Paul Ruddock has been a generous advocate for the exhibition since its conception. Sam Fogg, another early supporter, is to be greatly thanked as are Nikita Loring and Catherine de Meillac, who ably supported Paul's and Sam's efforts. At the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, we appreciate the aid of Alexander Devine, Anne McLaughlin, and Stephen Archer. At the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, we thank Jan Wilkinson and Mark Furness. In Scotland, at University of Edinburgh's Library, Jeremy Upton, Joseph Marshall, and Jill Forrest, have been most generous in their support.

The exhibition benefited from many generous collaborators in America, including in New York, the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America (Eastern). The Very Reverend Father Daniel Findikyan, Primate of the Diocese, has encouraged the exhibition from the very beginning, in addition to His Eminence Archbishop Khajag Barsamian, graciously assisted by Mary Berberian. Colin Bailey, Director, Morgan Library and Museum, with the encouragement of Roger Wieck, has lent compelling works as have William P. Kelly, Andrew W. Mellon Director of the Research Libraries, Deborah Straussman, and Sarah Boyd of the New York Public Library.

Also in the New York City area, many individuals have been key to the exhibition's success: Karekin Arzoomanian, Nvair Beylerian, Nina Garsoïan, Raffy and Victoria Shoghag Hovanessian, Irina Lazarian, Thomas F. Mathews, Emily Rafferty, Karen Bedrosian Richardson, Arax Simsarian, Levon Tatevossian, and Elyse Topalian. Aso O. Tavitian and Isabella Metzger have been most important to our endeavor with the support of Laura Fitzpatrick, Robert H. Jones, and Kelly Pask. Special appreciation is due to the members of the Armenian General Benevolent Union for their assistance: Berge Setrakian, Ani Manoukian, Karen Papazian, Natalie Gabrelian, and Lusiné Kerobyan. We also thank the board of The Armenian Center at Columbia University, under Chair Mark Albert Momjian and Vice Chair Nicole Vartanian, for its significant interest in the exhibition.

At the Armenian Museum of America, Watertown, Massachusetts, Berj Chekijian, former Executive Director, must be thanked for his efforts on our behalf along with Michele M. Kolligian, President of the Board of Trustees; Jennifer Liston Munson, Executive Director; Gary Lind-Sinanian; and Zoe Quinn. Donald and Barbara Tellalian have also been most supportive of our goals. We are grateful to several colleagues in Los Angeles: at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Timothy Potts, Director, and Beth Morrison; at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Michael Govan, Director, and Linda Komaroff; at the Charles E. Young Research Library, Library Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles, Genie Guerard, Hannah Moshier, Octavio Olvera, and Chela Metzger. Appreciation must also be offered to Salpi Ghazarian, Director of the USC Institute of Armenian Studies; Maggie Mangassarian-Goschin, Vice Chairwoman (Director) of the Ararat-Eskijian Museum in Mission Hills, California; Lori Muncherian, board member of the AGBU; and Joan Agajanian Quinn and Amanda Quinn Olivar for their encouragement of the exhibition. The Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum in Southfield, Michigan, lent generously through Director Lucy Ardash. Robert McCarthy is also to be thanked for his interest in Armenian art.

At The Met, we appreciate the encouragement provided by Daniel H. Weiss, President and Chief Executive Officer; Max Hollein, Director; Thomas P. Campbell, former Director; Quincy Houghton, Deputy Director for Exhibitions, and her predecessor Jennifer Russell, Associate Director for Exhibitions. C. Griffith Mann, Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, has been unstinting in his support of the exhibition. All in the Medieval Department are also to be thanked for their efforts: Barbara D. Boehm, Paul and Jill Ruddock Senior Curator, Melanie Holcomb, Andrea Achi, Christine E. Brennan, R. Theo Margelony, Christina Alphonso, Michael K. Carter, Thomas C. Vinton, Andrew Winslow, and Hannah Korn.

Numerous departments at The Met assisted with this endeavor. The Antonio Ratti Textile Center: Melinda Watt, Eva H. DeAngelis-Glasser, and Eva L. Labson. Asian Art: Maxwell K. Hearn, Douglas Dillon Chairman, and Hwai-ling Yeh-Lewis. Communications and Marketing: Kenneth Weine, Lesley Alpert-Schuldenfrei, Christopher P. Gorman, Jennifer Oetting, and Egle Zygas. Design: Emile Molin, Chelsea Amato, Clint Coller, Michael Langley, Mortimer Lebigre, Richard Lichte, and Anna Rieger. Counsel's Office: Sharon Cott, Amy Desmond Lamberti, and Nicole Sussmane. Digital: Loic Tallon, Melissa Bell, Paul Caro, Skyla Choi, Michael Cirigliano II, Nina Diamond, Kate Farrell, Ashley J. Hall, Sumi Hansen, Lauren Nemroff, Robin Schwalb, and Jessica Colleen Williams. Education: Sandra Jackson-Dumont, Frederick P. and Sandra P. Rose Chairman of Education, Anastasiya Gutnik, Ann Meisinger, Maricelle Robles, Leslie A. Tait, Emma Wegner, and Nancy Wu. Drawings and Prints: Nadine M. Orenstein, Drue Heinz Curator in Charge, Mark McDonald, Freyda Spira, and Elizabeth Zanis. Executive Office: Martha Deese, Rachel Ferrante, Gillian Fruh, and Christine D. McDermott. Institutional Advancement: Clyde B. Jones III, Daphne B. Birdsey,

Jennifer Brown, Elizabeth A. Burke, Evelin M. Chabot, Jason Herrick, and John L. Wielk. Islamic Art: Sheila Canby, Patti Cadby Birch Curator in Charge, Navina Najat Haidar, and Annick Des Roches. Live Arts: Limor Tomer and Erin Flannery. Objects Conservation: Lisa Pilosi, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Mechthild Baumeister, Warren L. Bennett, Matthew Cumbie, Jean-François de Lapérouse, Janis Mandrus, Frederick J. Sager, and especially Jack Soultanian, Jr. Paper Conservation: Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Beth Brideau, and Yana van Dyke. Publications and Editorial: Mark Polizzotti, Peter Antony, Sophia Bruneau, Elizabeth De Mase, Gwen Roginsky, Michael Sittenfeld, and Robert Weisberg. Registrar's Office: Aileen Chuk and Meryl Cohen. Textile Conservation: Janina Poskrobko and Kathrin Colburn. Thomas J. Watson Library: Kenneth Soehner, Arthur K. Watson Chief Librarian, Robyn Fleming, Simen Kot, Patrick J. Raftery, Jessica Ranne, Deborah Vincelli, and Annalise Welte.

All of the catalogue authors (p. 20) are to be thanked for their instrumental advice and insights. Special appreciation must be given to Anne Rebecca Blood, Senior Editor; Lauren Knighton, Production Manager; Laura Lindgren, book designer; Josephine Rodriguez-Massop, Image Acquisition Specialist; Jayne Kuchna, bibliographer; Hovannes Khosdeghian, translator; and Adrian Kitzinger, map maker, for producing such an impressive catalogue. Hrair Hawk Khatcherian and his assistant Lilit Khachatryan took the outstanding photography. Lucia Waldschütz and Nathan Goldenberg provided early assistance, and later Wilder Ledes. Lucas Lande's efforts on the maps are much appreciated.

We are ever grateful for the efforts of all these and more who have worked so hard to make this exhibition possible.

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## NOTE TO THE READER

Transliterations of Armenian words follow as far as possible the Library of Congress system. For the sake of clarity, several diacritical signs are not utilized. The names of cities and sites have changed over time. This volume employs as far as possible the names in use during the medieval period, with modern place names

included in the index. The dimensions are given in the following sequence: height precedes width precedes depth. When necessary, the abbreviations H. (height), L. (length), W. (width), D. (depth), and Diam. (diameter) are given for clarity.







ATLANTIC OCEAN

Jamestown

Saint Albans

London

Amsterdam

Paris

Kraków

L'vov

Venice

Bologna

Genoa

Marseille

Livorno

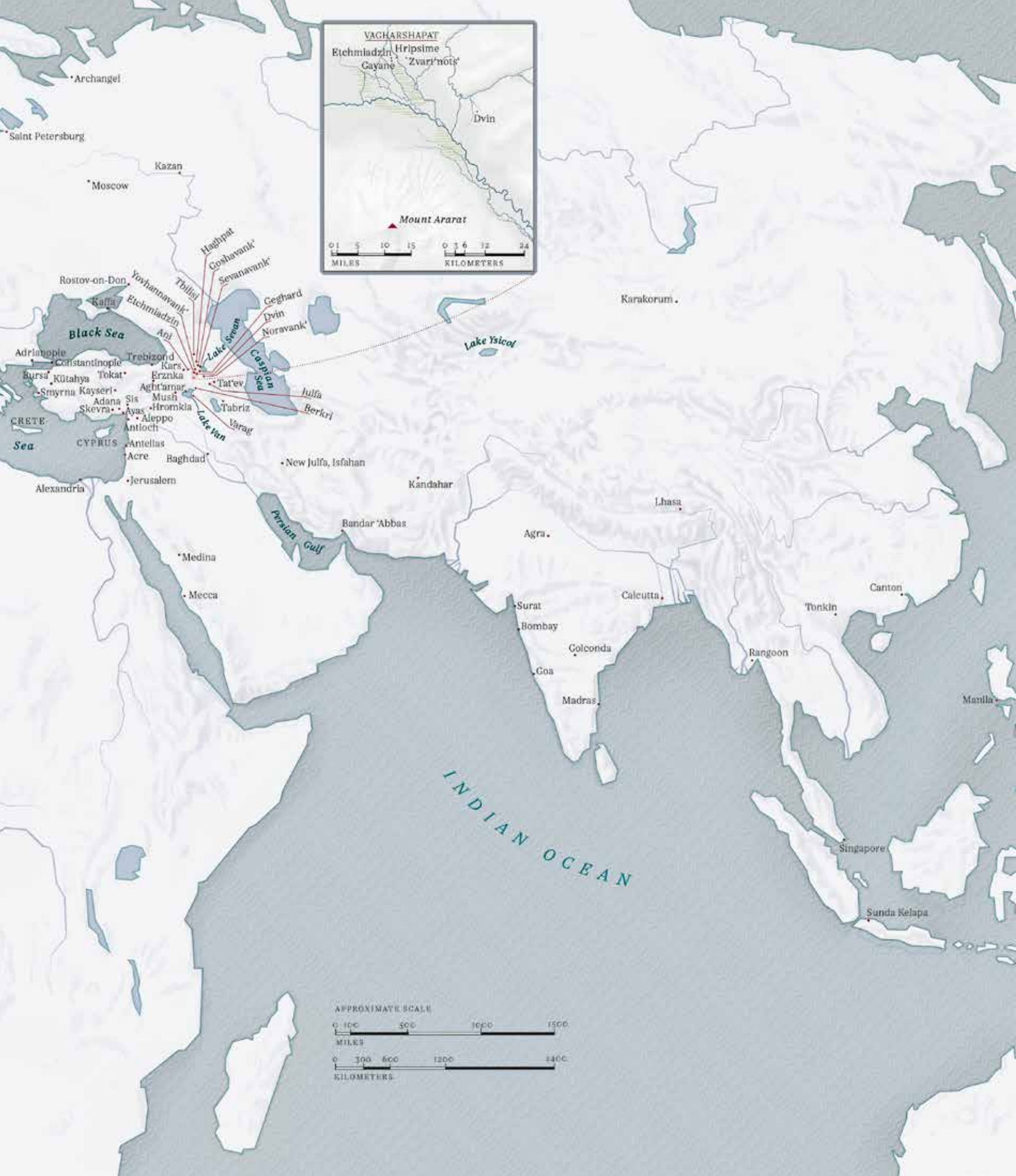
Perugia

Rome

Mediterranean

Carabucco

PACIFIC OCEAN













# ARMENIANS AND THEIR MIDDLE AGE

HELEN C. EVANS

Armenian medieval art, an important, not yet adequately recognized, component of the history of Christian art, reflects the conversion and loyalty to Christianity of a people on the far eastern border of the traditional Western world and their vital impact on international trade. The Armenian homeland is at the foot of Mount Ararat, the site where Noah's Ark is traditionally believed to have landed after the Great Flood. Movses Khorenats'i (410–490), one of Armenia's leading medieval Armenian historians, described them as the descendants of Hayk, whose ancestor was Noah.<sup>1</sup> A thirteenth-century map drawn in England based on the advice of traveling Armenian monks affirms their self-identification as being the people of the ark (cat. 1). Christianity arrived in Armenia at an early date. Two of the apostles of Christ—Saints Thaddeus and Bartholomew—are said to have followed routes to the north to Armenian lands seeking converts in the first century AD.<sup>2</sup> In the early fourth century, the Armenian king Tiridates the Great (r. 287–ca. 330) and his people converted to Christianity, making the Armenians, as Pope Francis has recognized, the first Christian nation.<sup>3</sup>

Over the following medieval centuries of their complicated history, Armenians developed outstanding traditions of art and culture based on their identification as a unique Christian people. In the late sixteenth century,

Fig. 1. Detail of "Commentary on the Psalms" (cat. 74)



Fig. 2. Khor Virap monastery with one of the peaks of Mount Ararat in the distance

the medieval era ended with the widespread arrival of books printed in Armenian in their homeland. During the intervening centuries, as throughout their history, Armenians created powerful realms and experienced vast devastation. Armenians served other states, often as soldiers and, at times, as rulers. Yet, while interacting with others, they retained their own identity. As a version of a popular text by the twentieth-century Armenian American author William Saroyan says, “when two of them [Armenians] meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a New Armenia.”<sup>4</sup>

Long before the birth of Christ and throughout the medieval era, Armenian art and culture were profoundly affected by the position of their homeland on the border between the Roman, then Byzantine,

and Ottoman Empires to their west and the Persian Parthian, Sasanian, and Safavid Empires to their east. Trade routes running through Armenian lands made them valuable to all the huge states on their borders and over time linked the Armenians with peoples extending from China and India to Western Europe and from Egypt and the Holy Land to Russia.

While Christianity spread, the Roman and Persian Empires fought and divided the Armenian lands between them. With much of Armenia frequently under Persian control and the dominant families often of partially Parthian Persian descent, the Armenians developed a social structure arranged around elite, aristocratic families, with *naxarars* (feudal lords) as their heads, who lived on fortified lands, not in cities.<sup>5</sup> Competition between these families and the kingdoms they established during the medieval centuries promoted the building of churches and monasteries as well as the production of art and literature.

In the early fourth century, King Tiridates the Great reigned in an Armenia then largely under Roman control. The fifth-century Armenian historian Agat’angeghos in his *History of the Armenians*, a text widely known by medieval Armenians, described Tiridates’s conversion by Saint Gregory the Illuminator (257–331), a Christian member of a rival family whom the king had earlier imprisoned at a site later marked by the monastery of Khor Virap, which stands in the shadows of Mount Ararat (fig. 2). Tiridates had become entranced by Hripsime, one of a group of young nuns who had come to Armenia led by the future Saint Gayane. When Hripsime spurned his overtures, Tiridates had her, along with many of her companions, tortured and killed. As a result of his action, the king became like a wild boar. At his sister’s urging, the king summoned Saint Gregory, who converted and healed him as depicted in carvings and manuscript illuminations (cats. 4, 94). Overjoyed at his transformation, Tiridates then had his people converted and placed Saint Gregory at the head of the newly founded Armenian Church.<sup>6</sup> As the conversions occurred long before the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 380, the Armenian

action was impressive recognition of the growing authority of the faith.

Most Armenians converting to Christianity practiced local religions, like the worship of Anahit or Zoroastrianism, the state religion of Persia, while a few venerated the classical gods of Rome.<sup>7</sup> To aid the spread of Christianity among his non-Greek-speaking people, in 405 Mesrop Mashtots' (d. 440) developed an Armenian alphabet drawn from Greek and Syriac sources for the translation of Christian texts that is still in use today (see Merian, p. 42). At the Battle of Avarayr in 450/51, as depicted in an illumination in a hymnal from the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan) (cat. 93), the Armenian *naxarar* general, and later saint, Vardan Mamikonian (381–451) fought the Persians to prevent his people's forced conversion to Zoroastrianism. While he was killed and the battle lost, the Persians recognized the Armenians' right to be Christians.<sup>8</sup> An exceptional visual response to this success is found in one of the earliest surviving Armenian illuminations. Here the Magi coming to adore the Christ Child are dressed as Zoroastrian priest-kings who acknowledge the supremacy of the Armenian faith through their offerings to Christ (fig. 3).<sup>9</sup>

In the early centuries of Armenia's medieval era, many exceptional churches were erected (see Maranci, p. 46). According to Agat'angeghos, Christ instructed Saint Gregory and King Tiridates where to build the first official church by throwing a golden hammer at what is thought to be the site of Etchmiadzin, the Holy See of the Armenian Church (cat. 114).<sup>10</sup> Finds at the ruins of the powerful city of Dvin, founded by the Armenian Arsacid dynasty, indicate the sophistication of its many churches (see Maranci, p. 51, and cats. 7–9). Church councils held there in 506 and later helped develop the autocephalous Armenian Church that is vibrantly alive today.<sup>11</sup> Until the Mongol destruction of the site in the fourteenth century, Dvin was one of the largest cities east of Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> Its role as a major stop on the trade routes from China across Central Asia to Constantinople is seen in the surviving elaborate jewelry found in the region (see Ballian, p. 56, and cats. 10–15). As Armenians expanded across



Fig. 3. "Adoration of the Magi," from the Etchmiadzin Gospels. Greater Armenia, 7th century (?). Tempera and ink on parchment, 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (35 × 28 cm). "Matenadaran" Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 2374)

the Anatolian plain, they established other cities, the size of which reflected their importance on the trade routes. Most imposing was Ani, which became the capital of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom in 961 under King Ashot III (r. 952/53–977). Its great wall and "1001" churches stand even now in ruins as evidence of its former glory as a vital hub on trade routes from the East to Constantinople (see Maranci, p. 66, and cats. 19, 20).

For Greater Armenia, a new external threat appeared in the seventh century with the invasion of Muslim forces from Mecca and Medina. Dvin was attacked in 640, with the region soon falling to Muslim overlords. Over the next centuries, Dvin, Ani, and other



Fig. 4. Monastery of Tat'ev, Siwnik', 9th–13th century

sites were under the rule of an overlapping sequence of Muslim states—the Umayyads (ca. 640–ca. 750), Abbasids (ca. 750–ca. 1040), and Seljuks (ca. 1040–ca. 1230s). These states generally required tribute taxes from the Armenians, but in return they allowed the Armenians the freedom to rule themselves.

In the thirteenth century, the Mongols advanced from their eastern homeland in Siberia, sweeping with their almost invincible armies west into Hungary, north into Russia, and south across China (see Goshgarian, p. 81). A khachkar (memorial cross stone) is one of the few remains from Lori Berd, an Armenian fortress on the border with Georgia that fell in 1238 (cat. 28).

The devastation caused by the Mongols is recorded in the colophons of many manuscripts of the period.<sup>13</sup> Some Armenians, however, prospered as allies of, and soldiers and merchants for, the Mongols, including the Zakarian, Orbelian, and Proshian families. They continued or extended their existing trade routes into China, now controlled by the Mongols.<sup>14</sup> Examples of Proshian success are seen at the church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astuatsatsin) with its relief carving of Amir Hasan (cat. 35) and in the exquisite, richly gilded reliquary presented by his father (cat. 36).

Numerous scriptoria flourished in Greater Armenia under the Mongols during the thirteenth and



fourteenth centuries (see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, p. 110). Among the most important was that at the monastery of Gladzor, a center of learning so famed that Matt'eos Cilikec'i in 1284 described it as a "second Athens."<sup>15</sup> There under such leaders as Nerses Mshets'i (d. 1284) and Esayi Nch'ets'i (d. 1338), major religious and secular texts were translated, important theological positions were advanced, and many manuscripts were produced (cats. 40, 43–45), one of which is recorded as having traveled to Armenians living south in Tabriz by 1444 (cats. 41, 42). While the exact site of Gladzor is not certain, a similar monastic center of learning remains at Tat'ev (fig. 4); the writings by its prelate Gregory of

Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i; 1346–1409/10) continue to be revered today (cat. 74; fig. 1).

Armenian art in these centuries both influenced and was influenced by the artistic traditions of their overlords and those with whom they came into contact along the trade routes. Armenian illuminations provided models for images developing in the Islamic world, including religious narratives (cats. 48, 49). Similar geometric patterns appeared in Islamic and Armenian art (cat. 46), and Muslim objects typical of the areas where Armenians lived became popular in Armenian art as seen in jewelry and ceramics (see Yalman, p. 122, and cat. 17). Some ceramic designs for



Fig. 5. View from the fortifications of Sis across the Cilician plain

works created and/or used by Armenians originated from as far away as China (cat. 18).

Well before the age of Gladzor, Armenians moved into Cilicia, a territory on the border between Byzantium and the Syrian lands lost to Islam in the seventh century, where the Armenians later established an independent kingdom (see Evans, p. 129). They controlled access to the East through their port at Ayas and their mountain fortresses near the Cilician Gates in the Taurus Mountain range separating the coast from Anatolia where many Armenians lived (fig. 5). In 1271, Marco Polo would be among those traveling through Ayas on his way to China.<sup>16</sup>

Armenians had long taken part in Roman affairs before the capital moved to Constantinople (New Rome) in 330. The Roman state ruling from that city would be known as Byzantium (see Evans, p. 134). Over the years, Armenians acquired high social and political status in the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–640) was the son of an Armenian who rose to power as a high-ranking general

in the Byzantine army.<sup>17</sup> During his reign, Heraclius used Armenian lands to block the advance of the Arab armies of early Islam. A carving on the Armenian church at Mren, possibly built at his expense in an effort to forge alliances with local Armenian rulers, records his success in saving the True Cross from the Persians in 630.<sup>18</sup> In 867 Basil I (r. 867–886), whose father was also Armenian, established a long-lived Byzantine dynasty whose trade routes east to the silks of China were through Armenian lands. While aware of his Armenian heritage, Basil II (r. 976–1025) expanded his lands and fortified his eastern frontier by moving many Armenians considered too accommodating to Islamic invaders west into Byzantine territories in the hope that only populations loyal to the empire would remain on the eastern frontier. One of the last Armenian kingdoms to be absorbed by the Byzantine state was that of Kars in 1054.<sup>19</sup>

In response to the turmoil of the Seljuk advance in the eleventh century, the Armenian catholicosate moved frequently, ultimately settling in about 1151 at Hromkla,

a town built on the Euphrates River at the site of an ancient Roman fort. Hromkla would be closely allied with the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, especially through connections between the clergy of Hromkla and the kingdom's Hetumid family. The patriarchate established at Hromkla became a great intellectual center with a renowned scriptorium. In the mid-thirteenth century, under the patronage of Catholicos Konstandin I, the illuminator T'oros Roslin (act. 1256–1268) produced manuscripts there in a new, more naturalistic style with iconographic innovations that influenced Armenian art throughout the medieval era (cats. 57–59).

Catholicos Gregory III Pahlavuni (r. 1113–1166), a descendant of Gregory the Illuminator, had acquired Hromkla from the Armenian widow of Jocelyn de Courtney, count of Edessa, who came to the region on the First Crusade (1095–1099), which brought Western Europeans intent upon retaking Jerusalem into contact with Armenians.<sup>20</sup> As Crusader states were established along the Mediterranean coast, many rulers intermarried with the Armenian elite. The mother of Melisende, queen of Jerusalem (1105–1161), was an Armenian from Edessa.<sup>21</sup> The mother of the last ruler of Tripoli, Bohemond VII (1261–1287), was Sybille (1240–1290), the daughter of Hetum I (r. 1226–1270), king of Cilicia.<sup>22</sup>

Through alliances with the Crusaders, Levon the Great (r. 1198/99–1219), a member of the politically dominant Rupenid family, became king of Cilicia in 1198/99. To gain the crown, Levon forced the Armenian Church to accept union, at least in name, with Rome. Soon afterward the Byzantine emperor also recognized him as king of an independent kingdom.<sup>23</sup> King Levon's heir, his young daughter Zabel (r. 1219–1252), first married the prince of Antioch. After her first husband was deposed, her regent, Baron Konstantine of Bardzrberd (d. 1263), a member of a cadet branch of the rival Hetumid family, then forced her to marry his even younger son Hetum I in 1226. Together they ruled Cilicia under the baron's oversight until Zabel's death, when the Hetumid family became the lords of the land.<sup>24</sup>

At major sites in Cilicia, including Skevra, the scriptorium at the Hetumid family's primary fortress at Lambron, and later at the capital Sis, elaborate,

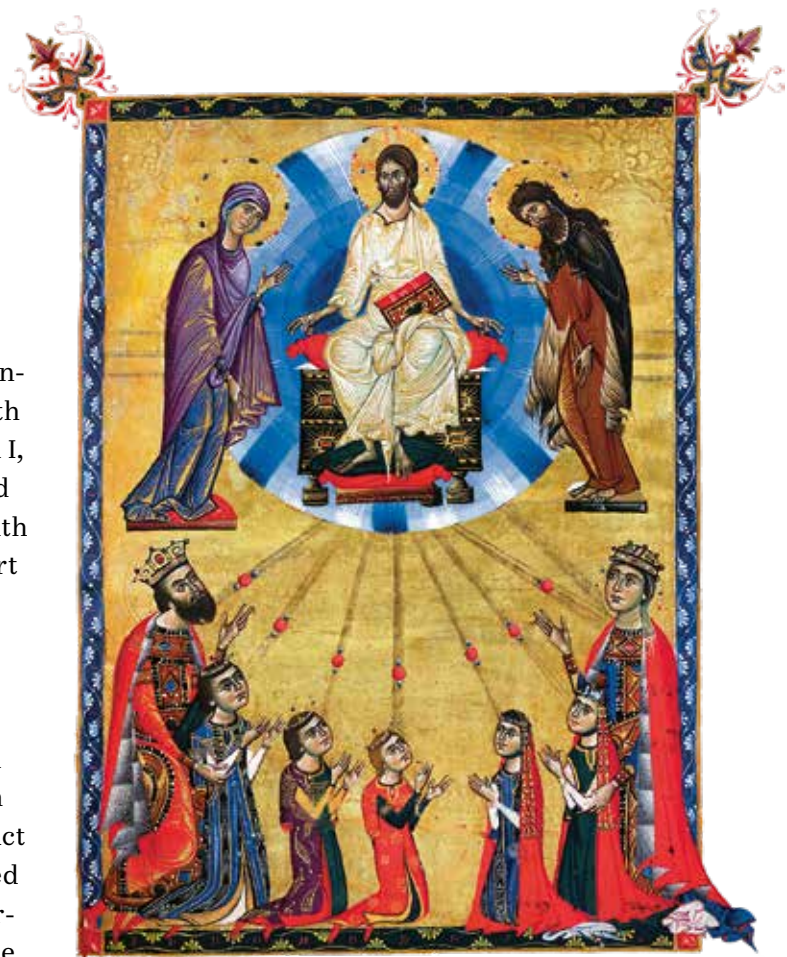


Fig. 6. "King Levon II and the Royal Family with the Deesis," from the Queen Keran Gospel book. Sis, 1272. Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34.5 × 26 × 10 cm). Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 2563, fol. 380)

richly gilded manuscripts were produced that reflected the wealth and prestige of the Cilician kingdom based on its alliances with the most powerful states in the East and the West (for Skevra, see Evans, p. 138, and cats. 51, 52; for Sis, cats. 63–67). Most significantly, the Hetumid rulers of Cilicia were allies of King Louis IX of France (r. 1226–1270), whom King Hetum I assisted while he was in the East from 1250 to 1254. Cilicia was also the first Christian state to secure a peace treaty with the Mongols, who threatened all of Europe. The Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of Latin rulers in Constantinople from 1204 to 1261 shattered the authority of the Byzantine Empire. At this time, the Cilician Armenians aspired through their alliances and control of trade routes to be the new Christian power in the East, as the Byzantine imperial garb of King Levon II and his wife Queen Keran in a Gospel book of 1272 demonstrates (fig. 6).



The successful advance of the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1382) against the Mongols during the second half of the thirteenth century slowly shattered the Cilician aspirations to power. Yet, even as the headquarters of the Armenian Church at Hromkla was forced to move to Sis in 1293, elegant manuscripts continued to be made in Cilicia into the fourteenth century by its last great artist, Sargis Pidzak (act. 1307–1354; cats. 68, 69).<sup>25</sup> During that time Cilician Armenians also increasingly moved farther west for safety on the trade routes into Crimea and Italy (see Rydzkowska-Kozak, p. 164, and cats. 70–73). As a result of Cilician royal marriages with the Lusignans, a French family that ruled Cyprus, the last Cilician king, Levon V (1342–1393), was buried with the French royal family at Saint Denis in Paris.<sup>26</sup> Other Armenians returned to their homeland and monasteries like Gladzor.

Timur, often called Tamerlane (1336–1405), invaded Armenia in about 1400 in his quest to restore the lands conquered by the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. Even in the period of devastation that followed, Armenians continued to establish and/or maintain several self-governing regions, especially in the areas of Siwnik', Van, and Erznka, where cultural life flourished under the protection of the great monasteries (see Maranci, pp. 178, 183, and cats. 77–81).<sup>27</sup> The monasteries and the families that supported them used their collective power to move the catholicosate to Etchmiadzin in 1441, while Sis, the catholicosate from 1293 to 1441, retained its own head and authority. In the region of Lake Van, the richly decorated palace church of the Holy Cross at Aght'amar, built between 915 and 921 by the Artsruni dynasty, represented one of the powerful centers of religious authority in the fifteenth and later centuries (fig. 7).<sup>28</sup> During this period, a number of scriptoria flourished in the area, producing vividly illuminated manuscripts often extensively decorated with line drawings of the life of Christ (see Merian, p. 190, Gulácsi, p. 201, and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, p. 206, and cats. 82, 88, 92). Some of the artists from the Lake Van region were among the Armenians forced to move into Persia in the early seventeenth century; their expertise and the manuscripts they brought with

them informed and influenced later generations of Armenian artists (cats. 95–98). In this era as the Ottomans and Persians continued their long-established military efforts to control the Armenians, a number of artists and authors revived early national religious narratives in their manuscripts as if to encourage a new sense of pride in their unique Armenian identity (see Piñon, p. 208).

Armenians survived in the shrinking Byzantine lands from the reestablishment of the state in 1261 until the fall of its capital Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. As the Ottoman Empire expanded, Armenians flourished in a number of cities now located on its trade routes. Armenians remained influential in Jerusalem, where the twelfth-century Armenian Cathedral of Saint James was restored with tiles made by Armenians in Kütahya (see Maranci, p. 218).<sup>29</sup> The Armenian potters there influenced Ottoman ceramic production at Iznik (see Crowe, p. 221, and cats. 100–103).

Armenians who remained in Sis, the former capital of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, connected with wealthy Armenians in Aleppo, a city within the territory of the catholicosate in Sis (for Sis, see Ballian, p. 225, and cats. 104, 105; for Aleppo, see Ballian, p. 230, and cat. 106). As part of the Ottoman Empire, these sites were closely connected with the new Ottoman capital at Constantinople. Ultimately, the Ottomans required that a patriarchate be established in the city, as the state ruled its minority communities through a millet system based on their faiths (see Ballian, p. 233). The city's Armenian population led a vibrant intellectual and cultural life, creating richly decorated manuscripts with illuminations inspired by or copied from earlier Cilician images and Bibles imported from European cities, like Mainz (see Merian, p. 235, and cats. 107–110).<sup>30</sup> In Kayseri, Armenians produced outstanding metalwork, including book covers for manuscripts written centuries earlier in the kingdom of Cilicia (see Merian, p. 241, and cats. 112, 113).

By the end of the sixteenth century, Persian forces increasingly occupied Armenian lands on the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire, even threatening Etchmiadzin (see Maranci, p. 246, Ballian, p. 250, and



Fig. 7. Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar, 915-21



Fig. 8. Diamond-covered throne of Czar Alexis Mikhailovich donated by the Armenian merchants of New Julfa, 1660. Kremlin Armory, Moscow

cats. 114–20). In 1604, Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), founder of the Persian Safavid dynasty, ordered the Armenians, who controlled much of the silk trade with Persia, to move from their long-established, wealthy city of Julfa to his new capital Isfahan (see Baghdiantz McCabe, p. 263, and Maranci, p. 267). The forced march of the population, devastating to many, led to the Armenians being placed in control of all external trade for the Safavid dynasty. Through their expertise in silk, a most coveted commodity throughout the Middle Ages, the Armenians expanded their trade routes south into India and north into Russia (see Baghdiantz McCabe, p. 286). In India, they established routes that led to their control

of much of the internal and external trade in textiles, as an Indian hanging containing images of Armenians among others shows (cat. 135). Seeking further access to the northern trade routes through Russia to the West for their textiles, Armenians gave Czar Alexis Mikhailovich (r. 1645–1676) an elaborate, diamond-covered throne made in India (fig. 8).<sup>31</sup> In pursuit of gold and silver needed by the shah for his treasury, Armenian traders reached North and South America in the early 1600s and 1700s, respectively.<sup>32</sup> The influence of Armenian merchants in this era was so extensive that many Europeans who traveled east in search of trade wore Armenian dress (cat. 136). The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, while living in Switzerland, chose to wear the free-flowing Armenian merchant robes and turban to help him cope with an illness (fig. 9).<sup>33</sup>

The Armenians in New Julfa, their residential section of Isfahan, like those of Constantinople with whom they were in regular contact, produced works that influenced others on their trade routes (see Ballian, p. 260, and cat. 121). In manuscript illuminations they continued the Armenian tradition of reviving earlier Armenian motifs while adopting new elements related to those with whom they were in contact (see Merian, p. 272). After moving from Greater Armenia to New Julfa, Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets‘i; ca. 1550–1613), seen in his manuscript (cat. 97), and Mesrop of Khizan (ca. 1560–1652; cat. 125) created dramatic compositions based on the manuscript traditions of the schools where they were trained. In New Julfa artists like Hayrapet of Julfa (Hayrapet Jughayets‘i; 1639–1691) produced variations on Western European illuminations that Armenians had acquired as they traded with Europe and dealt with Catholic missionaries (cats. 128, 129). Others still, as in Constantinople, revived the earlier medieval traditions of the kingdom of Cilicia (cats. 126, 127).

In this era of expansive trade routes, the Armenian medieval world ends. Wealthy Armenians from New Julfa helped provide the funds for the publication of an increasing number of books with Armenian texts that were widely distributed among Armenian communities around the world (see Merian, p. 294). The first printed book in Armenian, the *Book of Friday* (*Urbat‘agirik‘*),



Fig. 9. Richard Purcell (British, 1736–1766), after Allan Ramsay (British, 1713–1784). *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1712–1778. French Philosopher*, mid-18th century. Mezzotint on paper, 14 × 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (35.6 × 25.1 cm). National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, given by Miss Alison Ballantyne (FP IV 91.4)

made in Venice in 1512, provided prayers and other useful information for traveling merchants (cat. 137). In 1666, with funds largely provided by New Julfan merchants, Armenians achieved their goal of having a Bible printed in Armenian. Produced in Amsterdam with woodblock images bought from the estate of Christoffel van Sichem (cat. 139), the Oskan Bible and its images (cat. 138) became widely influential in the East, as is evident in the gold pyx from Kayseri (cat. 111).

At the end of the seventeenth century, two maps were made that show the success of the Armenians and their faith within their homeland and beyond (see Evans, p. 300). One, drawn in Constantinople, shows the extensive number of Armenian churches within

the Ottoman Empire (cat. 142). The other, printed in Amsterdam, is a large world map typical of those made for wealthy Europeans (cat. 143). What distinguishes the map is that the text is in Armenian, evidence of the wealth of the Armenians whose trade routes extended across the globe. Together these maps reflect the duality of the Armenians, who originated in a land poised between East and West and forged a lasting identity through their faith and language as they interacted with the peoples from surrounding lands and on their extensive trade routes. Through their medieval centuries, the Armenians bound East and West in unanticipated ways to create one of the most compelling visual expressions of Christian art.

## CAT. 1 Map of the Holy Land with Armenia

From *Chronica Majora*, vol. 1

Saint Albans, England, ca. 1240–53

Illuminated and written by Matthew Paris (ca. 1200–1259)

Opaque watercolor and ink on parchment; 151 folios

14¼ × 9¾ in. (36.2 × 24.8 cm)

Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge,  
United Kingdom (MS 161)

Armenian travelers were an important source for this map of the Holy Land from the widely influential *Chronicle of World History to 1259* by Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk at Saint Albans Abbey in England. Reports from foreign and local visiting dignitaries, including King Henry III of England, provided Paris with essential information. In 1252, Paris documented an encounter with Armenian visitors whose “pale faces . . . bore witness to their sanctity.”<sup>1</sup> These visitors confirmed the information provided by an Armenian archbishop who came to Saint Albans in 1228 and claimed that Noah’s Ark was in the Armenian homeland.<sup>2</sup> Paris recorded the 1252 visitors as saying that Armenia was “about thirty days’ distance from Jerusalem. . . . The Ark of Noah . . . stands on the summits of two very high mountains . . . infested by hosts of poisonous snakes and dragons.”<sup>3</sup>

It is also recorded that their land “extended to India.”<sup>4</sup> At the top of Paris’s map, the ark rests on two peaks with snakes between them, red dragons to their sides, and the word “Armenia” below. The map, oriented with the top to the east, shows Armenia between the West and East. Expanding the earlier account, Paris wrote that the archbishop was named Antichenius and added the character Richard de Argenton, a knight who had visited Armenia, to support the 1228 claim that there was a knight in the archbishop’s retinue who had translated for him into French.<sup>5</sup> Paris’s map and his account of Armenians in England as respected visitors in 1228 and 1252 are compelling evidence of the extent of Armenian travels to the West by the thirteenth century, as well as the probable presence of Europeans in the Armenian homeland. HCE

Car meisme deus les gruis par  
 la povere le roi Alisandre  
 lu iborunt devant le iur  
 de iuste. Et frunt grande  
 occise de gent eant  
 il plest a deu. Les  
 murs sur haut  
 e dur.

Montet caspiaz inaccessible  
 inaccessible

Paeunne

Hic manet hoc de moce  
 Si meit li uouz de la mureaine  
 la est siros de hanz asis. euresy.



Quantus e consistunt unie Rich... in unie orientans eoc  
 edentans. Riches sunt de az arges. pare... d'as de sor. E de espe  
 cerie. De chame. Dngles. unis e... he ad egneus. E in unie poe  
 mans suti is. E sunt les unimentz... de luyet li les chent malleo  
 Formee unie mans d'allure. Sont d'ulle unie aser d'un poi. peilla  
 pome. De zueve e de osseos... que sur beures. S'ert sur  
 a luy seient a luy s'ient. Vll sechos sur. E car unie se  
 mos est poent s'iston. Par es heent fenne la loi anahum



# THE INVENTION OF THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET

Two important events had a profound effect on Armenia's historical and cultural development. The first was the conversion of Armenians to Christianity by Saint Gregory the Illuminator. The second closely related event was the invention of the Armenian alphabet about a century later. Although the Armenian nation was officially converted to Christianity in the early fourth century, the actual process occurred slowly. One issue was that religious services were conducted in Syriac in Persarmenia and in Greek in Byzantine Armenia, necessitating oral translation into Armenian. This was cumbersome and not conducive to converting the people, since they could not easily understand the services. Additionally, oral translation could lead to errors. It became evident that services needed to be delivered in the language of the people; for this it was necessary to have sacred scripture written down using an alphabet appropriate for Armenian.

In the early fifth century, a scholar and cleric named Mashtots' (also known as Saint Mesrop Mashtots'), with the support of Catholicos Sahak and King Vramshapuh, decided to remedy this situation by creating an alphabet for Armenian.<sup>1</sup> Mashtots' experimented with the existing Syriac and Greek alphabets, as well as a newly developed alphabet said to have been in the possession of a Syriac bishop named Daniel, but all were deemed unusable because they could not adequately represent the full range of sounds in the Armenian language. According to his student Koriwn (who wrote the biography of his esteemed teacher), Mashtots' eventually invented the original Armenian alphabet of thirty-six letters around the year 405.<sup>2</sup> By means of this new alphabet, Mashtots' and his students were able to translate scripture, patristic writings, and other religious texts, as well as write original works in Armenian, of which Koriwn's biography is probably the first. In the medieval period the letters Oo and \$̄\$ were introduced into the Armenian alphabet specifically to accommodate sounds used in foreign words (initial O and F, respectively) (fig. 10).

Armenian was written in three main scripts. Mashtots' developed *erkat'agir*, the uncial script, in the early fifth century (cat. 2). The second script, called *bolorgir*, appeared around the tenth century and became standard between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (cat. 69). Today, *erkat'agir* is used for the majuscule script and *bolorgir* for the minuscule. The third, *notragir* or *notragir*, a more compact and quickly written notarial script, was formalized around the sixteenth to seventeenth century (cat. 140, captions). All three scripts were used in handwritten manuscripts up to the early nineteenth century. Modern handwriting, *shghagir*, a ligatured cursive, developed in the late eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> SLM

THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET		
Ա ա	Ծ ծ	Ջ յ
Բ բ	Կ կ	Ռ ռ
Գ գ	Հ հ	Ս ս
Դ դ	Ձ ձ	Վ վ
Ե ե	Ղ ղ	Տ տ
Զ զ	Ճ ճ	Ր ր
Է է	Ս ս	Յ ջ
Ը ը	Յ յ	Ի ի
Թ թ	Ն ն	Փ փ
Ճ ճ	Շ շ	Ք ք
Ի ի	Ո ո	Լ լ
Լ լ	Չ չ	Օ օ
Խ խ	Պ պ	Ֆ ֆ

Fig 10. Table of Armenian alphabet

## CAT. 2 Heavily Trimmed Folio from Corinthians Written in *Erkat'agir* Script

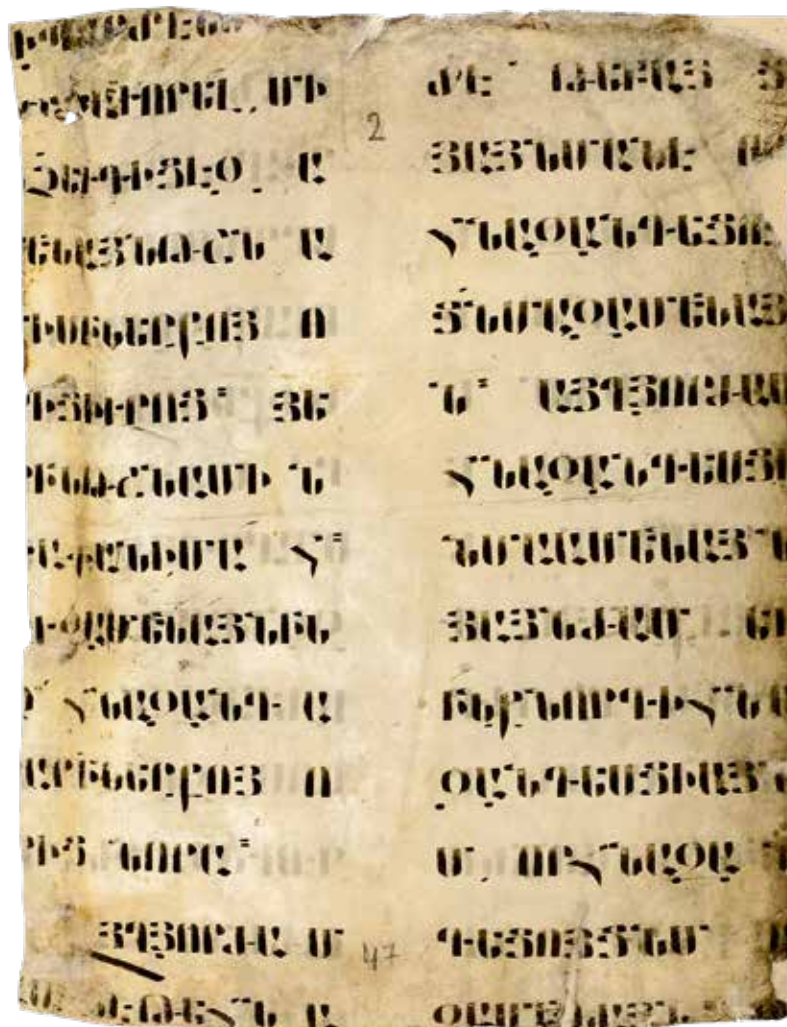
5th–10th century

Ink on parchment

9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.5 × 19.5 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (*Patarik* 47)

On this parchment leaf the text from Corinthians in the New Testament is written in *erkat'agir*, the earliest type of Armenian script. Although the leaf is undated, it was originally part of a Bible manuscript produced as early as the fifth century or as late as the tenth. The words run together—there is no separation or space between them—a common trait in very early manuscripts. The last letter of each line of text is separated from the word to which it belongs and is placed at the end of that line as a way to neatly align the column. The Bible that originally contained this leaf is long gone, and the leaf was subsequently used as a flyleaf (*pahpanak*) in a later manuscript. Flyleaves are parchment or paper sheets sewn in at the beginning and end of a manuscript to protect the rest of the text from damage at its most vulnerable sections—the beginning and end. In medieval and later times, leaves from old discarded manuscripts, usually parchment, were routinely recycled as protective flyleaves. Folios from such discarded manuscripts were cut down to the size of the new manuscript and sewn in with the rest of the text. This leaf was trimmed to size and folded on one edge to form a small stub before four small notches were cut in the fold to produce holes enabling the bookbinder to sew it into the new codex. Its use as a flyleaf conserved a fragment of this extremely early manuscript, enabling us today to examine a sample of this foundational Armenian script. SLM





### CAT. 3 Gospel with Canon Tables (*Khoran*) and *Tholos*

Greater Armenia, 10th century

Tempera and ink on parchment; 2 folios

11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29.6 × 23.8 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 9430)

Like most medieval Christian Gospel books, Armenian manuscripts include the canon tables (*khoran*) invented by Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine in the fourth century collating the Gospel descriptions of the life of Christ. Armenians were exceptional in maintaining into the Middle Ages the original structure of these canon tables, concluding with a *tholos*, a circular domed building developed in antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Armenian authors, like Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali), described contemplating the decorations surrounding the tables in manuscripts in preparation for reading the Gospels.<sup>2</sup> On tables three and four, written in

*erkat’agir*, the elaborate columns and arcades adorned with birds and plants are similar to those in the Armenian Etchmiadzin Gospel book of 989 produced at the monastery of Noravank’ in Siwnik’.<sup>3</sup> While related to the motifs found in the Syriac Rabbula Gospel book of 586, the ones in this manuscript are more closely linked to contemporary Byzantine, Ethiopian, and Georgian examples.<sup>4</sup> Similar *tholoi* appearing in Carolingian texts in the West (fig. 11) and Ethiopian manuscripts in the East (fig. 12) possibly represent Christ’s tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> HCE



Fig. 11. *Tholos*, from the Godescalc Gospel Lectionary. Aachen, Germany, 781–83. Gold and silver ink on parchment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (NAL 1203, fol. 3v)



Fig. 12. Recto of double-sided Gospel leaf. Tigray, Ethiopia, first half 14th century. Tempera on parchment. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Oscar de la Renta Ltd. Gift, 2006 (2006.100)



# ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN CENTERS

Artistic production throughout historical Armenia flourished from the fourth to the seventh century, and again from the ninth to the eleventh. Written sources attest to widespread church construction following the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity in the early fourth century. Fifth- and sixth-century churches were built of tuff-stone revetment lining a core of mortared rubble. These structures were basilicas, either barrel vaulted or roofed in wood, and adorned with exterior reliefs, as seen on the basilica of Yererouk (fig. 13). Early sculptural decoration included schematic crosses and vegetal forms (cat. 5); at the site of Dvin, archaeologists unearthed a range of figural sculpture (cats. 7–9). Byzantine and Sasanian coins were also discovered at Dvin, highlighting that city's role not only as a seat of the patriarchate, but also as a center of cultural exchange and trade.<sup>1</sup>

The seventh century also witnessed the rapid emergence of the centralized, domed plan. Churches at the Holy See of Etchmiadzin in ancient Vagharshapat display the variety of types that arose during this century: at the martyrium of Hripsime, a domed bay is surrounded by four conches and capped with a drum and conical roof (fig. 14); the nearby martyrium of Gayane shares that geometric exterior massing but takes the form of a domed basilica. The patriarchal church of Zvart'nots', now in ruins, presents an astonishing combination of outer rotunda and inner quatrefoil, its facades sheathed in figural, geometric, and vegetal sculpture (fig. 15).<sup>2</sup> The quadrangular stone stelae, often carved with biblical scenes, sacred figures, and local saints, arose from the fifth to the seventh century (cats. 4, 7).

From the ninth to the eleventh century, following the Arab conquests from about 661 to 861, Armenian architecture flourished anew, owing largely to the royal patronage of the Bagratid and Artsruni kingdoms. At Ani, Ashot III, the Bagratid king, completed a line of walls in 961 to protect the city; only two decades later, his successor Smbat II built a set of double walls farther north, effectively doubling Ani's size. Within Smbat's walls arose an astounding range of churches and monasteries, attesting to the refinement of the early medieval architectural repertoire. Archaeologists unearthed bronze liturgical implements, as well as an imported ewer (cat. 20), the latter suggestive of Ani's position as an international trade station. Bagratid patronage also led to the construction of monasteries in Lori and Lake Sevan. On Lake Van, the Artsruni palace chapel of Aght'amar, built in about 921, with its domed quatrefoil exterior entirely sheathed in bas-reliefs, is another extraordinary monument of this era (see fig. 7).<sup>3</sup> CM



Fig. 13. Basilica of Yererouk, Shirak, 4th–6th century



Fig. 14. Church of Hripsime, Etchmiadzin, 618



Fig. 15. Patriarchal church of Zvart'nots', ca. 640–ca. 660

#### CAT. 4 Four-Sided Stela

Monastery of Kharaba (Kharabavank'), southern slope of Aragats, Ashtarak, 4th–5th century

Tuff

69<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (177 × 40 × 40 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (830)



This is one of the earliest quadrilateral Christian stelae with sculptural reliefs.<sup>1</sup> The four sides are crowned with depictions of saints, enclosed in acanthus decorations, and three-leafed acanthus ornaments adorn the bottom. On one side, the Virgin sits on a throne with a quadrangular pedestal, holding the Christ Child on her knee. She wears an ornate draped mantle, which comes down to her feet; a halo encircles her head and a radiating canopy rests above. Clad in a long tunic, the Child holds a Gospel book in his left hand and makes the sign of the cross with his right. The adjacent side, to the left, features a boar-headed man in princely attire and a long chlamys, which reaches his feet. On the third side, the column-like rod, rising from a pedestal, symbolizes a temple. Next to it is a haloed saint, probably Gregory the Illuminator, standing under the arm of the cross. His long garment has vertical folds. His right hand rests on his breast and his left hand holds the Holy Scriptures. The fourth side, adjacent to the Virgin and Child, has a bare-headed man, probably the donor. Dressed in princely attire, he looks directly at the beholder and his right hand is raised with the palm turned outward in a sign of greeting and faith.

In Agat'angeghos's *History of the Armenians*, the establishment of Christianity in Armenia is told through the narrative of the sufferings of Saint Gregory for his beliefs and the demonic transformation of the Armenian king Tiridates, who, upon rejecting Christianity, assumed porcine characteristics. The king's humanization after his conversion by Saint Gregory was the evidence of the miraculous power of Christianity and the victory of the new faith (cat. 94). As the boar-headed man faces Saint Gregory, he is often identified as King Tiridates.<sup>2</sup> GG

## CAT. 5 Capital

Basilica of Yererouk, 5th–6th century

Tuff

26 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 17 $\frac{5}{16}$  × 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (68 × 44 × 48 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (T 70-18)

The basilica of Yererouk, dating to the late fifth or early sixth century, is one of the largest and most elaborate early Christian basilicas of Armenia.<sup>1</sup>

While its superstructure and porticoes have almost completely collapsed, the church nevertheless makes a magnificent impression, mounted on a tall stylobate and sheathed in carefully cut and designed masonry. Archaeological excavations suggest that it belonged to a larger precinct including a necropolis at the south.<sup>2</sup>

The precise context of the stone capital is unknown, but judging by color, design, and carving style, it might have formed part of the original basilica. Like many of the capitals still in position,

it features a large, equal-armed cross with flaring ends, set within a medallion. The carver surrounded the cross with small angled holes, like perforations, and flanking incised trees. On the capital's side is a second cross, much like that on the main face; to its right is a stylized tree. The simplicity of the composition, the motifs of crosses and trees, and the schematic style strongly suggest a date in the fifth or sixth century. Crowning the capital is an abacus with horseshoe-shaped dentils, a design common to early medieval Armenian architectural sculpture. The Yererouk capital thus likely belongs to the earliest phases of the site. CM



## CAT. 6 Model of the Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin

Vagharshapat, 5th–7th century

Tuff

16½ × 9½ × 9⅞ in. (42 × 24 × 24.5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 1-Q)

Stone models of structures appear in Armenian church architecture starting in the early medieval period. This model of the Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin does not represent the entire church, only the top of the *katholikon*, with a conical roof and drum.<sup>1</sup> Originally, this model, together with several others, was positioned on the gables of the cathedral. All models were removed in 2000 during the renovation of the cathedral's roof and placed in the Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin.

The Armenian historian Agat'angeghos relates the story of the construction of the Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin in his *History of the Armenians*, in accordance with the dream of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, catholicos of Armenia (cat. 114).<sup>2</sup> Some Armenian scholars claim it was built in 301–3, making it the first cruciform church structure with a central dome in church architecture. According to the fifth-century historian Lazarus of Pharpi (Ghazar P'arpets'i), the cathedral was renovated in the 480s, and the original dome was rebuilt on a dodecahedral drum.<sup>3</sup> Later, between 610 and 620, the wood roof was replaced with a stone one, and the conical dome and its drum were subjected to further changes. The latest rebuilding of the cathedral dome was undertaken in the 1620s. These changes made over centuries are clearly visible today. The surviving model, though damaged and chipped, affords us a chance to visualize the early medieval furrowed conical roof. AK



## DVIN

Elevated on a hill above the Azat River, the site of Dvin was settled in antiquity and formed part of the royal domains of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty. In 428, with the demise of the Arsacid kingdom, the site became the headquarters of the governors (*marzpan*s) of the Persian sector of Armenia and a seat of the catholicos. From the fifth to the seventh century, Dvin was one of the wealthiest cities in Armenia, and it remained an important center for trade and production during the tenth and eleventh centuries and the Zakarian era (1201–1360).

Archaeologists at Dvin excavated a series of monuments, including the cathedral, revealing its successive phases of construction.<sup>1</sup> Its earliest phase probably dates to the late fifth century, when there was a large, three-aisled basilica. To the north and south of the

cathedral were patriarchal residences, the remains of which include a massive stylized Ionic capital, probably dating to the seventh century (fig. 16).<sup>2</sup> Excavations also unearthed a great quantity of ceramic, stone, and metal objects from the late antique and medieval eras. Several fragments of figural sculpture, dating from the seventh century or earlier, were discovered at the site (cats. 7–9). Several ceramics, dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century, are preserved, including a range of dishes, trays, pitchers, pots, and storage vessels, many ornamented with decoration; kilns have also been discovered there. Ceramic finds display a variety of glaze types, attesting both to the development of local styles and to familiarity with pottery from Iran, Syria, Seljuk Anatolia, and Byzantium (cats. 17, 18).<sup>3</sup> CM



Fig. 16. Ruins of patriarchal palace, Dvin. 4th–7th century and later



## CAT. 7 Fragment of a Four-Sided Stela

Koghb, Tavush, 4th–5th century

Dolomite

28<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13 × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (71.5 × 33 × 28 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (T 70-32)

The carvings on this stela bring together a unique mix of iconographic subjects, which are hard to decipher. The composition on the front includes two scenes: a pair of doves with a wreath above them, flanked by two magnificent rosettes, over the Virgin and Child, also flanked by rosettes. The birds are symmetrical, represented from the back with their wings spread only slightly, accentuating the downward direction of their flight as they strive toward the Virgin. Rosettes are usually considered



ancient symbols of fertility, and their placement on either side of the Virgin's head foregrounds her position as the Mother of God. The well-executed ornament of running ivy on the lateral faces of the stela symbolizes the ubiquity of the spread of Christ's teaching.

Many of the compositional elements are characteristic of depictions of the Descent of the Dove of the Holy Spirit. However, the Holy Spirit never appears as a pair of doves. Depictions of several doves in narrative compositions are well known in Armenian art, as, for instance, at the church of the Holy Virgin at the Orbelians' monastery of Noravank', on which a pair of birds flank the image of the enthroned Virgin and Child attended by a pair of angels on the tympanum. The inclusion of the wreath is also difficult to explain, as laying a wreath does not fall within the functions of the Holy Spirit. In pagan practice, wreaths were given to victors in competitions and quite often were made of many-petaled daisies. The unique composition on this stela probably unites the Descent of the Holy Spirit with the theme of Christians being "Crowned with Glory" as described in 1 Peter 4:5.<sup>1</sup>

The quality of the carvings is exquisite, unlike the rougher reliefs found on other early medieval Armenian objects, and the theme is sophisticated. Such refined execution and complex subject matter suggest a skillful carver versed in theological arguments made this stela.<sup>2</sup> CC



## CAT. 8 Capital with Virgin and Child

Dvin, 5th–6th century

Tuff

13 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 22 × 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (34 × 56 × 47 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2604-3)



This small tuff-stone capital, discovered at Dvin, is crowned with a thick abacus and features an image of the enthroned Virgin and Child on its only carved side. A hole in the top suggests that it supported a cross and formed part of a commemorative stela. The Virgin and Child are striking for their large eyes and strong brows and noses, as well as for their physical bond: the Virgin places her hand on Christ's knee, while he makes a gesture of benediction close to her face. Certain details are carefully observed, such as the flat pleating of the mantle around the Virgin's forehead, Christ's curly locks, and his nimbus with its cross arms. Their round-backed, cushioned throne is also precisely delineated.

This depiction of the Virgin and Child, as many have noted, conforms to Christian iconography developed after the Council of Ephesus in 431, when the Virgin was deemed the Mother of God (Astuatsatsin).<sup>1</sup> As in Byzantium, Armenian artistic representations of the sixth century and after show clearly the Virgin's holy status. Through its visual features, the Dvin capital powerfully invites veneration: framed by the throne, the holy pair projects strongly into space, seemingly intent on capturing the gaze of the onlooker. The capital thereby also testifies to the importance of holy images and their worship in early medieval Armenia.<sup>2</sup> CM



## CAT. 9 Fragmentary Capital

Dvin, 5th–6th century

Tuff

23<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 13<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 16<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (60 × 35 × 42 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2604-7)

In 1948, archaeologists unearthed a remarkable, if fragmentary, tuff-stone capital from the patriarchal complex of Dvin. Although the original physical context of this object is unknown, its large size and carved front and sides suggest that it formed part of either a church or a commemorative stela. Its composition is bold and unique: the main side bears a large cross with flaring ends and beveled edges, at the foot of which sprout large curving tendrils. Replacing the upper arm of the cross is the bust of Christ, wearing a carefully draped garment. Long locks of hair frame his striking face, with its large almond eyes, long nose, and small mouth. To his right is an angel who cradles the image of Christ in his arms. This unusual scene, which finds distant parallels in pilgrims' ampullae from Monza and Bobbio in Italy, offers a potent and early expression of Armenian Christology, which highlighted Christ's divinity even at the moment of his mortal demise.<sup>1</sup> On the right side of the capital is a now fragmentary scene of a mounted horse. The hand of the rider holds the reins of the horse, which has a gracefully arched neck, curly locked mane, and large almond eyes and wears a precisely articulated bridle. Under its hooves is a serpent with pointed teeth, suggesting that its rider is either Saint Theodore or Saint George. This capital finds no clear *comparanda* in Armenia or Byzantium, yet the cross shape recalls sixth- and seventh-century stone and metal examples from Byzantium and Armenia, while the sprouting tendrils at the foot of the cross anticipate the imagery of khachkars from four centuries later. cm



## JEWELRY FROM DVIN

The city of Dvin was at the crossroads of international commerce from Sasanian times until the 1230s, when the city fell to the Mongols. An important craft center, particularly celebrated for its purple carpets, Dvin was the hub where the trade routes from Iran and Central Asia met those leading to Constantinople, the Mediterranean, Trebizond, and the northern Caucasus. The seat of the catholicos, the religious leader of the Armenians, and the headquarters of the *marzpan*, the Sasanian governor, from the seventh century onward, Dvin was the capital of the province of Arminiya and the residence of the *ostikan*, the Arab administrator appointed by the caliph. Due to its position the city was often caught up in the conflicts between the Byzantines and the Sasanians and later between the Armenian Bagratids and the Arab emirs.<sup>1</sup> From the mid-tenth century onward, Dvin was ruled less by the Armenian Bagratids and more by the local Muslim emirs, the Shaddadids, a Kurdish dynasty with roots in the wider area of Armenia, the Caucasus, and Azerbaijan. After the Seljuk conquest, power shifted between the Ildegizid atabegs, or provincial governors, and the Georgian Bagratids.<sup>2</sup> The social and ethnic structure of the great commercial cities of Armenia, like Dvin, is a matter that still requires considerable

investigation. It is clear, however, that a mixed urban class of Armenians and Muslims coexisted and shared similar tastes in such luxury commodities as jewelry and ceramics.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of political autonomy and constant military conflicts in the area suggest a state of unrest and instability that is at odds with the sense of prosperity reflected in the Arabic sources and the archaeological remains. The tenth-century Arab geographer al-Muqqadasi writes: “Dabil [or Dvin] is an important city, in it are an inaccessible citadel and great riches. Its name is ancient, its cloth is famous, . . . the city has suburbs, its fortress is reliable, its squares are cross-shaped, its fields are wonderful. The main mosque is on a hill and next to the mosque is the church. The Kurds watch over the town. . . . Despite all of its advantages the Christians are a majority there.”<sup>4</sup> Excavations at Dvin that began in earnest in 1937 and continue to this day confirm such descriptions. The campaigns revealed the citadel with its cathedral, the catholicos’s palace, and the surrounding urban neighborhoods in which the metalwork, pottery, glass, and jewelry workshops were situated, indicating the existence of local production alongside imports from Byzantium, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.



Fig. 17. Three biconical beads. 11th century. History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1378)

In 1936 villagers from Aygestan, just outside Dvin, discovered by chance a hoard of precious jewelry together with a gold coin of the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1067–1071), which provides an end point from which to date the burial of the treasure. According to the Armenian archaeologist and director of excavation campaigns at Dvin, Karo Ghafadaryan, the jewelry must have belonged to a well-to-do lady, who had probably buried it in order to safeguard it from the imminent incursions of the Seljuks.<sup>5</sup> The hoard consists of five bracelets (a single and two pairs; cat. 15), a pair of gold earrings with pendants (cat. 13), fifteen silver-bead earrings,<sup>6</sup> and three gold, biconical, filigree beads of Fatimid manufacture (fig. 17).<sup>7</sup> The remaining items of gold jewelry, which are usually referred to as forming part of the Dvin Treasure, were not discovered in 1936; they either were uncovered at

a later stage on the archaeological site at Dvin or were chance finds by locals.<sup>8</sup>

All the gold jewelry found at Dvin dates to between the tenth and the early thirteenth century and provides evidence of the types and styles of jewelry produced or traded in Dvin. The different styles and various provenances from the three main cultural centers of the era—Byzantium, Fatimid Egypt and Syria, and Iran—attest to the cosmopolitan character of the city and its cultural receptiveness, resulting from its vital importance in international trade. Close proximity, however, made interaction with the Iranian world particularly intense. Most of the jewelry is distinguished by its Iranian features. Similarly, the ceramics display Iranian styles and techniques, which make it difficult to discern between the indigenous and imported elements. AB

## CAT. 10 Fringed Necklace

Dvin, 10th–11th century

Gold sheet and wire

L. 13¼ in. (33.6 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1641-63)

This necklace is made of a double loop-in-loop (braided) chain with a fringe of double loop-in-loop chain pendants made of thinner wire and terminating in small spheres made of sheet gold. There is a nearly identical piece of unknown origin in a private collection that is provisionally dated to the tenth or the eleventh century and attributed to Syria or Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Chain necklaces of this construction with hanging ornaments and coins or fringes of chain pendants were popular in the Greco-Roman world but are not common later. The use of loop-in-loop chains in flexible

bands is attested in Byzantium in the tenth-century Preslav Treasure and on other examples of Byzantine jewelry. Although the style is not common in the Islamic world, it does appear sporadically.<sup>2</sup> In 1939, the Dvin necklace was discovered by chance on top of the citadel hill in a disrupted stratigraphy; there is no firm evidence of attribution or dating. The general chronological frame given by the excavators, however, is from the tenth to the eleventh century, and this piece is often discussed in conjunction with the Aygestan Hoard.<sup>3</sup> AB



## CAT. 11 Crescent-Shaped Earrings

Dvin, 11th–12th century

Gold sheet, turquoise, and pearls

1½ × 1⅞ in. (3.8 × 2.8 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1429a, b)

These earrings are made of thick gold sheet and have spiral terminals onto which the loops for the hinge and attachment pin for the ear wire are soldered. Each of the three suspension rings was intended for a pendant pearl or string of pearls, now missing. A large turquoise stone in a deep collar mount is set in the center of each crescent, while at the top a pearl is attached. The mount and the rings have been soldered with care so as not to leave traces on the surface; one turquoise is smaller than the



other and the opening of its mount has been adjusted with a tool. The earrings were found before 1952 at Dvin.<sup>1</sup>

This is a rare piece of medieval jewelry with no filigree or granulation. Early Byzantine pieces with sheet crescents set with a central stone have wire decoration and an entirely different system of attachment.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the closest parallels, though edged with rope filigree, were produced in Iran from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> AB

## CAT. 12 Basket-Shaped Earring

Dvin, 11th–13th century

Gold sheet, twisted wire (rope), and granulation

1¼ × ⅝ in. (2.4 × 1.6 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1981-102)

This earring is constructed around an inner cube with applied domes in the center of each side and on the base, and smaller domes at the upper and lower corners topped by a rope circle that makes them look like pomegranates.<sup>1</sup> There is a flange around the open, upper side on which the hinge fittings for the ear wire attach; one split-pin fastener is preserved. The large domes on each side have applied-rope decoration around the bottom and shoulders, and triangles of granulation topped by larger grains above.<sup>2</sup>

Some sixty basket-shaped earrings are known to date from the eastern Mediterranean, all attributed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries based on hoard and excavation finds in Syria, Israel, Turkey, and Greece.<sup>3</sup> This earring, excavated at Dvin in 1968, is the



easternmost link in this widespread distribution, and there are specimens of unknown origin kept in the Azerbaijan Archaeological Museum in Tabriz.<sup>4</sup> Many of the most well-known pieces exhibit typical Fatimid jewelry construction with openwork rope-and-grain filigree, but there are several contemporaneous pieces that are made of sheet metal with applied filigree and granulation, such as the Dvin example.<sup>5</sup>

The origin of basket-shaped earrings has long been contested between Byzantium and the Fatimid lands of Egypt and Syria. Recent scholarship tends to support a Fatimid origin. It is clear, however, that finds in Constantinople, Amorium, mainland Greece, and Dvin show that the type was appreciated, imported, and perhaps imitated over a wide geographic area. AB



## CAT. 13 Crescent-Shaped Earrings

Dvin, 11th century

Gold sheet, plain wire, and twisted wire (rope)

$3\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{4}$  in. (7.9 × 1.9 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1285, 1379)

Discovered in 1936 as part of the Aygestan Hoard, these earrings are of crescent shape with openwork filigree decoration, consisting of a semicircular panel framed by a double rope and filled with heart shapes of plain flattened wire; an upper band is separated by a double rope and contains figure eights with looped ends made of plain wire.<sup>1</sup> The joints of the ear wire are concealed under a spherical bead bordered by rope. The latter feature is common to Byzantine earrings produced from the tenth to the twelfth century but atypical of Islamic jewelry. A Byzantine earring with long pendants (*prependoulia*) with such a joint was part of the tenth-century hoard of Mesonesi, Crete.<sup>2</sup> The openwork filigree panel with pendant ornaments, however, is encountered in both Byzantine and Islamic jewelry attributed to Iran and can be traced back to earrings made in Egypt and Syria from the sixth to the eighth century.<sup>3</sup>

The ornaments hang on long, double loop-in-loop chains with pendant birds, crescents, and figures commonly found in Islamic art: they are seated cross-legged with very small feet, resting their right hand on their lap and holding a bottle in their left. They are a typical representation of a member of the elite class, as seen on Islamic ceramics and other media of the era.<sup>4</sup> The figures are hollow and made of two identical half sheets of gold, probably pressed in a mold. Applied filigree circles embellish the crescents, and the birds' wings are outlined with rope.<sup>5</sup> AB





### CAT. 14 Bracelet

Dvin, 11th–12th century  
 Gold sheet, wire, niello, granulation, and bronze core  
 Diam. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm)  
 History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1745)

This bracelet, found by chance at Dvin in 1939, is made of seven plain wires, plaited around a thicker bronze wire core into a tapered hoop of triangular configuration. The clasp is made of two half-cylinder parts, terminating in three interlocking loops secured by a split pin; the circular cover of the clasp is soldered to one of the half cylinders, edged with clusters of three granules and set with a medallion on which a standing bird appears against a reddish and black, probably niello, ground.<sup>1</sup> Each terminal has a collar of granulation and a triangular, densely granulated plaque with a deep, drop-shaped mount for a stone (now missing).

Several bracelets with plaited hoops are attributed to Iran on the basis of a pair of bracelets at the Metropolitan Museum that was reportedly found in Gurgan.<sup>2</sup> Some have flat clasps, others domed ones, but all apparently differ from the Dvin bracelet in that their clasps are made in a single cylinder box-shaped part and not two half cylinders. This difference in the construction of the clasp may be an indication of a different workshop. Dense granulation is found on both Iranian and Syrian bracelets but the Dvin type of clasp is seen on fourteenth-century Mamluk bracelets, which, as with most Mamluk jewelry, have no granulation at all.<sup>3</sup> AB



### CAT. 15 Bracelet

Dvin, 11th century  
 Gold sheet, twisted wire (rope), and granulation  
 Diam. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (7.3 cm)  
 History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1375)

One of a pair, this bracelet was discovered in 1936 as part of the Aygestan Hoard. It has a twisted tubular hoop bound with rope and zoomorphic terminals. The bulbous, elongated heads are decorated with rope and granulation, but there is no indication of eyes and the central snout-like pattern consists of a rope between clusters of three grains.<sup>1</sup> Bracelets with twisted hoops were common in the Greco-Roman world and continued to be manufactured during the Islamic period in both Egypt and Iran.<sup>2</sup> The distinguishing feature in later periods is the clasp. In this case, four domed cylinders flank the fastening, which is made of three interlocking loops secured by a split pin. The domed cylinders have grains at their apex and are attached to triangular, box-like extensions of the head terminals. The four domes flanking the clasp resemble a well-known type of mostly Iranian bracelets with a similar arrangement that normally conceals spiral terminals.<sup>3</sup> In this case the cylinders are small and hollow, copying the style but not the mechanism of the more sophisticated examples. AB

## CAT. 16 Bowl

Found at Dvin, mid-9th century

Mosaic glass

H. 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (4 cm), diam. 5 $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (14.5 cm)

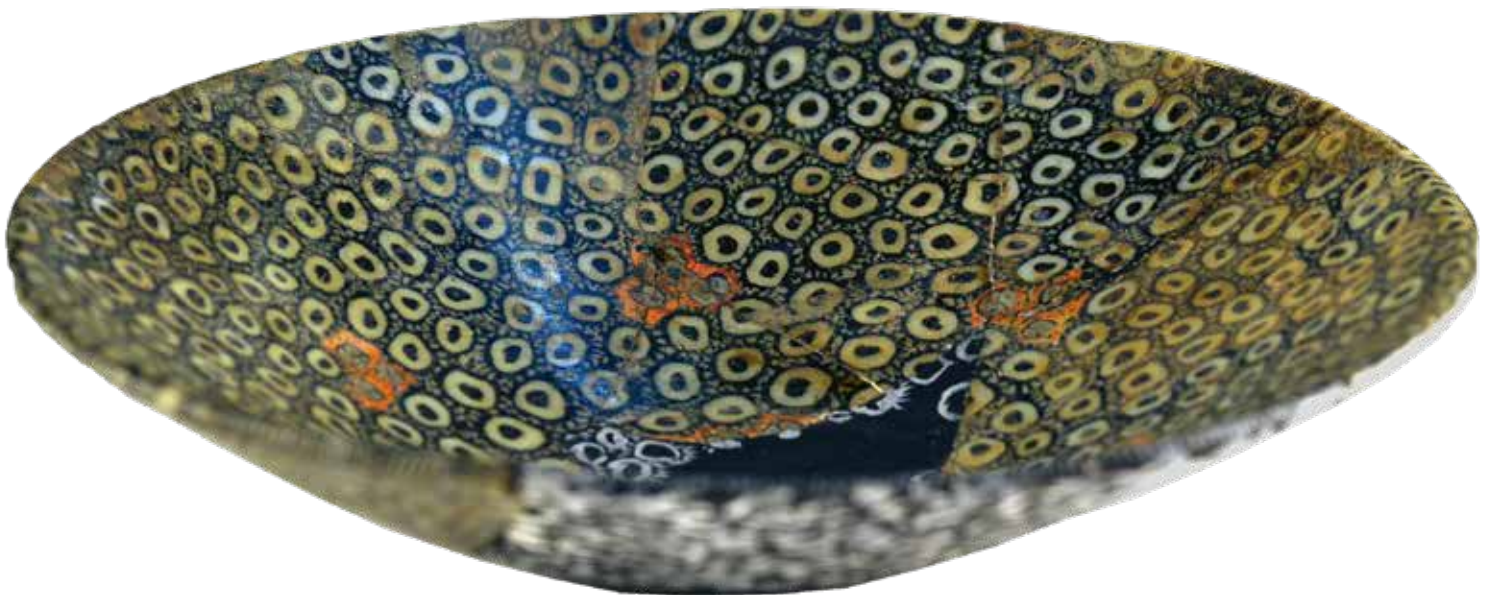
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2158-258)

Excavated at Dvin in 1960, this shallow, almost conical bowl has a round-edged lip and walls that curve softly in toward the bottom. It is made of mosaic glass, also known as millefiori (thousand flowers). This technique has a long and intricate history in the Mediterranean: it was very popular in the Roman period, disappeared after the second century BC, but resurfaced in Abbasid Iraq in the ninth century and in Venice in the fifteenth.<sup>1</sup>

Mosaic glass is made of slices of glass cut from canes or thin rods of molten glass, created by gathering different layers of colored glass around a core. The sliced pieces were then heated, fused, and molded into a vessel. This bowl was made from cane slices with a blackish core, surrounded by an opaque white ring and a ring containing small white spots on a dark blue ground. The walls of the bowl are decorated with five

bright yellow clusters of three canes, and traces of similar clusters are seen on the remaining part of the bottom.<sup>2</sup> Close examples of glassware are kept in the Corning Museum of Glass, New York, and the David Collection in Copenhagen.<sup>3</sup>

Excavations at Samarra, the temporary capital of the Abbasids on the Tigris, yielded fragments of mosaic vessels and tiles in the ruins of Jawsaq al-Khaqani, the palace built by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim in 836–42. Other pieces found at Susa and Nishapur are considered to have been imported from Iraq. This bowl was most probably brought from Samarra, perhaps by one of the many rebel Armenian princes or *naxarars* (feudal lords) who were held as hostages in the Abbasid capital. Those who survived came back with enhanced status and bearing presents.<sup>4</sup> AB



## CAT. 17 Glazed Bowl

Dvin, 11th–12th century

Earthenware, white slip with painted decoration under transparent glaze

H. 2¾ in. (7 cm), diam. 7⅙ in. (18 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2048-233)

Found at Dvin, this bowl has smoothly curved walls and a notched, protruding rim; the inside is covered with transparent greenish glaze with thick blobs preserved around the rim. The inside shows a frontal, heraldic bird, probably an eagle, with outstretched wings and a round head in profile with a long curving beak and a small curly crest. Under the rim there is a narrow band of symmetrically winding scroll.<sup>1</sup> The abstract style of the bird, the palette, the contour panels to the right and left of the bird's head, and especially the reverse decoration embellished with rings and dashes contained in scrolled bands are all elements found on ceramics painted in luster. Luster

painting was an expensive technique that had been a monopoly of Muslim potters, who passed their expertise from one generation to another and moved from Abbasid Iraq to Fatimid Egypt, and later to Syria and Iran. A considerable number of lusterwares originating in these areas were imported to Dvin from the ninth to the thirteenth century and constituted the luxury tableware of the elite.<sup>2</sup>

Imitation lusterware was made in tenth-century Nishapur, and most examples follow the original Abbasid models closely.<sup>3</sup> This bowl, however, seems imitative in a generic and eclectic way. The shape of the bowl, the brownish strokes painted on the rim, and the brown splashes and the green spots on the inside suggest that the potter who made this vessel was accustomed to working with polychrome-glazed ceramics. The same style and palette can be seen on at least three other pieces excavated at Dvin, which were probably made by the same potter or workshop.<sup>4</sup> AB



## CAT. 18 Ceramic Bowl

Found at Dvin, 11th–12th century

Stonepaste, transparent glaze; incised and pierced

H.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm), diam.  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (18 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2197-246)

The material and shape of this bowl, excavated at Dvin, in the central quarter west of the citadel, indicate it was derived from Chinese models.<sup>1</sup> The white stonepaste body is extremely fine and very hard; the thin, nearly transparent walls are intended to emulate porcelain. This effect is achieved by incorporating large quantities of powdered quartz into the clay, a technological innovation introduced to Iran in the late eleventh century by Muslim potters from Egypt and Syria.<sup>2</sup> The five-pointed, bracketed rim and the soft contour of the profile are elements that appear on Chinese ceramics dating from at least the late Tang period, when white and other Chinese wares started to be exported to the Middle East, a trade that grew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the Song period (fig. 18).



Fig. 18. Bowl. China, Jiangxi province, Jingdezhen, Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). Stoneware with *qingbai* glaze, diam. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (15.7 cm). Benaki Museum, Athens, Donated by George Eumorfopoulos (2422)



Fig. 19. Bowl. Attributed to Iran, 12th century. Composite body; incised. H. 3 in. (7.6 cm), diam.  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Marilyn Jenkins, in memory of her father, Dr. Arthur M. Jenkins, 1982 (1982.478.3)

The decoration on the wall consists of a narrow meander band and a band with an incised rinceau with thin stems and round, pierced holes that were intended to add transparency. The incised holes are not found on Chinese porcelain but are typical of the white ware of the Seljuk period. White wares of this type are normally attributed to Iran, primarily Kashan, which was the main center for high-quality pottery production (fig. 19). Similar pieces, however, have been found at Tell Minis, Syria, and are believed to have been manufactured at several locations in Iran.<sup>3</sup>

A group of white wares was excavated at Dvin, but it is not clear whether or not the objects were made locally.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly they were considered prized possessions; however, they were not an exotic rarity, because quite a number of Islamic ceramics made in Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and Iran were excavated in Dvin, Ani, and other localities, and these finds seem to point to the common visual language and widespread use of such ceramics among the elite, whether Christian or Muslim.<sup>5</sup> AB



## ANI

Ani is celebrated as a rare example of an intact, uninhabited medieval city.<sup>1</sup> Situated on the modern closed border between the Turkish and Armenian Republics, in the Akhurian River valley, Ani is a place of astonishing natural and architectural beauty (fig. 20). Archaeology suggests that the site was occupied as early as the Bronze Age; in the ninth century, it was absorbed into the domains of the Armenian Bagratids. In 961, Ani became the capital of the Bagratid kingdom, reaching its maximum size by the eleventh century,

when the population numbered between one and two hundred thousand. Thereafter until the end of the thirteenth century, Ani was an important trade station, controlling routes across Byzantium, Central Asia, Persia, and Syria; evidence points to the accumulation of enormous wealth in the city.

The triangular site is protected at the north by a double line of fortifications, constructed by the Bagratid king Smbat II (r. 977–989), and by valleys on the southeast and northwest sides (fig. 21). Popularly



Fig. 20. View of Ani and the Akhurian River



Fig. 21. Walls of King Smbat II at Ani, 10th–13th century with modern restorations

known as the “City of 1001 Churches,” Ani still has a wide range of monuments, including, but not limited to, the cathedral (fig. 22), the church of the Savior, three churches dedicated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator, the so-called Mosque of Minuchir, residential and commercial structures, baths, and dovecotes. Extensive

cave complexes, monastic buildings, and the remains of a medieval bridge also survive. The eleventh-century structures testify to the development of a sophisticated architectural tradition prizing elegant, attenuated forms, classicizing sculptural decoration, and refined stonemasonry. cm



Fig. 22. View of Ani from the citadel at the south, with the cathedral (ca. 1001) and church of the Savior (ca. 1035)



## CAT. 19 Architectural Model

Ani, 11th–13th century

Tuff

19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13 × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (50 × 33 × 9 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (56)



This tuff-stone model belongs to a robust tradition of architectural miniaturization in the South Caucasus, where tiny buildings appear in donor portraits, as acroteria atop gables, and installed within church interiors.<sup>1</sup> This particular model most likely served as part of a bas-relief program, as its back surface is unworked. Clearly recognizable as a cross-domed church, it features a tall drum surmounting the intersection of four gabled arms. A tall molded arch organizes the facade, with its portal and upper window framed by multiple moldings. Blind arcades also adorn the drum, each facet of which is pierced by a window. Even the roof construction receives careful attention, with its raised linear channels of tile or stone.

Debate surrounds both the date of this model and its identification with a particular church.<sup>2</sup> The rich treatment of the walls and the use of blind arcading are reminiscent of styles found on tenth- and eleventh-century architecture, particularly at Ani. Yet the narrowness of the windows and the elongated proportions of the drum suggest a date in the thirteenth century: some have even identified the model with the church of Tigran Honents' at Ani, built in 1215. While the precise source remains elusive, the very desire to search for one reflects the carver's insistence on the particularities of the monument. Such miniature "portraits" of church buildings constitute a striking and original dimension of medieval Armenian and Georgian artistic cultures. CM

CAT. 20 Ewer

Ani, 11th–12th century

Copper-alloy sheet; incised; traces of gilding

H. 12<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31.3 cm), diam. 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (19 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (123-1322)

Excavated at Ani in 1906, near the south door of the Church of Saint Gregory of Gagik, this long-necked ewer has a high-rising spout and a cylindrical body that gently tapers toward the straight foot. Small loops on the neck and spout once held chains to secure the lid. The cast handle has a ball finial. Around the body are a frieze of running animals against scrolling stems, an ogee, and two round medallions linked by a scrolled band and a chain pattern. The animal frieze features, starting counterclockwise left of the handle, two dogs with long muzzles and ears, one chasing the other; a leopard; a hare looking back at the leopard; a lion with a spotted mane; a running deer; a second leopard; and another hare looking back. The ogee medallion contains dogs or wolves confronting one another. The round medallions have interlaces of plant forms inhabited by five small ducks. The Arabic inscription, in cursive script, reads, “vigor, good fortune, glory, happiness, and wealth.”

The ewer’s shape and decoration are similar to those found on Khurasanian ewers inlaid with copper and silver, the best known of which is the Tbilisi ewer, dated to 1181–82 and made in Herat. The ewer found at Ani has no inlay and this feature, together with the straight foot and the sparse decoration, suggests the object was made at an earlier date than the mid-twelfth century and perhaps at a regional workshop by a craftsman working in the Khurasanian manner, which was the latest style at the time.<sup>1</sup> Several other pieces excavated at Dvin and Ani have Khurasanian features, which supports the consideration of a local manufacturer or a regional center for the production of Khurasanian-style objects.<sup>2</sup> AB



# LITURGY IN THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

The Armenian Church is the author and proprietor of a unique tradition of worship known as the Armenian Rite. As an integrated system of worship, the rite encompasses the Armenian Church's complete program of liturgical services, each with its constituent prayers, hymns, rituals, and ordo. It includes the arrangement of church feasts throughout the liturgical year, as well as the circle of saints to be commemorated; the Lectionary, or schedule of Bible readings appointed for each day; and even the particular melodic patterns of sacred music. Fueling the creation of this vast program is a singular experience of Jesus Christ's living presence and activity among the Armenian people and their traditional, instinctive response to Him. It is in the context of this particular vision that liturgical objects should be evaluated, beginning with the church edifice itself, with its architectural plan and interior arrangement, and the various forms of sacred art within it (fig. 23).

In the Armenian Church, Gospel lessons from the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are abstracted from the rest of the liturgical scripture readings in the Lectionary (*Chashots'*) and bound together into a separate volume (*Awetaran*) that is enthroned in the center of the altar at all times except during the celebration of the Eucharist, when it is displaced by the chalice (cats. 46, 56, 67, 72, 86, 108, 112, 113). The Gospel book is customarily bound in precious metal not merely for aesthetic reasons but for durability: the book is handled constantly during the readings, processions, and elevations of every service. It is venerated—kissed—by all the faithful. The figure of Christ often adorns the binding as a visual profession that in the reading of the Gospel we encounter not just the word of God but *God the Word* in a true sacramental communion.<sup>1</sup>

The burning of incense in a hanging censer (*burvar*) has a fundamentally different meaning in Christian liturgy compared with its use in pagan religions or even biblical Judaism. Incense is offered to sacred

objects that evoke God's holiness—the cross, the chalice, the Gospel book, icons—as well as to the people, an audacious assertion of their redeemed status in Christ. The two exquisite examples associated with Ani depict key moments from Christ's earthly life in which the sanctification of the world through Him is manifested (cats. 22, 23).

Sanctification is also projected by saints' relics and the magnificent reliquaries (*masnatup'*, or *srbatup'*) designed to house them (cats. 26, 36, 61, 117). Invoked by name in the Eucharistic Holy Sacrifice (*Patarag*) and other liturgical services as advocates (*barekhos*) with God for our sake, the saints are deemed to share already in eternal holy communion with the Almighty, while simultaneously being present and active in the church's liturgy. The Armenian Church is emboldened by the Christian conviction and discipleship witnessed in the lives of the saints, be they biblical champions, martyrs, hierarchs, teachers (*vardapet*), ascetics, or Christian kings and soldiers. Displayed prominently on the high altar and auxiliary altars, ornately worked reliquaries containing the saints' earthly remains are a concrete reminder of the communion of the saints. On the day appointed for a particular saint's commemoration in the Directory of Feasts (*Tonats'oyts'*), the holy one's reliquary is retrieved and elevated during processions (*Andastan*) and other festal ceremonies. The people are blessed with the relic and they hasten to venerate it. Reliquaries in the shape of the right forearm and hand contain relics from saintly hierarchs and are used in the septennial Blessing of Chrism (cats. 60, 116).

Repositories for particles of the Sacrament reserved from a previous Eucharistic celebration are generally smaller than their analogues in the West since in the Armenian Church there is no veneration of the Sacrament apart from the Holy *Patarag* (cat. 111). These vessels are invariably decorated with depictions of the Last Supper.

Literary and pictorial evidence for the use of sanctuary curtains throughout the non-Byzantine Christian East is widespread. Though often assumed to be a spontaneous carryover from biblical descriptions of Moses’s Tabernacle and the Temple of Jerusalem, recent scholarship suggests that the design and installation of early Christian sanctuary curtains may have been influenced by ancient Roman models, as well as uniquely Christian insights regarding the delineation of spatial order.<sup>2</sup> Among the Armenians, the use of a large curtain hung from the threshold of the elevated altar space (*khoran*) is paradoxical. Excluding the permanent closing of the curtain throughout Great Lent, which is a recent and spurious development,<sup>3</sup> the liturgical books direct the curtain to be closed only once, momentarily, while the celebrant priest communes during the *Patarag*. It has become a custom to draw the curtain on a few other occasions, but these are recent utilitarian or dramatic innovations, absent in the liturgical books. Like an open-door policy, the curtain does not block the people from the altar, but rather highlights their intimate unity with God in Jesus Christ as they recall the Crucifixion, when “the curtain of the Temple was torn in two from top to bottom” (Matthew 27:51, Mark 15:38, Luke 23:45; cat. 108). Even though these curtains are only occasionally unfurled to their full expanse, Armenian artisans have created altar curtains of rare beauty, often sumptuously embroidered with biblical, Christological, and Eucharistic iconography (cat. 99).

Church doors are not simply decorated portals but liturgical objects (cats. 38, 79). Gates and doors are employed throughout the scriptures as metaphors for the passage between states of being. Christ identified himself as the “door” (John 10:7, 9) and Christians believe that it is uniquely through Him that humanity may enter its intended state of blessedness with God. Accordingly, a number of Armenian liturgical services take place on both sides of the main church doors. Baptism, the dedication of a newly built church, and certain penitential liturgies involve solemn processions from the narthex (*gavit’*) into the sanctuary and depict the entrance and incorporation of the people



Fig. 23. View of the altar with liturgical objects and curtain at the church of Hripsime, Etchmiadzin

into the church as the Body of Christ. The poignant “Opening of the Door” ceremony on Palm Sunday evening (*Drnbats’ek’*) is remarkable because it entails a dialogue on either side of the closed door. Those on the outside knock repeatedly on the door, in plaintive hymnody, pleading to be admitted into God’s compassionate custody.<sup>4</sup> The Christological and ecclesiological symbolism of the door is developed, among other places, in an ancient ceremony for the Blessing of a New Church Door,<sup>5</sup> and in a Homily on the Door by the erudite Saint Gregory of Tat’ev (Grigor Tat’evats’i) (cat. 74).<sup>6</sup> MDF

## CAT. 21 Liturgical Book Stand (*Grakal*)

Ani, 1272, with modern additions

Wood and leather (modern)

53<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (136 × 33.5 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (171)

The liturgical book stand (*grakal*) is an essential accoutrement of every Armenian church. Its primary use is to accommodate the Lectionary (*Chashots'*), which contains, in sequence, all of the Bible readings appointed for the church's annual cycle of services. The book stand is normally kept in or near the chancel. At appointed times during the service, a lector carries it to the center chancel and reads from the Old Testament and the New Testament Epistles. (The four Gospels are bound together in a separate volume normally housed on the altar.) The book stand is also used during preaching. Simple book stands appear in several medieval Armenian illuminations depicting Jesus preaching, as, for example, in the Gladzor Gospel book (cat. 43). Book stands were also used in monasteries for the daily readings from the hefty book containing the Lives of the Saints (*Yaysmawurk'*).<sup>1</sup>

The exquisite upper panel of this book stand features the distinctive Armenian blooming cross from which sprouts lush foliage bursting with pomegranates and floral rosettes. Beneath, a spotted leopard feeds on a fruit harvested from the vines, holding it to its mouth with its front paw. Lions and leopards are common symbols in medieval Armenian heraldry.<sup>2</sup> The prevailing noble family is thus represented here as strong and faithful, feasting on the eternal fruits of their redemption in Christ, as portrayed by the fructuous cross and conveyed in the divine Word revealed in sacred scripture.

An inelegantly carved inscription between the upper and lower panels reads, "In memory of Baron Gregory and [his] parents constructed in the year 721 [AD 1272]." The lower panel consists of a rectangular plaque of geometric interlace, without clear beginning or end, framed by budding vines similar in style to those sprouting from the cross above: an illustration of the eternal truth of the Word of God.



A number of book stands similar in form and ornamentation are housed in the History Museum of Armenia;<sup>3</sup> the most striking one is dated to 1164 and comes from the church of the Holy Apostles at Ani.<sup>4</sup> The same collection also houses a close twin to this stand that has been plausibly attributed to the same artist.<sup>5</sup> MDF

## LITURGICAL CENSERS

Cast bronze censers with depictions of Gospel scenes were in use in the eastern Mediterranean from the period leading up to the Arab conquest to at least the thirteenth century. A well-known group of around one hundred examples survive; they have been found in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Armenia, the Crimea, and Georgia, and on eastern trade routes as far as Samarkand. According to provenance a good number of them were purchased in Egypt and Constantinople. Naturally the objects are not completely uniform; the designs and images on some examples show traces of influence from a late antique environment and recall Syro-Palestinian iconography (cat. 22), but most of them display an abbreviated and abstract rendering of the scenes (cat. 23). To date, research on these censers has focused on categorizing them into groups that share common iconography and probably derive from the same molds.

A small group has inscriptions written in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Greek, or Syriac. These were engraved after production but still provide clues that help pin down the places to which this type of censer primarily spread.<sup>1</sup> The 1626 Armenian inscription on a censer from New Julfa is nevertheless unique, as it was written several centuries after the object was made.<sup>2</sup> Most inscriptions are written in Syriac and Arabic, and a number of censers have been found in Syrian monasteries in Syria and Mesopotamia, areas where Armenians, Syrian Christians, and Muslims lived side by side for centuries. An interesting new fact that helps date and locate the sites of manufacture for these censers is the decoration on their base, which may be in the form of some saintly figure or the Virgin, but in most cases is simply a rosette (fig. 24).<sup>3</sup> Similar relief rosettes are found on the bases of several Islamic inlaid brass ewers and candlesticks made in the first half of the thirteenth century in Mosul by the famous al-Mawsili metalworkers, suggesting a workshop practice that was transmitted and shared by Christians and Muslims alike.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 24. Bronze censer with a relief rosette on the base. Syria, 7th–8th century,  $4\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. (12.2 × 11.4 cm). Museum of Pavlos and Alexandra Kanellopoulos, Athens (996)

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the region of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia still had a large Christian population and Mosul was ruled by an Armenian convert, Badr al-Din Lu'lu'. Furthermore the city and its area were one of the main communication corridors through which goods as well as the latest trends in art reached Ani. Thus, Islamic arabesque and other patterns common on Mosul buildings appeared on the carved walls of Saint Gregory the Illuminator's church in Ani, built by the rich merchant Tigran Honents' in 1215.<sup>5</sup>

A number of censers have been found in what was historically Armenian territory, some of them coming from the excavations at Ani, while others are merely attributed to Ani, belonged to monasteries, or were chance finds. Alvida Mirzoyan suggests that a group of three censers from Ani are local copies of an earlier Syrian model found at Siwnik', an attribution that—though it is highly likely—is not substantiated by other evidence.<sup>6</sup> The spread of this type of censer was probably facilitated by the Armenians, who settled all along trade routes connecting Ani, Armenia, and the Caucasian regions with Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, and perhaps by itinerant metalwork craftsmen, who, like the builders, stone carvers, and carpenters of medieval Anatolia, offered their services wherever there was a market and demand for their skills.<sup>7</sup> AB



## CAT. 22 Censer

7th–8th century

Cast bronze with details engraved and chased after casting

4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (12.5 × 14 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1265)

This bowl-shaped censer stands on a ring foot and has a neck defined by moldings; the rim has three curved projections topped by suspension lugs. On the bowl, standing out in strong relief, are six Gospel scenes, starting with the Annunciation followed by the Visitation, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Ascension. The circular recess beneath the foot encloses a three-quarter-length figure of a saint.

The same six scenes, with the Incredulity of Thomas similarly misplaced in each case, are found on two other pieces, one in Florence and one in Dresden,<sup>1</sup> which suggests they may have been made from the same mold and perhaps by the same craftsman or workshop. According to Alvida Mirzoyan, there is a censer originating from the Marmashen monastery, near the city of Gyumri in Armenia, which is a copy after this piece, although its flat relief and details indicate it was made at a later date.<sup>2</sup> The Yerevan censer and the two similar ones in Florence and Dresden are notable for their classicizing style. Most revealing are the molded acanthus leaves encircling the base of the bowl, a distinctively Byzantine and Sasanian ornament also found on the mid-eighth-century Umayyad facade of Mshatta.<sup>3</sup> AB



CAT. 23 Censer

Arts'akh, 12th–13th century

Cast bronze with details engraved and chased after casting

4 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.5 × 10.5 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (766-178)

This censer comes from the monastery of Saint Hakob (Metsarants) in Arts'akh and depicts six scenes rendered in abbreviated form and closely packed: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, and Holy Sepulchre. Under the foot is a Virgin and Child Enthroned. The censer is related to pieces that, judging from their inscriptions or findspots, come from Northern Syria or Mesopotamia. A similar number of scenes and iconography seem to recur on a group of censers, including a piece found in Kamechlie (Qamishli), in Northeastern Syria,<sup>1</sup> while the vertical lugs shaped like trefoils and the two bands under the rim are found on another larger group of censers, including one now in Geneva with a Syriac inscription.<sup>2</sup> One band on this censer is engraved with a garland hanging from a trefoil and the other has concentric circles. Several other pieces have bands with similar cast and/or engraved decoration, including an example with an Arabic inscription probably referring to an Armenian Church of Saint Sargis in Mardin.<sup>3</sup> AB







## CAT. 24 Radiate Cross

Ani, 11th–12th century

Bronze

9½ × 5⅞ × 1⅞ in. (24 × 15 × 3 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 255)

Excavations at Ani, capital of Armenia in the period of the Bagratid kingdom, brought to light crosses of various shapes and dimensions. This cross with arms of equal length is singular; it is secured to a pear-shaped base on a handle that subtly widens at the bottom.<sup>1</sup> Uniform rays emanate from a latticework of small triangles and circles that encircle the filigreed and embossed cross. Similar crosses existed in pre-Christian Armenian culture. If in the Roman Empire the cross was the tool of ignominious death, in pre-Christian Armenian culture the cross, in its numerous forms, was a symbol of the Tree of Life, eternity, eternal life, and shining victory. It is natural, thus, that the symbolism of the cross, with its connection to Armenian spiritual heritage, has a distinct place in the theological teachings of the Armenian Church. Indeed, in Christian Armenian practice, the cross is a primary object of reverence and worship and always appears on altars, and Armenian churches are usually cruciform in shape. Furthermore, the art of stone-carved crosses flourished extensively in Armenian culture.

Radiate crosses, with the sun and the cross united, symbolizing the Lord Jesus Christ, are widespread in Armenian culture. Accordingly, many Armenian Church hymns draw on the story of Christ the Lord, who rises in the world as the sun of justice and truth, and who, through his death on the cross, gave man eternal life, once again opening access to the Tree of Life. Similar radiate crosses, together with other crosses and sacred utensils, grace the altars of churches and baptismal fonts. Some scholars have proposed that this cross is a flabellum (liturgical fan); however, there are no flabella from this period to substantiate this proposition, and none of the extant medieval disk-shaped flabella are comparable in size and shape. AK

## CAT. 25 Processional or Altar Cross

Aparan, 11th–12th century, with later additions

Silver sheet and agate in gilded-silver mount

16 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (41 × 25.5 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1894)

Found in the fields near Aparan in 1951, this Latin cross has pronounced flaring arms with beaded finials (of which only one survives) and an integral tang designed to be set into a staff. A thick, engraved linear border frames the obverse while at the intersection of the arms a white-and-brown oval banded agate has been mounted in a gilded-silver collet surrounded by beaded wire. The lower parts of the lateral arms are pierced with holes for hanging long pendants (*pendilia*); the tiny pendant bells are probably later additions.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to middle Byzantine silver crosses, which are built around an iron core and have figural decoration, the Aparan cross is made of solid sheet silver and can be compared to sixth- and seventh-century crosses from Syrian church hoards. It is also similar to an exceptional cross inscribed in Armenian whose donor Narses (Nerses) was an Armenian *komes* (count or court official) working in the Byzantine imperial army.<sup>2</sup> The Aparan and Narses crosses both have the rare feature of a central cabochon in a gilded mount. An early dating to the sixth or seventh century seems plausible for the Aparan cross, although the beaded finial is likely a later addition or reworking. The finials were made of two halves and would have been soldered to the pointed ends of each flaring arm by means of a short sleeve, a typical feature of middle Byzantine crosses.<sup>3</sup> Silver crosses with these types of beaded finials had an important impact on their cast-bronze counterparts produced from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; several such Armenian examples have survived.<sup>4</sup> AB



CAT. 26 Cross of King Ashot II Yerkat' (the Iron) and Case

Cross: Dvin (?), late 9th or early 10th century; case: Russia, 1893

Cross: Iron, colored stones, and glass; case: silver cover wood

Cross:  $23\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{15}{16}$  in. (59 × 35 cm); case:  $25\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$  in.

(64 × 39 × 6 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (889)

This cross from the Treasury of Holy Etchmiadzin is associated with King Ashot II Yerkat' (the Iron) of Armenia.<sup>1</sup> Ashot II became king of Bagratid Armenia in 914, succeeding his father Smbat I, who was martyred by the Arab emir of Aterpatakan. During his entire reign, King Ashot ceaselessly defended the kingdom's independence from Arab invaders as well as mutinous Armenian princes. His battlefield successes eventually secured him the recognition as *shahnshah* (king of kings) of Armenia by the Arab Caliphate. The eleventh-century historian Step'anos of Taron (Step'anos Taronets'i) recounts how King Ashot received his nickname the "Iron King": "This Ashot, who was named Yerkat' because of his steadfast courage, [he] showed many acts of bravery . . . chased the Ishmaelite armies from our Armenian lands." King Ashot countered and defeated Byzantine attacks in 921 and 927–28, when the enemy laid siege to the city of Dvin, and later he overthrew the nominal Abbasid Arab suzerainty and stopped the payment of tributes to them. He died in 928, leaving a peaceful kingdom.

The reliquary of the True Cross has been associated with King Ashot since 923, when, along with seventy warriors and a battalion formed by monks of the monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), he routed an Arab contingent. The Holy Cross of Sevan, or Kot', now known as the Cross of King Ashot II, is made of iron. Its four equal-width arms widen slightly at the end, gaining a curved shape. The double points of each arm terminate in spheres. Toward the top of the upper arm

sits a now empty setting; it likely once held a precious stone as colored stones of various sizes appear on the other arms. A small wood cross is set in the eye of the cross, at the center of which is conserved a piece of the True Cross, sealed in a metal setting, under crystal glass. The lower arm is attached to the slightly widening socket with a knob. The cross is similar in size to processional crosses used in church ceremonies.

The date of the cross is debated; some scholars think it is a Byzantine work from the tenth or eleventh century. According to Armenian tradition, the cross was made by Saint Thaddeus the apostle. At Etchmiadzin, the cross is thought to have been made by smiths in Dvin at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. It was later brought to the monastery of Sevan, where the relic from the True Cross given to King Ashot I was attached to it.

At present, the cross is housed in a specially designed silver-plated case, made in 1893 in Russia. Saints Peter and Paul appear in relief on the cover of the case; on the interior is etched the tools of the Passion of Christ. A decorative floral band runs along the outer and inner edges of the cover. Reliefs of the heads of four seraphim are arranged on the back of the case between the arms of the Cross of King Ashot II; they look at the relic of the True Cross. The Crucifixion is engraved on the back of the exterior of the case. At the base of the cross are a skull and bones symbolizing Adam. The cross was brought to Etchmiadzin at the beginning of the twentieth century. AK





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# GREATER ARMENIA AND THE MEDIIEVAL WORLD

RACHEL GOSHGARIAN



An Armenian T-O map, likely the oldest extant Armenian-language map, gives great insight into the complexities of the medieval Armenian experience, suggesting that it was anything but uniform (fig. 25). Popular in medieval Europe, T-O maps depict the world as a circle (meant to symbolize the oceans encircling the continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe) partitioned by a T (representing three important bodies of water, the Mediterranean Sea, the Nile River, and the Don River) with the city of Jerusalem at the center. Often huge sections of these maps remained unmarked or were labeled simply as “land” (*ts’amak*), acknowledging a lack of trusted information coupled with a seemingly important curiosity about the world.<sup>1</sup>

This map was likely drawn in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the Crimean city of Kaffa,<sup>2</sup> where Armenians constituted a significant portion of the population and were actively engaged in local commerce, including textiles and the slave trade.<sup>3</sup> On this map, Kaffa is the first city along the northern coast of the Black Sea, followed by other sites that played important roles in medieval world trade, including Mardin, Khwarazm, Sarai, and Khaytai (China). These

Fig. 25. Armenian T-O map. Kaffa (?), late 13th–14th century. Tempera and ink on paper, 61/2 × 47/8 in. (16.5 × 12.5 cm). “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1242)

place-names suggest that the author was familiar with the northern routes of the Silk Road, rather than the southern route more commonly employed by the Armenian populations living in Cilicia or points farther south. Intriguingly, unlike most Western European examples, the Kaffa map records monasteries in and around Jerusalem, which implies a preoccupation on the part of its Armenian author not only with the global movement of goods but also with the movement of objects and people related to the spiritual world. Yet there is no reference on the map to Armenia or to any sites specifically linked to the Armenian Church. Rouben Galichian has argued that the author of this map may have been born in Kaffa, far from what one might consider an Armenian “homeland,” and, consequently, felt little affinity to the regions of Anatolia and the Caucasus inhabited by the great majority of Armenians during this period.<sup>4</sup> In effect, the physical and mental distance from Armenia apparent in the map helps us to draw better inferences about what it might have been like to live in an early diasporic Armenian community. While most historians imagine the seventeenth century as the start of the diasporic Armenian experience, the foundations for that global dispersion were founded, in part, in the aftermath of the Seljuk, Mongol, and Timurid invasions into Greater Armenia, which led Armenian communities to migrate and participate in a more mobile lifestyle, often linked to trade.

Conceptualizing the history of Greater Armenia in the late medieval period is no simple task. With nodes of political stability situated in and around major cities that were operated by several interconnected but distinct families, Greater Armenia was politically disjointed. Lands that had once been considered part of a contiguous and independent Armenian kingdom controlled by the Bagratids (885–1045) fractured into smaller principalities; some of those areas remained independent polities, while others were absorbed into the Byzantine Empire or dominated by a series of changing overlords. Internal instability was intensified by waves of invasions and subsequent migrations, most significantly by the Seljuks (ca. 1040), the Mongols (ca. 1236), and the Timurids (ca. 1400).

At the same time, however, these incursions inspired a certain degree of “opening-up” of the region concomitant with a new surge in Armenian emigration that led to the deepening of an Armenian presence in Cilicia as well as in Crimea, Venice and other parts of the Italian peninsula, the Lowlands, Iran, and locations farther east. While Armenians had long been active on the trade, religious, and craft-related routes that linked Greater Armenia to parts of the Byzantine Empire, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and Iran, their circulation was reinforced, extended, and shifted from the eleventh through the fifteenth century. As people and goods flowed both east and west, the Armenians became active participants in and beneficiaries of the *Pax Mongolica*, a relatively stable political climate throughout lands ruled by the Mongols that allowed for comparatively safe travel across Eurasia, especially from 1280 to 1360. Scholars compare this state of affairs with the *Pax Romana* in that the peace and stability derived from violent conquest and destruction.<sup>5</sup>

In this period of dramatic societal upheaval in Greater Armenia, caused primarily by the Seljuk and Mongol invasions and the subsequent weakening of Armenian *naxarar* (feudal lord) nobility, social disorganization was also impacted by the relationships that existed between Greater Armenia and Cilician Armenia. Following the initial Seljuk incursions, many Armenians migrated to western regions of the Byzantine Empire in the late eleventh century; in 1080 Ruben (r. 1080–1095), a descendant of the Bagratids, founded a principality in the Taurus Mountains that was recognized as the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia in 1198/99 and later became home to the Armenian catholicosate (see Evans, p. 129). Out of these shifts emerged an interweaving of power nodes within which different political and religious hierarchies coexisted and an expanded environment of social and cultural interaction was fostered between the Armenians and their neighbors.

In his *History of the Armenians*, completed in 1265, Kirakos Gandzakets'i (1200–1271) relates a brief anecdote concerning these political and religious hierarchies. According to the chronicler, a member of

the Zakarian dynasty (1201–1360) named Zakare wanted to allow Armenian armies to use decorated tents as temporary sanctuaries in which soldiers could participate in the Divine Liturgy. The Armenian priests at Ani, the Zakarian capital, announced that they could not approve of such a change without the consent of the Armenian catholicos in Hromkla and the Armenian king of Cilicia, Levon the Great (r. 1198/99–1219).<sup>6</sup> Even though Ani was considered one of the most important urban and commercial centers in the region, was the seat of an Armenian bishopric and home to several major churches, and had a large, diverse population over whom the Zakarian family governed, a decision about the observance and practice of faith by the military based there could not be made on the ground at Ani (see Maranci, p. 66). Permission had to be granted by the ruling catholicos and approved by the Armenian king in Cilicia, some four hundred and fifty miles south of Ani.

The existence of these various hierarchies was further complicated by Armenian participation in overlapping geographic and cultural contexts.<sup>7</sup> On the eve of the Seljuk invasions, Armenians had established long-standing relationships with the Byzantine, Georgian, and Islamic realms.<sup>8</sup> At least two Armenian Bagratid kings, Ashot I (r. 884–890) and Smbat I (r. 890–914), were recognized by the Armenian catholicos, the Byzantine emperor, and the Abbasid caliph, acts that located the Armenian nobility between the Armenian Church, the Byzantine Empire, and the Abbasid Caliphate.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, portraits and sculptures of Bagratid leaders depict these men wearing turbans and mantles; these garments should not be read as foreign Byzantine or Islamic elements, but as signs of the assimilation of Islamic modes of dress by the Armenian aristocracy (fig. 26).<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 26. Gagik I Artsruni seated cross-legged in the Islamic manner on the reliefs on the church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar, 915–21

The notion of cosmopolitanism provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding the ways in which Armenians imagined themselves and the diverse and expansive worlds they inhabited.<sup>11</sup> Antony Eastmond in his recent analysis of Tamta (d. 1254), a medieval noblewoman who lived in Armenian, Ayyubid, Georgian, Khwarazmian, and Mongol worlds, argues that all facets of identity, such as kinship, language, place, religion, and shared history, are problematic to define, and he suggests that identity should be imagined “not in abstract terms of what people were, but more concretely in terms of what they did.”<sup>12</sup> Connecting identity and experience highlights the importance of engaging with social topographies alongside political landscapes in order to uncover the kinds of mutual accommodation that seem to have been prevalent in the medieval world.<sup>13</sup> Until the eleventh century, when the first Armenian chronicles appear, Armenian historians placed the history of the Armenian people within the larger context of the history of the world.<sup>14</sup> Even the later chronicles offer perspectives on Armenian history as both local and global, betraying an enduring tendency to imagine an Armenian past as part of world history.<sup>15</sup>



At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Byzantines had encouraged Armenians to migrate out of their mountainous homeland and disbanded armed forces there in order to cut costs. The timing was unfortunate for the struggling empire as the depopulation and demilitarization of the region meant that the initially sporadic Seljuk attacks were overwhelmingly successful and incurred significant damage, paving the way for larger victories and the eventual establishment of a Seljuk sultanate at Iznik in 1077. Armenian responses to attacks from myriad sides were anything but uniform; some Armenians allied wholeheartedly with the Seljuks after feeling betrayed and abandoned by the Byzantine Empire, while others migrated west to join already established communities in Cappadocia, often taking armed forces along with them.<sup>16</sup>

From the late eleventh through the thirteenth century, a series of distinct and competing emirates were established in and around Armenia; these included the Artukids, the Danishmendids, the emirs of Gandzak, the Mengujekids, Shaddadids, the Saltukids, and the Shah-i Arman. Many of these principalities would become at least superficially unified under Seljuk and, later, Mongol rule. But the initial fracturing that defined their early enterprises set the stage for disjointed regional connections and broken political continuity common to many other regions of the medieval world.<sup>17</sup>

The first Mongol military incursions into Eastern Anatolia occurred in 1220–21. Kirakos Gandzakets'i compared their arrival to a "multitude of locusts or like torrential rains."<sup>18</sup> Still, many of the Armenian noble families formed powerful alliances with the Mongols, exchanging their loyalty and military participation for tax breaks and land parcels.<sup>19</sup> Under Mongol rule, the Armenians, Seljuks, and others not only deepened their trading ties and economic engagements but also participated enthusiastically in construction programs, suggesting that the Mongols encouraged economic activity as well as the accumulation of wealth and the foundation of significant structures and institutions, including churches, inns, mosques, and schools.

Timur (1336–1405) and his armies engaged in three separate incursions into the region in 1386–87, 1394–96, and 1399–1403. These invasions were particularly damaging for a population already weakened by emigration, warfare, and persecution, especially for the Armenians. One Armenian author noted of the Timurids, "Not only did they come against the Christians, but also many of the Muslim nations such that the oppression was general to the Persian nation, the Armenian, and the Turk."<sup>20</sup> The city of Ani, which had withstood invasions by the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Georgians, and others, was almost completely abandoned in the aftermath of the death of Timur in 1405.<sup>21</sup> Although Timur claimed to have reestablished the "legitimate" Mongolian empire and engaged in aggressive expansion into regions of Anatolia, Armenia, the Delhi sultanate, Georgia, Iraq, Khorasan, and Persia, it seems clear that Timur had no intention of staying in the Middle East and that his actions did not inspire the same kind of "opening up" as the Mongol conquests had. In fact, the power vacuum created by the Timurids seems to have left the door open for the eventual establishment of the Ottoman and Safavid Empires.

From the twelfth through the fifteenth century in Armenia and neighboring regions certain *naxarar*



Fig. 27. Tomb of Elikum III Orbelian, Saint Grigor Chapel, Noravank', 14th century

families, like the Zakarians, Orbelians, and Proshians, established and broke alliances with each other as well as with various polities and overlords as they sought to gain power and prestige. They accumulated immense wealth from trade both east and west and in turn commissioned numerous architectural projects and works of art. During this period individuals and polities displayed a kind of medieval cosmopolitanism through their art, architecture, language, and literature. The Orbelian family endowed a memorial chapel at the monastic complex of Noravank' (fig. 27) and supported the great monasteries and schools at Gladzor and Tat'ev (cats. 40–45). Amir Hasan of the Proshian family completed the church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astuatsatsin) (cat. 35), a construction project begun by his father, Prince Each'i Proshian (ca. 1268–1339), who also dedicated a great reliquary to the “Holy Cross of the Vegetarians” (Khotakerats') (cat. 36).

Armenian noble families also participated with various other Seljuk, Mengujek, and Mongol noble families in the charitable construction of caravansaries, roadside inns built throughout the region of Anatolia and contiguous areas by governments and private individuals in order to stimulate trade and ensure safety for travelers. In Anatolia, the Hekim Han caravansary,

constructed in 1218 on the route from Sivas to Malat'ya, bears an inscription program in Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. This caravansary was endowed by a local Syriac Christian who was both a physician and an archdeacon.<sup>22</sup> In 1332, the Orbelian family endowed a caravansary in the Siwnik' region at Vayots' Dzor; this inn features a dual-language inscription, in Armenian and Persian, welcoming visitors (see fig. 38).<sup>23</sup>

Yeghegis in Vayots' Dzor was a capital city (*mayrak'aghak'*) and a seat of the Orbelian family starting in the thirteenth century. A vibrant trading center, it was also home to the only Jewish community known to have cohabitated with Armenians in Greater Armenia during the medieval period, as attested to by the discovery of a Jewish cemetery with over eighty gravestones dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Twenty of these gravestones feature inscriptions in Hebrew and Aramaic, revealing much about Jewish life in the area (fig. 28). The Jewish community probably migrated to Yeghegis from Persia as the titular *khoja* (elite merchant) appears in several of the inscriptions, suggesting that members of the community may have used the Persian language.<sup>24</sup> Examination of the inscriptions proves that the community was relatively well educated in matters of Jewish faith and tradition.



Fig. 28. Multilingual tombstones at Yeghegis cemetery, 1260–1497

The structures at Yeghegis and their multi-language inscriptions seem to reflect a desire to promote mutually beneficial connections across faiths, languages, and regions that in turn ensured a fruitful environment for international trade.

A similar mingling of cultures is reflected in the inscriptions on a dual-sided tombstone from 1351/52, also from Yeghegis.<sup>25</sup> Part of the Armenian inscription reads: “By means of the true faith and with a true heart filled with blessings, he was martyred and with Christ’s light he was worthy and was martyred with Christ’s blessing . . . Remember our brothers, Saint Nerses . . . in the name of Christ. In the year 801 [AD 1352].”<sup>26</sup> The Arabic inscription on the opposite side reads: “This grave of the dead, happy, martyred youth in need of blessings from God the Greatest, Akhi Tawwakul . . . in the month of Muharram in the year 752 [AD 1352].”<sup>27</sup> A shorter inscription in Persian sits below the Arabic and is somewhat obfuscated, but part seems to read, “Thanks to you, he will have Egypt and Anatolia and China . . . he will have everything . . .”<sup>28</sup> This combination of languages suggests that the deceased person had two identities: one that was Armenian and Christian and another that was Muslim and likely Persian-speaking. These inscriptions imply that hybrid identity was part and parcel of everyday life, at least in cities. This tombstone, associated with an *akhi*, a member of a local *futuwwa*-style brotherhood, also indicates that guild-like fraternities probably existed in Yeghegis, where local Christians and Muslims interacted, prioritizing cooperation and trade over prejudice by faith.<sup>29</sup>

Architecture from this same period in Yeghegis further demonstrates the Orbelians’ commitment to supporting international commerce through the charitable endowment of building projects. Consecrated in 1303 by Step’anos Orbelian (1250–1305), the son of Tarsayich Orbelian (d. 1290) and Aruz Khatun, a Muslim noblewoman from Siwnik’ who converted to Christianity, the Army (Zorats’) Church, with its raised, open altar, seems to have been a holy site where soldiers on horseback could come as they prepared for, or rode to, battle (fig. 29). In addition to

the altar, there is a mihrab-like prayer niche in the southern wall, with a Star of David above it. These elements imply that some individuals embraced a multifaceted religious practice and identity, and/or that the building was a functional, hybrid religious space. Such a space would have been useful for the diverse armies serving the Mongols, especially considering Tarsayich’s close links with the Ilkhanid ruler Arghun Khan (r. 1284–1291) and his position as atabeg under the Mongols. By creating new spaces for social interaction, the Orbelians promoted a version of cosmopolitanism that supported their own personal drive for power and wealth. Such spaces likely reflect larger regional approaches to understanding the world, and the place of faith therein.

Anatolian Seljuk nobility also embraced a functional dual identity that allowed them to engage effectively in both Byzantine and Seljuk realms.<sup>30</sup> Suzan Yalman has recently shown that certain women, such as Mahperi Khatun (d. after 1254), likely a Chalcedonian Armenian who married the Rum Seljuk sultan ‘Ala’ al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1219/20–1237), preserved an Armenian Christian identity that is visible in the constructions she endowed.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, many of the medieval epics are filled with characters that represent a kind of cultural duality, including characters in the Turkish *Danishmend Name*, the Byzantine *Digenes Akrites*, the Turkish *Epic of Dede Korkut*, and the Armenian *Epic of Sassoun*, which suggests that this kind of dual identity was very much a part of how medieval Armenians, Byzantines, Georgians, and Turko-Persian Muslims understood their social landscape.<sup>32</sup>

Armenian institutions, however, launched efforts to promote a clear sense of a unique Armenian Christian identity in the face of the fracturing of Armenian unity and the cultural destabilization caused by Muslim invasions. Catholicos Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali; 1102–1173) worked to create a space for rapprochement between the Armenian and Byzantine churches and to encourage church unity, in general; to document the horrors of the Crusades; and to make Armenian faith more accessible to the masses by composing new styles of poetry and literature. His General Epistle (*t’ukht’*



Fig. 29. Army (Zorats') Church, Yeghegis, 1303

*ênthanrakan*) offers guidance on correct Christian behavior and is consistent with other examples of advice literature (*khratk'*) produced in the region, most likely as a response to the cultural and political complexity of the time. In addressing the "Worldly Princes," Nerses writes, "I beg you not to be disobedient to the laws of God, but to obey the laws just as you wish that our servants would carry out your will and commandment with obedience and without fault."<sup>53</sup>

During this same period, Armenian scholars also became particularly interested in the codification of laws. Mkhit'ar Gosh (ca. 1130–1213) was invested in encouraging Armenians to use Armenian legal codes, rather than non-Armenian ones. In his introduction to the *Datastanagirk'* (Law Code), Mkhit'ar explains that it is "necessary to use the superior and true and compas-

sionate code. . . . So it is not right for a Christian to go to the court of those who are so distant in justice. . . . We see many of the believers rushing there, when they see that by going to the foreigners our case is carried out victoriously; and if it turns out well among the believers according to their desires, they then go to them. But it is not right for the sake of avarice and victory for believers to go to the unbelievers, but to the believers, even if by law the case is lost."<sup>54</sup> These codes reflect a certain degree of fear among some Armenians about cultural and social mixing, as promoted by such organizations as *futuwwa*-based brotherhoods, in which Christians and Muslims came together beyond structures generally associated with religious hierarchy. Attempts at reform were not limited to the legal arena; in 1280 the priest-poet Yovhannes Yerzknats'i (1225–1326) wrote a

reforming constitution for a *futuwwa*-style brotherhood that placed it squarely within the Armenian Christian tradition.<sup>35</sup> This renewed focus on Armenian identity was not solely linked to written texts, as khachkars—considered a unique symbol of Armenian identity—were particularly popular in and around the thirteenth century, when their imagery increasingly reflected Christian themes like the Deposition of Christ from the Cross (see fig. 32).<sup>36</sup>

One of the most significant maps from the fourteenth century, the Catalan Atlas (Portolano), reinforces the identification of the Armenians as a Christian people. It was made in Mallorca by Abraham Cresques, a Majorcan Jew (1325–1387), at the behest of prince, later king, John of Aragon (1350–1396), who desired a depiction of the area from the Atlantic Ocean to China (fig. 30). The map consists of six panels with legends describing important regions and images illustrating rulers and traveling caravans. The sixth panel shows a large monastery with two cross towers sitting alongside Ysicol, a large lake with blue and white waves, positioned next to a walled city. The text alongside the image reads, “In this place, there is a monastery of Armenian monks where they say lies the body of the Apostle and Evangelist Matthew.”<sup>37</sup> Although scholars have yet to find the actual location of the monastery,<sup>38</sup> this map proves that Armenians were viewed as active members of a global community and that they were mobile not only thanks to trade but also due to their involvement in religious proselytization and participation in the exchange of relics and the creation of reliquaries.

The early Islamic conquests had expanded maritime trade, linking the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Thanks to the *Pax Mongolica*, overland routes were systematically monitored and protected, promoting trade throughout Eurasia.<sup>39</sup> Contemporary sources suggest that Armenians were deeply engaged in the global movement of ideas and goods—such as carpets, cotton, glass, horses, silk, slaves, and wool—along routes primarily running from east to west and north to south. The southern Mediterranean seaport of Ayas, controlled by the Armenians, was deeply



Fig. 30. Detail of Lake Ysicol, from the Catalan Atlas. 1375, tempera and gold, silver and ink on vellum, mounted on wood. Overall: 25 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 118 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (65 × 300 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Esp. 30)

engaged in trade with city-states like Genoa and Venice. Concomitantly, Armenians established new merchant communities in Bruges and Ghent in the thirteenth century and reinforced those that already existed in Venice, Palermo, Ravenna, Treviso, and Naples. Armenian settlements on the Black Sea at Kaffa and L’vov became so significant in this late medieval period that some Western sources began to refer to the region as *Armenia Maritima* and the sea of Azov as *Lacus armeniacus*. An Armenian inscription at Getik from 1242 tells of a church purchased for “40,000 red (gold) *ducats*” by Umek, a *medzatun* (literally “of a large house” in Armenian), a term used to designate wealthy businessmen who succeeded in the aftermath of the Seljuk incursions but who were generally not of noble pedigree.<sup>40</sup> This Umek hailed from Karin and by 1251 had moved to Tbilisi, where he also funded either the construction or reconstruction of the Armenian church of Saint George in 1251.<sup>41</sup> Kirakos Gandzakets‘i tells us that Umek was respected by the Mongols and was able to receive tax breaks from them, helping him

to acquire more wealth.<sup>42</sup> The use of *ducat* in a public inscription in Greater Armenia suggests that local populations, whether or not they were mobile themselves, understood this Venetian term, and that the *ducat* had become a common currency not only in the Levant but also in Armenia.<sup>43</sup>

The Armenians' ties to commercial interests also benefited the Genoese when they secured their economic domination in the Black Sea in the late thirteenth century. In 1237, the Genoese frequently traded through Kars involving the Zakarian Armenians in the Black Sea trade, which allowed the route from Trebizond to Berkri and Khoy in Greater Armenia to connect with the Italian sea routes.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, while the Seljuks boasted of "controlling" the routes from the Black to Mediterranean Seas in the early thirteenth century, it is likely that trade links between the Zakarians and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia existed, especially since Cilicia was actively engaged with the practices of everyday life at the Zakarian capital of Ani. In fact, the trade route Francesco Balducci Pegolotti describes as stretching from Ayas to Sivas, Erznka, Karin, and Tabriz makes all the more sense if we consider that Armenians were active participants and facilitators on this particular trade itinerary.<sup>45</sup>

Trade routes from Armenia and Cilicia reached to Kaffa, where the Armenian-language T-O map was made. According to Genoese sources, in 1316 Armenians had three churches—two Armenian Apostolic and one Catholic—of their own in Kaffa. In this region, a rich literary tradition flourished and the art of illuminated manuscript writing was established (cats. 73, 74). The Armenian Church played a central role in Armenian social life, and in 1330 it counted forty-four churches under its jurisdiction. By the 1470s, Armenians comprised two-thirds of the total population of Kaffa, numbering 46,000 out of 70,000.<sup>46</sup> From the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, the Armenians formed the second-largest ethnic group after the Tartars. Many of them began to speak Tatar, writing it in Armenian script.

L'vov was also an important trading station en route to Flanders, and it appears on the T-O map

from Kaffa. Through this city, cloth, spices, silks, and carpets were traded, primarily by Armenians and Jews, both of whom were prominent in commerce between L'vov and points farther east, although they played very different roles and were offered different rights according to their religion. (Armenians and Ruthenians were considered "second-class" burghers, while Jews were unable to acquire burgher status.) Still, the 1356 Charter of Casimov granted trading privileges to Armenians, Jews, Tatars, Saracens (Muslims), and Ruthenians, allowing members of these populations to become the backbone of many bourgeois communities in Crimea and beyond.<sup>47</sup>

The discussion of the Armenian language in texts composed by individuals with a keen interest in trade is a final important indicator of the significance of Armenians as a global merchant community during the centuries of the *Pax Mongolica*. Pegolotti, an employee of the Florence-based Bardi Company, traveled throughout the Bardi networks in the fourteenth century and secured a contract for the company with the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, among others. With his experience, he was well positioned to write *The Book of Descriptions of Countries and Measurements of Merchandise* around the year 1343. Pegolotti tells us that Armenian is one of sixteen languages necessary to engage with trade from the Mediterranean Sea to China.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, in a fourteenth-century *hexaglot* (a book written in six languages) prepared for the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Malik al-Afdal (d. 1377), Arabic-language speakers are encouraged to acquaint themselves with the names for a range of objects and substances, mostly related to trade, listed in Armenian as well as Arabic, Greek, Mongol, Persian, and Turkish.<sup>49</sup> The invasions of Seljuks and Mongols, while initially destructive, benefited Armenians in unexpected ways. The devastation caused by the Timurids at the turn of the fifteenth century paved the way for the Armenians to play powerful cultural and mercantile roles through the establishment of ties between dispersed Armenian communities and for their subsequent control of the circulation of goods under the Ottoman and Persian dynasties that followed.

# KHACHKARS

**K**hachkars, literally “cross-stones,” are stone slabs carved with a cross, which sometimes rise above human height. Tens of thousands of examples survive from the medieval and early modern periods, and from throughout the regions of historical Armenia.<sup>1</sup> Added in 2010 to UNESCO’s Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage, khachkars are today closely associated with Armenian identity both in the Republic and in the worldwide diaspora.

With the earliest examples dating from the ninth century, khachkars were often erected for the spiritual salvation of a person, whether living or dead. Many

bear inscriptions recording the date of production and the identity of the patron. They were also erected to commemorate military victories, sacred or historically important places, and the construction or repair of a church, or to protect against evil. Khachkars are usually newly carved for their patrons, but the Van region preserves extraordinary examples of reused Urartian stelae carved with crosses (fig. 31).<sup>2</sup>

While khachkars seem morphologically related to early medieval stelae (cat. 4), their iconography distinguishes them as a clear and coherent departure, focusing the viewer’s attention on the instrument of Christ’s Passion. Noting that early khachkars suppress the image of the dead body of Christ, scholars have suggested that the form may respond to contemporary theology emphasizing the divinity of Christ over his human nature.<sup>3</sup> The earliest khachkars feature a large Latin cross, projected in relief and decorated with rosettes. Tendril-like forms, terminating in rosettes, sprout upward and downward from the cross, which surmounts a large rosette.

From the twelfth to the fourteenth century, khachkar production increased; they appeared in various settings including monasteries, funerary chapels, cemeteries, and small purpose-built shrines. Khachkars grew taller in height (sometimes to more than eight feet) and were usually crowned with a rectilinear rather than arched cornice. Compositions and decorative themes developed too: figural images emerge, and visual patterns become diverse and intricate (cats. 29, 30).

Comparisons of khachkars from Hromkla (cat. 53), the northern region of Lori (cat. 28), and the monastery of Havuts’ Tar near Lake Sevan (cat. 27) show great diversity in shape and design. In the north, a remarkable new type emerges about 1270 to 1280, called the *Amenapr’kich* or Savior of All, for its depiction of Christ’s Descent



Fig. 31. Urartian stela. Church of Surb Poghos, Lake Van region, 828–86, with 10th-century cross and inscription



Fig. 32. Savior of All (*Amenap'rkich*) khachkar. Monastery of Haghpat, 1273  
 Fig. 33. Khachkar. Goshavank', 1291



from the Cross (fig. 32). By this period, carvers developed an astonishingly refined technique, giving stone surfaces the appearance of delicate lace (fig. 33).

The city of Julfa, in Nakhchivan, was widely known for its vast cemetery of khachkars, which were deliberately destroyed beginning in the 1990s, in an attempt to eliminate any trace of Armenian presence from the region. Most dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, Julfan khachkars are taller and narrower than previous examples, and are normally more quadrangular in shape. While scholars have noted

many variants, the typical Julfan khachkar has a central cross within a deep ogee niche, surrounded by panels of geometric or interlace decoration. Most are non-figural, but by the middle of the sixteenth century, representations of Christ, angels, evangelist symbols, and donors appear. A well-preserved example, now at the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, is inscribed with the date 1586 (cat. 123). Its main design resembles the format of earlier khachkars, while the narrow, pointed arch enclosed within a rectangular frame finds parallels in contemporary Persian and Ottoman tombstones. <sup>CM</sup>





## CAT. 27 Khachkar

Monastery of Havuts' Tar, Ayrarat, 12th–13th century

Tuff

8 ft. 8 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. × 41 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (265 × 105 × 35 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2936)

The monastery of Havuts' Tar, perched high on a promontory over the Azat River, preserves a remarkable ensemble of monastic architecture and sculptural reliefs, including several important khachkars. This khachkar is a particularly refined example, combining geometric and vegetal interlace and multiple planes of carving.<sup>1</sup> Towering well over human height, it tilts slightly forward at the crown, a feature found on many examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Serving to protect the fine carving of the stone surface, this curvature surely conveyed to the medieval viewer messages of shelter and protection—appropriate themes for worshippers seeking answers to their prayers.

The composition features a large Latin cross sprouting curvilinear tendrils and grapevines, evoking a luxuriant Tree of Life. Below are two additional crosses, each sheltered in an arched frame and adorned with vegetation. On the cornice, a pair of crosses alternates with palmette and arabesque forms, each of these set within arcades of double twisted colonnettes. Geometric interlace surrounds the main zone: the upper edge is carved with a basket-weave motif, while the left and right borders bear complicated repeated designs of crosses within lozenges, recalling Islamic monuments of Seljuk and Mongol-era Anatolia. This powerful abstraction typifies an important intermediate phase in the khachkar carving tradition, developed out of the simpler formats produced from the ninth to the eleventh century, but prior to the emergence of the delicate lace khachkars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (cat. 30). cm

## CAT. 28 Khachkar

Lori Berd, 12th–13th century

Basalt

72 × 38¼ × 9 in. (182.9 × 98.4 × 22.9 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan

On this khachkar an elaborately bejeweled cross, promising salvation, emerges from a symbolic Gospel book—a rectangle filled with the symbols of the four evangelists: a face for Saint Matthew, a lion's head for Saint Mark, an ox head on its side across the bottom for Saint Luke, and the profile of an eagle for Saint John.<sup>1</sup> This powerful composite image, a possibly unique depiction of the promise of salvation through the Gospels, the word of God, is most appropriate for a khachkar as Armenians venerated Gospel books, not icons. The imagery also prefigures the Savior of All (*Amenap'rkich*) composition found on later khachkars (see fig. 32). Across the top, two pairs of birds, posed as often shown in canon tables (cat. 3), amplify the Gospel references. As the Armenian faith traditionally identified birds as symbols of the risen dead, their presence reinforces the work's role as a memorial.<sup>2</sup> The varied, elaborate interlace patterns framing the cross are similar to designs found in canon tables and on contemporary Islamic art.

The khachkar was found at Lori Berd, a fortress in northern Armenia near Georgia, established by a branch of the Bagratid rulers of Ani. It was carved immediately before the Mongol conquest of 1238 when the region's ruling Armenian Orbelian and then Zakarian families were under Georgian overlords.<sup>3</sup> HCE



## CAT. 29 Fragment of a Khachkar

Monastery of Kech'aris, Tsakhkadzor, 1260–80

Dolomite

25<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 35<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (64 × 89 × 17 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (100)

This khachkar fragment is from the monastery of Kech'aris, located in Tsakhkadzor.<sup>1</sup> Founded by prince and scholar Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni in the eleventh century, Kech'aris was further developed in 1248 by the Khachen princes and in the second half of the thirteenth century by Prince Prosh Khaghbakean.

The khachkar's cornice features the enthroned Christ holding on his knees a Gospel book open to the words "I am the light of the world" (John 8:12). To the right and left, respectively, are John the Baptist and the Virgin, forming a Deesis scene. To the left of the trio are Peter (identified by inscription) and an angel; another angel appears at the cornice's right edge. A final, rightmost figure, perhaps Paul, surely once completed the grouping. Below this register is a large

inscription reading, "By the mercy of Baron Gorgik . . . intercede for Prosh." The evangelist Matthew, identified by inscription, appears to the left of this text.

This fragment reflects important trends in khachkar carving of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The integration of figured cornices, often depicting the Deesis, is typical of the period, as are the extremely fine interlace, the elegant and expressive figures, and the carefully observed textures of drapery, wings, and hair. In addition to the high quality of the work and its epigraphic association with a major princely family, this khachkar is noteworthy for iconographic reasons: Matthew's portrait is a rare and perhaps unique example of a seated evangelist represented on this type of object.<sup>2</sup> CM



## CAT. 30 Khachkar

Sot'k in Siwnik', or Vaykunik' or Berdzor in Arts'akh,  
13th–14th century

Tuff

50<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 27<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (128 × 69 × 18 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 4-Q)

This beautifully carved khachkar was brought to the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin in 2001–2.<sup>1</sup> The cross stone is damaged extensively, but much of the decoration is intact on the front. The image of the cross stands at the center of the composition; hovering above and below the horizontal arm are carved angels with halos who keep the cross floating with one hand and tightly hold straps that anchor the vertical arm of the cross with the other. Circular carved decorations evoke clouds surrounding the cross, and the angels bring to mind the Gospel passage from Matthew: “. . . then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven . . . and he will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other” (24:30–31). Round, crowned decorative fruits, reminiscent of pomegranates, draw the eye to the cross. According to Armenian Church Fathers, pomegranates symbolize the prophets of the Old Testament, who foretold the coming of the Lord, his Crucifixion and Resurrection, as well as prophesied the Second Coming and the awe-inspiring Last Judgment.

On the back is an inscription in *erkat'agir* script. Though this side of the slab is also damaged, the surviving words reveal that it was erected as a gravestone for the tomb of the commissioner's mother. This inscription supports the message of the imagery: the child of the deceased nurtures the hope that in the Second Coming of Christ, the mother will be worthy of “the light of the Cross, the blessed sound of Gabriel's trumpet, the divine vision, the unwilting crown, the most high altar, the luminous nuptial chambers,” in other words of the heavenly kingdom.<sup>2</sup> The khachkar's place of origin is unknown, but a comparison of the imagery and decorative elements with similar monuments suggests it was made in Sot'k in Siwnik' or in the districts of Vaykunik' or Berdzor in Arts'akh. AK



## MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN SITES

The period of Zakarian rule, from the early thirteenth to the fourteenth century, witnessed building activity across the regions of historical Armenia, including both the expansion of existing foundations and new constructions, much of it sponsored by local princely families. The architecture of these sites testifies to the vigorous cultural contact of the era. Retaining the geometric profiles established already in seventh-century Armenian architecture, Zakarian-era builders also experimented with new structural solutions and decorative designs, absorbing and modifying ideas from Byzantine, Georgian, Seljuk, and Mongol building traditions.<sup>1</sup> Islamic art informed a range of media, from the use of *muqarnas* niches in the vaulting and exteriors of Armenian monastic structures to the use of pseudo-Kufic in epigraphy.

Magnificent monastic complexes arose in the northern provinces, including Lori and Tavush, the latter home to the monasteries of Haghartsin and Goshavank' (fig. 34). Goshavank' is associated with Mkhitar Gosh (ca. 1130–1213), the author of an important compilation of civil and canon law, and founder of the monastery.<sup>2</sup> In Lori, the Kiwrikians sponsored monastic buildings at Sanahin and Haghpat (see fig. 40); the complex of Bardzrak'ash, near Dsegh, was expanded by the Mamikonian family.

The central regions of Aragatsotn, Ayrarat, Kotayk', and Shirak also experienced architectural activity during the period. In Aragatsotn, the Vachutian family financed construction at the monastic complexes of Saghmosavank' and Yovhannavank'. The city of Ani prospered as a trade station on the north–south route



toward Trebizond, which had become a Byzantine capital after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Some merchants, such as Tigran Honents', became very rich, as demonstrated by his lavish church on the eastern flank of Ani of 1215 (fig. 35).<sup>5</sup> Farther east in Kotayk', the monastery of Kech'aris expanded under the sponsorship of the Khachen princes, and then, in the second half of the thirteenth century, by Prince Prosh Khaghbakean, who also financed a complex of buildings at the monastery of Geghard (fig. 36). The monasteries of the kingdom of Siwnik' in the south, including of Noravank' and Yeghegis, in the Vayots' Dzor region of Siwnik', and those of Gladzor and Tat'ev (see fig. 4), also flourished during this time.

In all these cases, artistic patronage involved not only the construction of monuments but rich decorative programs including architectural sculpture, khachkars, wall painting, and the donation of precious objects and manuscripts. The monastery of the Holy Apostles in Mush, in the western province of Taron, received a pair of elaborately carved wood doors, while in Siwnik', Prince Each'i Proshian donated a gilded-silver reliquary (cat. 36) to the Monastery of the Vegetarians (Khotakerats').

Activity also returned to the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan) with the establishment in 1113 of a patriarchate at Aght'amar, which lasted until the nineteenth century (under the authority of the Supreme Catholicosate at Etchmiadzin starting in the sixteenth century). The turning point for cultural production, however, came in the second half of the thirteenth century, when the vast trade networks of the Mongols extended through the region. Surely spurred by these economic conditions, Armenian manuscripts were produced in great numbers: specialists count approximately fifteen hundred manuscripts copied in Baghesh, Berkri, Van, and Varag. Unlike other provinces, the Van region was able to sustain artistic activity through the tumultuous fifteenth century and the successive invasions of Timurids, Turkmen, and Ottomans. cm



Fig. 35. Church of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Ani, 1215

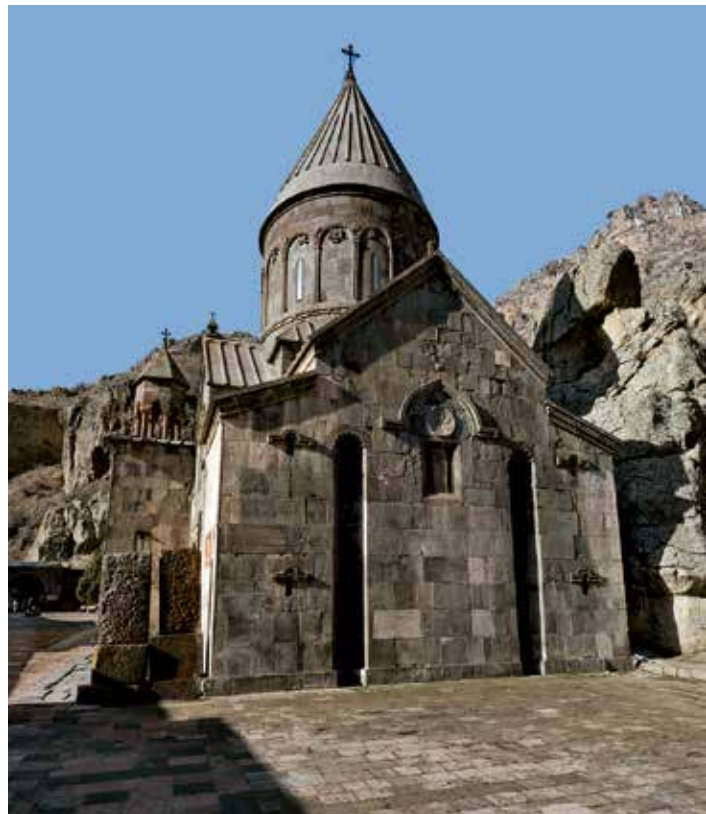


Fig. 36. Main church, Monastery of Geghard, Kotayk', ca. 1215

Fig. 34. Goshavank', Tavush, 12th–13th century

## LORI

The province of Lori is located in the picturesque mountains of Armenia's northern region. Occupied since the Bronze Age, in the ninth century it became part of the Bagratid kingdom of Tashir-Dzoraget, ruled by the Kiwrikian dynasty; in the twelfth century, Lori was absorbed within the kingdom of Georgia, though it was still controlled by the Kiwrikians.

The monuments of Lori are among the most celebrated of medieval Armenian architecture, including the early monument of Odzun, with its stelae. The region is also known for the major monastic complexes of Sanahin and Haghpat, both founded by the Bagratid queen Khosrovanush in the tenth century and expanded significantly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under Kiwrikian patronage.<sup>1</sup> Each site features extraordinary thirteenth-century architectural innovations: large, vaulted chambers used as refectories, libraries, and *gavit's* (antechambers

preceding churches). The Haghpat *gavit's* is surmounted by massive intersecting ribs and an open skylight; the same scheme is used in the monastery's refectory. The multistory bell tower, dated to 1215, features exterior decoration of pipe molding and *muqarnas* niches, the latter appropriated from Islamic building traditions.

The same decorative elements are combined at the monastery of Bardzrak'ash in Lori's eastern region of Dsegh. Constructed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, and now in ruins and entangled in vegetation, Bardzrak'ash features a wealth of epigraphy and sculpture (fig. 37). Surviving walls, portals, and piers exemplify the trends of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Armenian architecture, yet they also present unique iconographic features (cat. 32). Equally remarkable is a twelfth-century khachkar from the medieval fortress of Lori Berd, in which the traditional cross format is supported by evangelist symbols (cat. 28). CM



Fig. 37. Interior view of the ruins of the monastery of Bardzrak'ash, Dsegh, 10th–11th century

## CAT. 31 Church Model (Acroterion)

Monastery of Bardzrak'ash, Dsegh, Lori, 10th–13th century  
Tuff

32<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 27<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 19<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (82 × 71 × 49 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (T 70-15)

Made from a single stone block, this church model, and the zenithal roof tile to which it is attached, is a remarkable example of a medieval artistic tradition unique to the South Caucasus: church-shaped roof ornaments, or acroteria.<sup>1</sup> Frequently appearing atop monastic monuments from the thirteenth century, as at Haghpat, acroteria often present at least an approximate imitation of the churches they adorn.

The Bardzrak'ash acroterion is exceptional for its specific details and decoration, which offer important clues as to the appearance of the monument that it miniaturizes. The monastery of Bardzrak'ash, in Dsegh, comprises a barrel-vaulted chapel, probably from the tenth century and dedicated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator, as well as a thirteenth-century domed church dedicated to the Mother of God and a *gavit* (antechamber). While none of these buildings preserves its vaulting, the architectural details of the model, with its domed massing and conical roof, suggest that the acroterion perched on the roof of the thirteenth-century church.

The carver has added noteworthy details, including separate projecting gables crowning each facade, and window moldings on the main elevation and the drum. Even the model's roof tiles replicate those of actual monuments produced from the tenth to the thirteenth century, in which raised ribs descend radially from the cupola's top before branching toward the base. Carved relief decoration appears on the surface of the tile, including a pitcher, a motif commonly found on Armenian bas-reliefs and perhaps liturgical in significance. cm





## CAT. 32 Fragment of a Figural Sculpture

Monastery of Bardzrak'ash, Dsegh, Lori, 10th–13th century  
Tuff

30<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 25<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (78 × 64 × 27 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (T 70-16)

The monastery of Bardzrak'ash, nestled deep within the woods in Dsegh, preserves a striking ensemble of architecture and sculpture, as well as a rich epigraphic corpus. One unusual stone fragment from the site depicts the enthroned Christ approached by two smaller figures.<sup>1</sup> Christ appears at the apex of a triangular recess, his halo breaking through its zenith, suggesting that this fragment likely formed part of the tympanum of a portal or window. Seated frontally, he gazes at the viewer with large, almond-shaped eyes, his robe-like garment falling in thick folds over his knees. Curling tendrils fill the background, much like those of the thirteenth-century relief sculpture of the main church of Noravank' (ca. 1261).<sup>2</sup>

The two lateral figures are particularly noteworthy. Their small scale, lack of halos, and bowing posture indicate that they are secular figures, perhaps donors. They receive direct blessing from Christ, who places his hands on their heads. Such unmediated contact between secular figures and Christ is uncommon in bas-relief sculpture; more often, donors are shown alone, sometimes holding a model or adoring the Virgin, as on a tympanum at the thirteenth-century monastery of Haghartsin.<sup>3</sup>

The carver here has sought clearly to distinguish the two figures. On Christ's right (our left), his favored side, is a bearded figure, while on his left is a barefaced, full-cheeked young man. Could this be Marzpan Mamikonian, named as one of the sponsors of Bardzrak'ash, shown with his son Sargis? The answer is not clear, and the rich epigraphy on the monastery walls offers various possibilities. Nevertheless, this unusual example of secular portraiture forms just another aspect of the unique sculptural expressions of Bardzrak'ash. CM



## SIWNIK՝

After the arrival of the Seljuks, the kingdom of Siwnik՝ fractured into a number of Armenian-ruled principalities, including Khachen (in Arts՝akh) and Baghk՝. With the advent of Zakarian rule in Armenia, the Orbelians, a branch of the Mamikonian dynasty, served as ruling family of the region. Orbelian patronage led to the expansion of Noravank՝, which became the episcopal see of Siwnik՝ and the princely seat of the family. The Orbelians also commissioned a caravansary, facilitating travel along the mountainous route between Siwnik՝ and Lake Sevan (fig. 38). Another noble family of this region, the Proshians, was also a major artistic sponsor during the fourteenth century, responsible for the monastery of Spitakavor (cat. 35) and the reliquary dedicated to the Monastery of the Vegetarians (Khotakerats՝) (cat. 36).

Siwnik՝ also saw a marked increase in the production of manuscripts, including works of law, history,

religious commentary, grammar, and geography. Much of this production was monastic: one center was the monastery of Gladzor, known as the “second Athens,” where, under the direction of the abbot Esayi Nch՝ets՝i (d. 1338; cat. 40), students learned rhetoric, philosophy, calligraphy, and illumination.<sup>1</sup> At the monastery of Tat՝ev, Gregory of Tat՝ev (Grigor Tat՝evats՝i; 1346–1409/10) taught philosophy, theology, Greek, Latin, and painting (cat. 74).<sup>2</sup> These two monasteries generated important defenses of Armenian theology and liturgy, responding to the proselytizing efforts of the *Fratres Unitores*, the Armenian branch of the Dominican order. Translation from Latin into Armenian of authors such as Thomas Aquinas occurred at both monasteries, leading, as scholars have observed, to an important flourishing of intellectual life in the southeastern regions of Armenia. ԸՄ



Fig. 38. Orbelians՝ caravansary, Vayots՝ Dzor, Siwnik՝, 1332

## CAT. 33 Bas-Relief of an Angel

Monastery of Bghen, Siwnik', 10th century

Sandstone

35<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 27<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (91 × 70 × 25 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (T 70-33)

The monastery of Bghen (also known as Bgheno-Noravank'), located in Siwnik', is best known as the place where the tenth-century portion of the famous Etchmiadzin Gospels was produced. The original complex included a church, a *gavit*' (antechamber), a portico, and a leper hospital, but the single remaining building is a small, unusual barrel-vaulted church dated by inscription to the eleventh century. On both its exterior and its interior, and in its vicinity, are carved stone slabs depicting such scenes as the Annunciation, the Ascension, and the Oil-Bearing Women. Once forming part of this decoration, this stone features an angel seated in three-quarter view toward the left, turning frontally toward the viewer. The figure is compressed within the space afforded by the ogival-arched frame, its large feet just touching the left border of the image, and its halo reaching the top edge.

In its figure type, carving style, and probable integration within a group of pictorial panels, this slab finds parallels at the tenth-century Armenian church of Aght'amar in Lake Van (see fig. 7).<sup>1</sup> Yet the arched frame which shelters the angel, and which decorates many of the slabs, recalls the painting cycle of 989 from the Etchmiadzin Gospels, where the Virgin, Christ, and saints appear on single pages, each within elaborate arcades. The powerful bulk of the Bghen angel, however, evokes even more distant prototypes: scholars have suggested that its carver was inspired by early Christian Armenian sculpture and painting. In this regard, it is intriguing that appended to the tenth-century text of the Etchmiadzin Gospels are four seventh-century paintings featuring similarly stocky, large-headed images of the angel Gabriel. cm



## CAT. 34 Church Model

Siwnik', 11th–13th century

Tuff

21¼ × 12⅝ × 10⅝ in. (54 × 32 × 27 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2859)

Carved from a single block of tuff, this model depicts a tall domed church. Four gabled facades form the square base of the structure, above which rises a cylindrical drum and conical roof, thus producing the characteristic geometric profile of Armenian church architecture known from the seventh century. The compact cruciform plan of the model particularly recalls the early medieval church of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin) in T'alin and the church of Karmavor in Ashtarak. Its elongated proportions, however, bring to mind monuments constructed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Although weathered, the model preserves many noteworthy details. Radial ridges adorn the conical cupola, indicating either ceramic or stone tiles. The carver has also cut a jog into the triangular gable of the facade, suggesting the springing of a short barrel vault within the structure. Close inspection further reveals that a rectangular ridge cut within the inner faces of the portal, as if a small panel, perhaps made of wood or metal, once blocked the open cavity. If this panel did exist, the model may have functioned as a container for relics, much as scholars have suggested with similar stone models found within monastic churches from the tenth to the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> One such model, for example, rests upon a doorway lintel at the monastery of Sanahin, founded in the tenth century. cm



## CAT. 35 Bas-Relief of Amir Hasan Hunting on Horseback

Church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astuatsatsin), Monastery of Spitakavor, Siwnik', early 14th century

Felsite

37 × 53<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (94 × 136 × 34 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1320–22)

Amir Hasan's portrait once adorned the south wall of the church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astuatsatsin) at the monastery of Spitakavor in Siwnik', which he completed building in 1321 after its foundation by his father, Prince Each'i Proshian (fig. 39). Amir's representation formed one of several figural scenes on the church's exterior, including a Deesis (featuring Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist) and a portrait identified by scholars as the father and son together.<sup>1</sup>

Amir fulfilled his princely duties, his hunting portrait implies, by not only building works but also engaging in the noble pastime par excellence. Shown mounted and turning back to shoot his arrow at a deer, he wears a tall hat and a wrapped, close-fitting garment, cinched by an ornate belt. This costume, together with Amir's round cheeks and almond-shaped

eyes, finds close parallels in other princely portraits from Mongol-era Armenia, and in particular that of his father on the reliquary of the "Holy Cross of Vegetarians" (Khotakerats') (cat. 36). Amir's horse's trappings are also carefully articulated, including a crupper, chest piece, and what appears to be a snaffle bridle. The carver's skills are evident in the confident and balanced composition, the expressive drapery pleats, and the robust handling of the limbs. Scholars note similarities in the iconography of the archer in Mongol and Persian art; but the tradition of the noble hunter finds much older roots in the South Caucasus. A particularly striking parallel appears in bas-relief on the south facade of the seventh-century church of Ateni, in Georgia, where a princely archer also hunts a deer, which likewise has already been pierced with an arrow.<sup>2</sup> CM



Fig. 39. Church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astuatsatsin), Siwnik', early 14th century



CAT. 36 Reliquary of the “Holy Cross of the Vegetarians” (Khotakerats’)

Vayots’ Dzor, Siwnik’, 1300

Gilded-silver plate on wood frame with pearls, crystals, and other semiprecious stones

16¾ × 10⅝ × 2 in. (42.5 × 27 × 5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (731)

This reliquary is a masterpiece of Armenian metalwork; it is embossed and finished with chasing.<sup>1</sup> Originally kept at the Monastery of the Vegetarians (Khotakerats’) in Vayots’ Dzor in Siwnik’, it was brought to Holy Etchmiadzin at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to the historian Archbishop Step’anos Orbelian, Prince Ashot of Siwnik’, encouraged by Bishop Yovhannes, renovated the main church of the Monastery of the Vegetarians, quickening the renewal of monastic life there. The hermits residing at the monastery were vegetarians, resulting in the unusual name for the site and reliquary. Based on the reliquary’s style and iconography, I believe that it was made by Momik (d. 1333), the exceptional illuminator, copyist, architect, and sculptor active in Vayots’ Dzor.

The reliquary has special historical significance; it was commissioned and donated by an Armenian prince, a seldom recorded event. Following the custom of the time, a representation of the commissioner, Each’i Proshian, is engraved at the bottom center of the frame. His hands are upraised in the ancient Christian orant prayer pose, and his clothing recalls Mongolian royal dress. To the right of Prince Each’i is Saint Peter the Apostle, and to the left Saint Paul; they each hold a Gospel book in their left hand and make a sign of blessing with their right. At the top center of the reliquary frame, Christ sits in majesty on a throne composed of the symbols of the four evangelists. He blesses the viewer with his right hand and holds with his left a scroll engraved with the words “I am the light of the world.” On either side, two angels with spread wings pay homage and point cruciform flabella toward the Pantocrator. Saint Gregory the Illuminator graces the left panel of the frame, and Saint John the Baptist the right. Flanking them on the frame, in the left and right margins,

respectively, stand the Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist. On the inside of the doors, the archangels Michael and Gabriel are depicted clasping cruciform flabella and bowing their heads. A jeweled cross adorns the sunken inside of the reliquary. A piece of the True Cross protected by a crystal is visible at the center of the cross; beneath the cross, two crouched stags feeding on leaves are engraved on the frame. The sixteen-line colophon of Each’i Proshian, engraved in graceful letters on the back of the reliquary, reads: “With the will of almighty God, I, Each’i, son of Hasan, son of Prosh, son of Vasak the Great, from the family of Khaghbak, ruled over my fatherland of Shabunik and many other countries with the help and support of Christ and of the Holy Cross of the Vegetarians in which my ancestors too found strength [and] built a tabernacle for it as unerasable memory. You who stand in front of this remember in prayers me and my parents, the Prince Hasan and Tajer, and my father’s brother Papak’, and all our ancestors and family.”

The very first mention of a relic of the True Cross is connected to Saint Hripsime, the virgin who took refuge in Armenia and was martyred there. Her martyrology mentions that about 290 on the way to Vagharshapat via the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), Hripsime hid her pendant cross carrying a relic of the True Cross in a cave on Mount Varag. In 653, this relic was found, and Catholicos Nerses the Builder (Tayets’i; r. 641–661) established the feast of the Holy Cross of Varag, unique to the Armenian Church, and built the church of the Holy Cross on that site. Another related episode tells how Princess Biwregh of Siwnik’ obtained a relic of the True Cross from the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, of Armenian descent, whom she met on the plain of Artaz following his victorious return from delivering the Holy Cross from Persian captivity in 628. AK





## CAT. 37 Bas-Relief of a Sphinx

Yovhannavank', Ashtarak, 13th century

Tuff

29<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 24<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (76 × 62 × 36 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (688)

This sculptural fragment, found at the monastery of Yovhannavank', depicts the forepart of a sphinx.<sup>1</sup> Wearing a peaked cap, and with long, face-framing tresses, it turns toward the viewer while extending its legs to the right. Expressive details include the almond-shaped eyes, the tiny, upright wing, and the curvilinear tendrils decorating the background.

Although fragmentary, this stone offers several clues as to its date and original context. Sphinxes formed part of the repertoire of Armenian manuscript decoration by the eleventh century; and from the

twelfth to the fourteenth century they appear, along with other fantastic animals such as senmurvs, griffins, and sirens, with great frequency across Byzantine, Georgian, Mongol, Persian, and Seljuk art (see cat. 41). In contemporary Greater Armenia, they are found on ceramics and bas-relief programs of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century architectural ensembles. Similar sphinxes, for example, decorate the *gavit'* (antechamber) of the main church at Makaravank', as well as the altar frontal of its south church, dedicated to the Virgin. They also appear on the church of the Holy Virgin at Noravank', to the right of the upper doorway, where they are similarly entangled in vines. This evidence invites one to wonder whether the Yovhannavank' fragment once had a right-hand partner, together framing a portal or window at the monastery. cm



## CAT. 38 Carved Doors

Church of Saint John the Baptist (Surb Karapet), Mush, 1212

Artist: Sarepion (act. 13th century)

Walnut

72<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 45<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (185 × 115 cm)

Private collection

This elaborately carved pair of doors bears an inscription naming the donor as Baron Step'anos, who commissioned it in memory of himself, his parents, his son Baron Tirapet, and his other relations. The text also names the artist, Sarepion, who asks to be remembered in Christ. The area of the inscription indicating the date is unfortunately damaged, leading scholars to suggest three different readings of the numerals: 661 (AD 1212), 761 (AD 1312), and 961 (AD 1512).<sup>1</sup> Comparisons with other wood doors from medieval Armenia, as well as with khachkar carving, make a date in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries more likely.<sup>2</sup> The name of the church is given only in the abbreviation "KP," which probably indicates a dedication to Saint John the Baptist (Surb Karapet).

The door is carefully designed and carved. Both panels feature the same general format: a stack of four framed zones with tendril ornamentation along the outer borders and in the interstices. The left door features curvilinear vegetal forms, while those of the right are more geometric and angular. Both panels bear large central zones with figures. The right door shows four figures, identified by inscription: Peter, Mark (?), Matthew, and Paul. The left panel shows Christ half immersed in water, flanked by two figures (presumably Gabriel and John the Baptist). Behind Christ is the Hand of God; a large fish swims in the water below. The baptismal imagery thus reinforces the attribution of the doors to a church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. cm



## SCHOOLS AND SCRIPTORIA: HAGHPAT AND GLADZOR

Advances in architecture, alongside the Armenian monastic resurgence during the ninth and tenth centuries, provided a solid base for the developments in monastic life that occurred during the following centuries. Against the backdrop of the successive invasions that roiled Armenia from the ninth to the fourteenth century, the Armenian Church played a

political, spiritual, and intellectual role. The numerous monasteries within the Greater Armenia region, which already housed a significant number of small monastic schools, scriptoria, and libraries, became the keepers of Armenian national identity, languages, and culture.

The famous Haghpat school was founded in the tenth century by its first *vanahayr*, a renowned scribe



Fig. 40. Monastery of Haghpat, 10th century

named Simeon Vardapet (fig. 4c). In the eleventh century, a rich library was added to the school and scriptorium; the collection was enlarged over the years with purchases and donations, as well as with the addition of the scriptorium's own works. The collection included very precious and ancient manuscripts, such as the eleventh-century Mughni Gospel book, which was kept in the monastery until 1822.<sup>1</sup> Several manuscripts that have had a lasting influence on Armenian book arts were written, copied, and/or illuminated in the monastery's scriptorium, such as the famous 1211 Haghpat Gospel book.<sup>2</sup> The monastery at Haghpat earned a reputation as a great intellectual and cultural hub, and was seen as a center for book production. The monastery of Sanahin was also famous for its scriptorium, along with its illumination and calligraphy school. The schools and scriptoria at Ani, Geghard, Goshavank', Harichavank', Kars, Khor Virap, Narekavank', Noravank', and Sevan enjoyed similar renown.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, some of these monasteries established great colleges, such as the one at Gladzor. The founding of the monastery of T'anahat in 1279, and the appointment of its first schoolmaster, Nerses Mshets'i, who was a student of the historian, geographer, philosopher, and translator Vardan Arevelts'i, is considered the start of the college at Gladzor. From 1284 to 1338, the school was run by Nerses Mshets'i's student, the great schoolmaster Esayi Nch'ets'i, and it was dubbed a "second Athens" by its contemporaries (cats. 40, 44). Upon Esayi Nch'ets'i's death, his student Kiratur of Cilicia (Kiratur Cilikec'i) moved the school to the monastery of Hermon in Vayots' Dzor, after which his successor, the philosopher, theologian, and teacher Yovhannes Orotnets'i, relocated this intellectual center first to Orotan, then to the monastery of Tat'ev, where he reorganized the school into a university (see fig. 4). The last *rabunapet*

of Gladzor University was Yovhannes Orotnets'i's student, the famous scholar and theologian Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i), who ran the university in Tat'ev until Timur's invasions, which forced Gregory to flee to K'ajberunik'. According to Artashes Mat'evosyan, Gregory of Tat'ev went to K'ajberunik' not just to take refuge, but primarily to reopen Sargis Aprakunets'i's school at Kharabavank', which had closed despite the best efforts of his student Gregory of Khlat' (Grigor Khlat'ets'i).<sup>3</sup> (Sargis Aprakunets'i had also studied with Esayi Nch'ets'i at Gladzor.) Although Gregory of Tat'ev did not reopen the school at Kharabavank', he was able to do this at Metsop'avank', where he gathered all *vardapets* from the vicinity of Lake Van. As the scribe Sargis—son of Martiros and T'amt'a and a former student of Sargis Aprakunets'i, Vardan Hogots'vanets'i, and Grigor Khlat'ets'i at Kharabavank' and of Gregory of Tat'ev at Tat'ev—recounts,

that great *vardapet* [Gregory of Tat'ev], the second Illuminator, came in this country of K'ajberunik', to the holy Metsop'avank', in response to our entreaties. Because all the priests and house masters gathered near him and held him back while crying and begging him. And he taught a class on Job, the great athlete, on the Advice to copyists, on the Gospel of John the Theologian, and he also gave an analysis of these [books]. 160 monks, 8 *vardapets*, and other hermits were gathered at his feet. Then, the sadness we had been feeling for so long changed to joy. We who before had been scattered, were now reunited, with many others.<sup>4</sup>

This contemporary account outlines how the traditions of the Gladzor and its teachings were continued and spread by its pupils. AL-Y

## CAT. 39 Definition of Philosophy

Erznka, 1280 (?)

Scribe: Mkhitar (act. 1269–1280)

Ink, tempera, and gold on paper; 277 folios

7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (19.5 × 14.5 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1746)

This manuscript, copied by Mkhitar for the pious prince (*astuatsaser ishkan*) Baron John (Yovhannes) of Erznka (d. 1276), is a collection containing works by Armenian authors and translations of texts by the Greek philosophers Aristotle, Porphyry, and Dionysius Thrax. The frontispiece depicts David the Invincible (Davit’ Anhaght’), the Neoplatonist philosopher and student of Olympiodorus the Younger (530–565), who held the chair of philosophy in Alexandria, Egypt. According to Armenian tradition, David the Invincible was born in the 470s in the village of Nergin in Taron province. He studied, then taught, in Alexandria, and before returning to Greater Armenia, he lived and worked in Athens and Constantinople; he most likely died in Haghpat in the 550s. His writings composed in Greek and translated into Armenian quickly became the standard textbooks in medieval Armenian schools.

The miniature’s composition combines the chapter header, a portrait of David the Invincible, and marginal illuminations. The chapter header is rectangular in shape and surmounted by two fighting birds. The inside of the rectangle is richly decorated with plant motifs and sirens (mythical birds with the head of a woman) symmetrically placed on either side of the arch. To the right, in the margin, a cross stands atop a large, vertical marginal marker intricately composed of plant forms and interlace patterns. Beneath the trefoil arch overlapping the lower half of the chapter head is a black seal that asserts that this manuscript belonged to Holy Etchmiadzin before being added to the Matenadaran’s collection.

The miniature features typical title-page iconography, as the author is portrayed before the text attributed to him. Having been canonized by the



fol. 2r

Armenian Church, the author is shown haloed and sitting with his feet resting on a suppedaneum as he ornaments the first line of the text with floral motifs; this first line is followed by five lines in *erkat’agir* script that appear on the page’s plain background and read, “Those who have wished for philosophical remarks at least once and . . .” This book is a product of the iconographic and stylistic traditions of Erznka, and its portrait can be compared to those of the prophets and evangelists featured on the title pages of the Erznka Bible, which was copied by Mkhitar and two other scribes, Hakovbos and Movses, for the same patron.<sup>1</sup> AL-Y

## CAT. 40 Commentary on Isaiah

Cilicia, 1299; frontispiece added after ca. 1305–9 in Siwnik', probably at Monastery of Gladzor

Frontispiece illuminated by T'oros the deacon (*sarkawag*) (act. late 13th–early 14th century)

Scribe: Vardan (act. late 13th–early 14th century)

Ink and pigment on paper; 476 pages

9½ × 6¾ in. (24 × 17 cm)

Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 365)

This Commentary on Isaiah, authored by Georg of Skevra (d. 1301), was copied by the scribe Vardan in 1299 in Cilicia. The added frontispiece of the manuscript is of great significance, as it depicts the distinguished scholar, teacher, and director of the monastery of Gladzor, Esayi Nch'ets'i (d. 1338), in the upper left with an inscription reading, "Our *rabunapet* [master] Esayi." Esayi is shown in the illumination as having been struck by divine inspiration, symbolized by a ray striking him from above, with thinner rays emanating from his mouth as he speaks to dozens of his students on the left and right. A kneeling lector below a pomegranate tree in the center holds open a large manuscript placed on a low *grakal* (a type of portable lectern; see cat. 21), while students on either side listen, some holding their own books with striped cloths. A few of the students in the back row have closed their eyes—they are possibly meditating on the wisdom their master is imparting, or perhaps napping. The kneeling figure with his hands in supplication outside the lower border of the image is certainly the artist.

On the verso of the colophon, a letter written by Kostandin, bishop of Caesarea, to Esayi indicates that Kostandin delivered the manuscript unbound to Esayi, as he requested, probably between 1305 and 1309.<sup>1</sup> The frontispiece was added to the manuscript after its arrival in Gladzor and was undoubtedly painted



p. 2

there (as its style is not Cilician) as a tribute to its highly respected owner.<sup>2</sup> Sirarpie Der Nersessian and Bezalel Narkiss have convincingly argued that the artist of this illumination was T'oros the deacon (*sarkawag*), based on a detailed stylistic comparison of this painting with the detached illuminations from his only known manuscript, dated to 1311 (cats. 41, 42).<sup>3</sup> The identification of the artist indicates that T'oros the deacon was connected with the monastery of Gladzor. SLM

## CAT. 41 Gospel Book

Probably Monastery of Gladzor, Siwnik', 1311  
Illuminated by T'oros the deacon (*sarkawag*) (act. late 13th–early 14th century) and an unidentified artist  
Scribe: Tser the priest (act. early 14th century)  
Ink, pigments, and gold on paper; 335 folios  
15 × 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (38 × 27 cm)  
“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 10859)

This Gospel book, often referred to as the Tabriz 1311 Gospels, is the parent manuscript of the single leaves described in catalogue entry 42. The text was copied in 1311 by the scribe and priest Tser for his own use. Inscriptions on several illuminated leaves (now detached from the manuscript) identify the artist as T'oros the deacon (*sarkawag*); at least one other artist, who remains unnamed, also decorated the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The place of production is not mentioned, but later colophons indicate that the manuscript was located in Tabriz since at least 1444;<sup>2</sup> it had been previously suggested that the manuscript might have been copied and illuminated there. However, since it can be shown that T'oros certainly painted the added portrait of the renowned theologian Esayi Nch'ets'i (cat. 40), and therefore was closely associated with Gladzor, we can deduce that in all likelihood this manuscript was also produced in Siwnik', probably at the famed monastery of Gladzor.<sup>3</sup>

The Gospel book originally included a traditional Armenian prefatory cycle at the beginning of the manuscript, consisting of eighteen full-page illuminations on nine folios depicting scenes from the life of Christ and two Old Testament scenes.<sup>4</sup> Between 1906 and 1913

this prefatory cycle and the four full-page evangelist portraits were removed, and the detached leaves are now found in collections throughout the world.<sup>5</sup> Two leaves painted recto-verso were recently discovered in a private collection (cat. 42).

T'oros the deacon was unique in his use of blue skin tones, for unknown reasons, for most of his human and sacred figures. The indigo and ultramarine blue pigments used for the skin tones indicate that this was a deliberate choice and not an unexpected color change.<sup>6</sup> Note that the figures in catalogue entry 40, with the added frontispiece of Esayi teaching his students, are depicted with grayish-white skin tones, rather than blue or pink. Another artist, unnamed, painted the canon tables and probably the headpieces of the incipit pages. His painting style is quite different from T'oros's; this is especially apparent in the faces. Furthermore, he used pink and white pigments for the skin tones, as in the human-headed birds decorating his canon tables. The fantastical openmouthed, toothy dragons twisting their long necks around the top border of the headpiece on folio 8 are reminiscent of the *vishaps* (dragons) found in some Armenian Baptism scenes from the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan).<sup>7</sup> SLM



fol. 7v-8r



CAT. 42 **Four Miniatures: Presentation to the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, and Entry into Jerusalem**

Probably Monastery of Gladzor, Siwnik', 1311  
Illuminated by T'oros the deacon (*sarkawag*) (act. late 13th–early 14th century) and an unidentified artist  
Ink and pigments on oriental paper  
Presentation to the Temple: 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.5 × 20.5 cm);  
Baptism: 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.5 × 20 cm); Transfiguration: 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8 in. (27 × 20.5 cm); and Entry to Jerusalem: 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28.5 × 20.6 cm)  
Sam Fogg, London

These four lavish illuminations from what is referred to as the Tabriz 1311 Gospels had remained unknown since the quire was removed from the manuscript. They represent the Presentation to the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, and the Entry into Jerusalem. Their compositional and stylistic features—especially the blue flesh tones, the bright golden ground, the reddish tones for the figures' hair, and the sketchy rocks—reveal their kinship with other miniatures in the manuscript.

As is standard, the Presentation in the Temple displays the four protagonists symmetrically under the ciborium. Simeon holding Christ can be traced back to the eleventh-century Vehap'ar Gospels now in the Matenadaran but becomes common starting in the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> The child's red harness and bare legs, popular in thirteenth-century painting in Byzantium, Italy, and the Levant,<sup>2</sup> meet their closest parallels in manuscripts from Cilicia (cats. 64, 65). The ornaments on the shoulders of the Virgin betray a similar inspiration, while the two seraphs on the upper corners are a mark of the Tabriz 1311 Gospels (cat. 41). They resonate with their counterparts in the Deesis and in the Wakening of the Dead, stressing in an innovative way the recognition of the Messiah and the sacredness of the Temple.

The standard iconography of the Baptism, dominated by the solemn figure of the nearly naked Christ, is supplemented by a tall tree behind John. The young pale demon in the water, with chains binding his wrists to his neck and his short queue, is an unparalleled combination of the pagan belief that devils dwell in springs with the jug of allegories of the Jordan River.

Heaven and Earth are clearly distinguished in the Transfiguration. Jesus between Moses on the right and Elijah on the left hovers above Mount Tabor, where the disciples fall to the ground. Unlike the complex geometry and color variations that render the divine light, the triple mandorla is simply incised, topped by a small cross, and hatched at its upper sides. This device suggests, at least indirectly, knowledge of the sophisticated polished gildings used since the twelfth century in prestigious icons and manuscripts, and experienced by the illuminators of Armenian manuscripts in thirteenth-century Cilicia (see fig. 6). The contrast between the rocks and the bright background, the specific emphasis on the mountain, and the trees sheltering the prophets may reflect the exegesis by the contemporary theologian Yovhannes Yerznkats'i who identifies Mount Tabor with Paradise.<sup>3</sup>

Set on the same rocky ground as most of the Gospel scenes, the Entry into Jerusalem is a vibrant picture blending Gospel narrative and a celebratory feast. The dense group of the disciples is balanced by a church with a typically Caucasian dome on a high drum and with a conical roof extending out of the frame and a crowded gallery. The round faces of the audience belong to the painter's world, as do the children cutting and brandishing palms, whose almond-shaped eyes, chubby cheeks, and crossed tunics are characteristic of decorative arts throughout Anatolia. The iconography and style align with the date of the main colophon (1311) and reflect an extremely skillful combination of Anatolian and Mediterranean pictorial tradition that flourished across the Silk Road from Cilicia to Tabriz. 18



## CAT. 43 Gospel Book

Begun in Yeghegis or Noravank' and completed at Monastery of Gladzor, 1300–1307

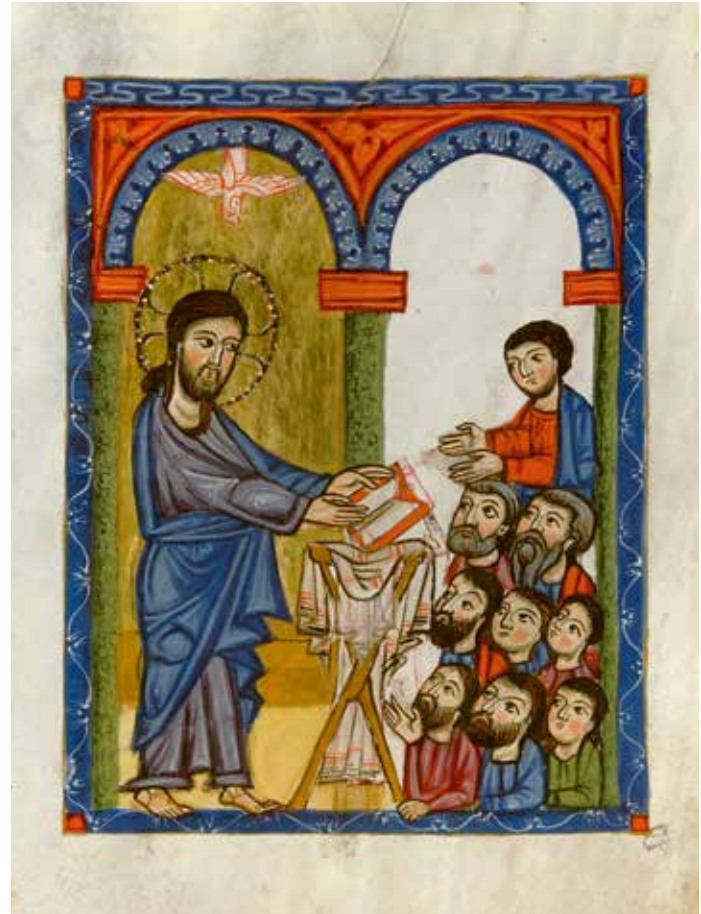
Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 582 pages

9¼ × 6⅝ in. (23.5 × 17.6 cm)

Charles E. Young Research Library, Library Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles (Armenian MS 1)

The monastic school at Gladzor has sometimes been called a university because of the high level of instruction there, and it was renowned in particular for biblical exegesis, the critical explanation or interpretation of holy scripture.<sup>1</sup> The scholars opposed Catholic teachings and especially the Catholic Church's proposed union with the Armenian Church. Founded in Siwnik' in 1250–75, the monastery's precise location is still undetermined. Gladzor was first directed by Nerses Mshets'i until his death in 1284; he was succeeded by Esayi Nch'ets'i (d. 1338). Both are often mentioned and memorialized by their students, and portraits of them have been painted in numerous manuscripts (cats. 40, 44, 45).<sup>2</sup> Most of the extant manuscripts made at Gladzor seem to have been produced for the specific use of the students and teachers there and were not commissioned by external sponsors.<sup>3</sup>

The spectacular Gladzor Gospel book is not only a testament to the high level of artistic and scribal skills of artisans in Siwnik', but it also functions as a visual manifestation of Gospel exegesis, studied in great detail by Thomas F. Mathews.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript seems to have been produced in two stages, first at either the monastery of Yeghegis or Noravank', and then completed at Gladzor, between 1300 and 1307. Esayi Nch'ets'i was likely the recipient of the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> Two scribal hands are evident, and five artists worked on the illuminations, only one of whom is named: T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i), Gladzor's most



p. 327

famous artist. Mathews has convincingly proven that this Gospel book was modeled after the venerable eleventh-century Vehapar Gospels.<sup>6</sup> One image clearly derived from the Vehapar Gospels is the illumination of Christ Reading in the Synagogue (Luke 4:14–30), which depicts Christ standing at an Armenian-style lectern (*grakal*; see cat. 21) and reading the Bible.<sup>7</sup> The dove of the Holy Spirit floats above him, exemplifying the precise moment when Christ finds the passage in Isaiah 61:1 that reads, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me” (Luke 4:18).<sup>8</sup> SLM

## CAT. 44 Bible

Monastery of Gladzor, Siwnik', 1318

Illuminated by T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i; act. first half 14th century)

Scribes: Step'anos, Kiwrake, and Yovhannes Yerznkats'i (all act. early 14th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 588 folios

10¼ × 7⅞ in. (26 × 18 cm)

"Matenadaran" Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 206)

This sumptuous Bible was copied at the monastery of Gladzor by three scribes, Step'anos, Kiwrake, and Yovhannes Yerznkats'i, and illuminated by T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i) in 1318 for their master (*rabunapet*) Esayi Nch'ets'i, who is repeatedly invoked in their colophons.<sup>1</sup> T'oros even included a portrait of his esteemed teacher in the upper left of the headpiece of a canon table, as well as a portrait of himself in the upper right of the facing canon table.<sup>2</sup> On folio 258 verso is a full-page illumination of the Tree of Jesse with a shimmering gold background that faces the beginning of the Psalms. Based on a prophecy by Isaiah (11:1–3) that a messiah would come from the family of Jesse (father of King David), this prediction is usually represented visually as a genealogical tree sprouting from Jesse's reclining body. David is traditionally believed to be the author of the Psalms, hence the placement of this illumination as a frontispiece before its text. According to Sirarpie Der Nersessian, this is the first example of a Tree of Jesse found in Armenian art; the inspiration for this image is derived from Western European manuscripts, where it was portrayed as early as the mid-twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> However, T'oros has modified the traditional Western European iconography: the top of the tree normally depicts the Virgin and Child, but in this example he has placed a youthful Christ in a mandorla holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. In the center of the trunk is the head of David, whereas in Western European traditions he is usually represented by a bust. In addition, T'oros added an image of Samuel anointing the young David



fol. 258v

in the lower right, a scene not usually included with the Tree of Jesse.<sup>4</sup> He also depicted the prophets and other figures seated cross-legged, a posture not commonly depicted in Western European manuscripts. On the first page of Genesis, the artist featured images of the days of creation within the first letter of the text, "I" (Ի), modeled after a Latin manuscript, which has been incorporated into a traditional Armenian incipit page.<sup>5</sup>

It is noteworthy that this manuscript was bound with flyleaves from a discarded Latin Commentary on the Gospel of Mark (probably twelfth- to thirteenth-century French). The colophon gives the date of the manuscript's completion in both "the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1318" and in the equivalent Armenian era, 767,<sup>6</sup> further indicating the contact between the monastery of Gladzor and Western European missionaries. SLM

## CAT. 45 Gospel Book with Portraits of Esayi Nch'ets'i and Nerses Mshets'i

Monastery of Gladzor, Siwnik', 1323

Illuminated by T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i; act. first half 14th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 286 folios

9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (25 × 19 cm)

"Matenadaran" Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 6289)

This Gospel book is another example of a luxury manuscript produced at Gladzor by the artist T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i) for the esteemed abbot of the monastery, Esayi Nch'ets'i. T'oros noted his own name in inscriptions below many of the illuminations he painted in this manuscript, such as here in the portrait of Luke: "Remember in the Lord Jesus Christ the miserable soul T'oros." The facing incipit page includes a highly decorative headpiece, customary in Armenian Gospel books, though it has some unusual features. As a tribute to his teacher Esayi Nch'ets'i and Esayi's predecessor, the first director of Gladzor, Nerses Mshets'i (d. 1284), T'oros included portraits of them both. These highly respected teachers are named by inscriptions above their heads and are



fol. 226r

depicted standing on either side of the crowned and enthroned Virgin and Child. Two angels appear above the headpiece, with their index fingers touching their lips, a sign of astonishment. The Virgin hands a sheet of parchment to the living Esayi, and Christ hands one to the deceased Nerses, providing them with not only grace and divine inspiration, past and present, but also the physical material they used to write the theological works for which they are known.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not coincidental that a colophon on folio 90 recto calls for prayers to remember Tirats'u, a student and servant of the Word, who, along with his parents, bought the parchment and donated large amounts of "red gold" for this manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

The first letter of Luke's text on the incipit page, K' (ϰ), has been fashioned into a blue ox, his symbol. The evangelists' symbols (Matthew's angel, Mark's lion, Luke's ox, and John's eagle) twisted into the first letter of their Gospels are a link to Cilicia, where they are first found in Armenian manuscript illumination.<sup>3</sup> The first and third lines of text are written in *t'rch'nagir*, ornate Armenian letters formed of birds. The portrayal of the crowned nursing Virgin is unusual in Armenian manuscript illumination and was inspired by Western European manuscripts, to which the monks of Gladzor had access.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript also includes a representation of the crowned nursing Virgin (*Virgo Lactans*) in the headpiece of the incipit page of John's Gospel on folio 226 recto, another borrowing from Latin manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> SLM

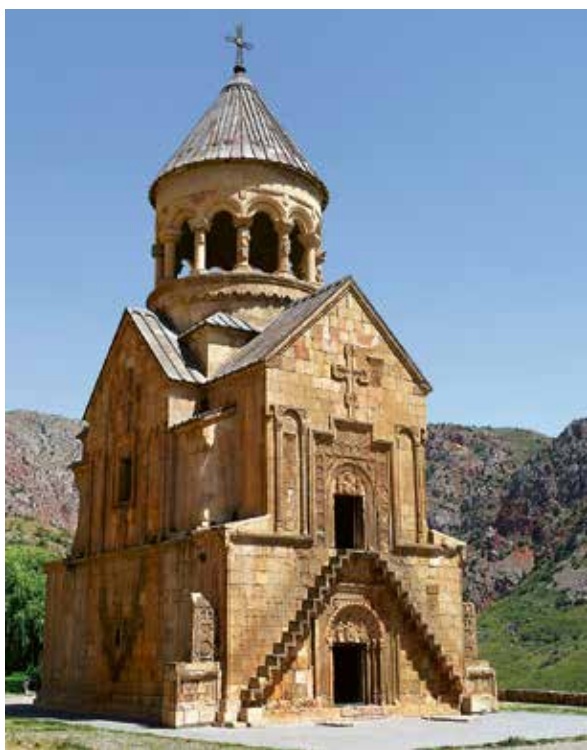


fols. 140v-141r

# ARTISTIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN ARMENIA AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Often studied as distinct cultures isolated from one another, Armenia and the Islamic world interacted on many levels during the medieval era. Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, a period encompassing the Crusades and the Mongol invasions, people were mobile, which contributed to the exchange of ideas and objects across cultural borders, engendering a diversity of beliefs and forms of expression. In the arts, connections between these worlds specifically are evident through the decisions of patrons, agency of artists, and circulation of artworks.

As the predominant international style at the time, Islamic features filtered into Armenian art and architecture. Notable examples include figures in Eastern garb among the high reliefs at the church of Aght'amar (915–21; see fig. 7) in Lake Van, honeycomb stalactite *muqarnas* vaulting in the thirteenth-century church of the Holy Apostles in Ani, and geometric ornament on



khachkars or church buildings, such as the fourteenth-century monastery of Noravank', Siwnik' (fig. 41).<sup>1</sup> Such innovations in Armenian art came about thanks to the skills of Armenian masons transferring Islamic designs into stone.

Armenians, in turn, actively contributed to the development of Islamic art and architecture. Prominent figures responsible for this exchange include those who converted to Islam. A well-known Muslim patron of Armenian origin was the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali (r. 1087–1092), who hired Armenian masons from Anatolia to build new walls and gates in Cairo, transforming it into one of the major cities of the medieval world (fig. 42).<sup>2</sup> Another notable figure is Badr al-Din Lu'lu (d. 1259), a ruler of Mosul who was recognized for his patronage of the arts.<sup>3</sup> Remarkable among female patrons was Mahperi Khatun (d. after 1254), who came from a noble Armenian family, married the Rum Seljuk sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1219/20–1237), and commissioned a large mosque complex outside the Kayseri citadel after becoming queen mother.<sup>4</sup> In Anatolia, masons from Ahlat, near Lake Van, played a pivotal role in translating Iranian Seljuk brick architecture into stone, this time for the new Muslim elite. The combination of different aesthetic idioms, such as Islamic geometry and the Armenian conical dome, reflect the mixed frontier society of artists and patrons, as seen, for example, on the Tercan Mama Khatun tomb (fig. 43).<sup>5</sup>

While architecture offers a more public display of artistic exchange between the Armenian and Islamic worlds, different media also show traces of influence, such as portable objects that themselves carried ideas and forms across regions. A bilingual Cilician silver tram with an image of the Armenian king on the obverse and an Arabic inscription with the name and titles of the Seljuk sultan on the reverse disseminated

Fig. 41. Noravank', 14th century



Fig. 42. Bab al-Zuwayla, Cairo, 1092

the respective iconic and aniconic self-fashioning and iconography of these rulers and also signaled a political alliance. Among other transportable items, an Armenian *grakal* (portable lectern) can be compared with Islamic Qur'an stands in terms of their shared wood form and function (cat. 21),<sup>6</sup> which anticipate common features between books as well.

The Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din Fadlallah's (ca. 1247–1318) renowned illustrated world history, the *Compendium of Chronicles* (*Jami' al-Tawarikh*), dated AH 714 (AD 1314–15), includes Mongol and Eurasian history as well as the history of religions, from Adam and the biblical patriarchs to the ancient kings of Persia, the Prophet Muhammad, and the caliphs. Given the absence of a standard Muslim pictorial vocabulary for the life of the Prophet, painters in the vizier's

Fig. 43. Tomb of Mama Khatun, Tercan, Erzrnka, late 12th–early 13th century

scriptorium at the Rab'-i Rashidi in the capital city of Tabriz improvised, relying on other iconographic traditions.<sup>7</sup> The scene of the Christian monk Bahira recognizing the youthful Muhammad as the future Prophet (cat. 49) was likely inspired by a depiction of Christ's Baptism in an Armenian Gospel book (cat. 48). Indeed, the horizontal format with a blank background and a central religious figure who is shown respect to by clusters of people is similar. Moreover, the presence of an angel hovering over the Prophet, holding a flask for chrism, an oil used in Armenian church ceremonies and represented in Vaspurakan manuscripts as discussed by Priscilla Soucek, is convincing evidence for the impact these manuscripts had on the Islamic painting tradition at the time.<sup>8</sup> Such borrowing is not surprising given the proximity of the locations and dates (Vaspurakan, 1294, and Tabriz, 1315). Significantly, both scenes involve the recognition and anointment of the leader of a new religion. Perhaps, given the central role of the Prophet Muhammad in the text, a message of triumph may have been indicated by Rashid al-Din, who had converted from Judaism to Islam.<sup>9</sup>

As a result of mobility and an openness to different cultures, especially by patrons such as the Mongols, who inherited an empire that once ruled across Eurasia and brought a *Pax Mongolica*, different artistic traditions came together in cosmopolitan centers such as Tabriz.<sup>10</sup> Although typically seen as the end of the golden age of the Islamic Caliphates, the Mongol period was an important watershed moment for both Armenian and Islamic art history. *sy*





## CAT. 46 Gospel Book

Yeghegis, 1297; restoration: Tat'ev (?), 1378

Restored, completed, and partially illuminated by Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i; 1346–1409/10)

Scribe: Yovhannes (act. 1297)

Tempera and ink on parchment; 248 folios

12¼ × 10⅞ × 4⅞ in. (32.5 × 25.7 × 10.5 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 7482)

This manuscript, copied in Yeghegis by the scribe Yovhannes in 1297, is most often associated with the Siwnik' school and with the name Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i), who restored, completed, and partially illuminated it, before having it bound in 1378, possibly in Tat'ev. The miniatures depicting the Annunciation and the Nativity, along with the portraits of the evangelists and their title pages, are all credited to Gregory of Tat'ev. The other miniatures from the Christological cycle—the Virgin and Child (fol. 250v), the Entry into Jerusalem (fol. 251r), and the Crucifixion (fol. 252r)—are credited to a second miniaturist.<sup>1</sup>

Inspired by apocryphal texts, the image of the Annunciation stands out for its iconographic originality. In this miniature, the archangel Gabriel approaches Mary against a background full of plant and geometric motifs, within which one can see a stone structure that represents a fountain. An iconographic particularity is the inclusion of a jug in the niche in the center of the composition. The jug collects the water flowing from two jets at the fountain's top; these jets refer to the two natures of Christ—divine and human—bound together within him, the Incarnation of the Word. The Virgin holds purple wool for spinning in her left hand, a pose that recalls those found in traditional images of the Annunciation. Mary would use this wool to weave a temple veil, which represents the body of Christ being made incarnate within her. Besides its theological message, the jug featured in this miniature, as well as in other compositions by Gregory of Tat'ev, is interesting as it conforms to the actual types used in the region.<sup>2</sup>



fol. 248v

A short colophon by Gregory of Tat'ev reads, “The Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, painted by the hand of Gregory of Tat'ev, student of Yovhannes Orotnets'i, servant of the Word.” Curiously, the colophon is placed in the center of the composition, like a frame for the fountain with the jug, which inevitably draws attention to these iconographic elements. This peculiar signature suggests that Gregory of Tat'ev drew on the teaching of Yovhannes Orotnets'i, a great scholar in the period when the region was under the control of Timur, for these iconographic elements; Yovhannes, in turn, borrowed them from the writings of Esayi Nch'ets'i and the Gladzor school (see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, p. 110). Thanks to the Gladzor school's influence, this iconography spread in Armenian miniature painting from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. In later manuscripts, the jug, without the other iconographic elements associated with the fountain, is often placed between Mary and the archangel Gabriel, representing the Incarnation at the Annunciation.<sup>3</sup> AL-Y

## CAT. 47 Gospel Book

Arts'akh (?), 14th century

Illuminated by Yovhannes (act. 14th century) and T'oros (act. 14th century)

Tempera and ink on paper; 320 folios

13¼ × 9⅝ × 3⅜ in. (33.6 × 24.4 × 8.5 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts (MS 4820)

This manuscript, one of a group of five from the Arts'akh region now at the Matenadaran, is related to the Vaspurakan style.<sup>1</sup> The biblical scenes depicted here, the Presentation in the Temple, on folio I verso, and the Massacre of the Innocents, on folio 2 recto, are both commonly included in Gospel book pictorial ensembles, but each folio features an element of the unexpected. The Massacre of the Innocents is unfinished and thus reveals the red line drawings done by the artist in advance of inking the final design, a preparatory technique that is characteristic of Armenian manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

The Presentation in the Temple is a more visually complex image.

For the Temple of Jerusalem, the site of the biblical event, the artists drew on three sources: manuscript depictions of the Fountain of Life as a *tholos* (see cat. 3), canon table formatting,<sup>3</sup> and elements more typical of mosque architecture. The lamps that hang between the columns, for example, resemble mosque lamps, suggesting the artists' awareness of furnishings found in traditionally Islamic spaces.<sup>4</sup>

The most unusual aspects of this image, however, are the inscriptions that accompany the illustration. Conforming to the norm are the labels for the three key figures, Simeon, Jesus and Mariam, as well as the location, the Temple of Solomon. But the text on the upper



fols. 1v–2r

right part of the folio diverges from standard Presentation composition, identifying the twelve birds on the gable as partridges and noting that “The partridge is a representative of the 12 apostles.”<sup>5</sup> Partridges, according to the interpretations of the canon tables by Step'anos of Siwnik' (Siwets'i) and Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali), represent “whorish and foreign women,” as well as prostitutes,<sup>6</sup> but in this case, they are linked with Jesus's inner circle. While there is no explicit connection between partridges and the apostles in Armenian theology, birds are important to the religious visual tradition, appearing frequently as stylized letters and on the margins of canon tables. ca

CAT. 48 Gospel Book

Monastery of Argelan, Berkri, Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1294  
Illuminated by Khach'er (act. late 13th century)  
Scribe: Hakob (act. late 13th century)  
Tempera and ink on parchment  
12 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{7}{16}$  × 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (31.4 × 26.5 × 12.4 cm)  
"Matenadaran" Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 4814)

This image of Christ's Baptism is among the illustrations depicting the life cycle of Christ found in an Armenian Gospel manuscript dated to 1294. Christ appears prominently in the center of the image with a halo and in classicizing Byzantine fashion, while John the Baptist reaches forward to baptize and his disciples stand behind him. On the other side of Christ, an angel holds a vial of Holy Chrism, the oil used in the baptism

rite of the Armenian Church. Its presence in the image directly links the Baptism of Christ to that of the Armenian faithful.<sup>1</sup> The Armenian Church makes chrism every seven years (see fig. 93).

This Gospel book came to the Matenadaran from the island of Aght'amar in Lake Van. Besides the date, two colophons note that the text was copied by Hakob and illustrated by Khach'er at the monastery of Argelan in Berkri for patrons Khelok and Pokhan and their two sons, Prosh and T'uma.<sup>2</sup> The style of painting belongs to the Vaspurakan region, which is known for its distinct "folk" tradition that continued for centuries. These manuscripts were often produced for the market and hence reflect a broader range of patronage and circulation.<sup>3</sup> Given their popular nature, such images may have been more accessible and inspirational to the development of Islamic figurative imagery at the time (cat. 49). *sv*



fol. 5r

CAT. 49 *Compendium of Chronicles (Jami' al-Tawarikh)*

Tabriz, Iran, dated AH 714 (AD 1314–15)

Illuminated by Rashid al-Din Fadlallah (ca. 1247–1318)

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper; 151 folios

17½ × 26¾ in. (44.5 × 67 cm)

University of Edinburgh (MS Arab 20)



fol. 43v

The *Compendium of Chronicles (Jami' al-Tawarikh)*, originally written in Persian, is one of the most important illustrated histories of the medieval world. This manuscript is among the earliest surviving Arabic versions of the text. The author was the renowned Mongol Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din Fadlallah, a Jewish convert to Islam from Hamadan, in Iran. The Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304) commissioned the text, which was presented to his brother, Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316). In addition to volumes on Mongol history, the reign of Öljeitü, and a geographic compendium, the book contained sections on world history, from Adam and Old Testament figures to ancient rulers of Persia, the Prophet Muhammad, and the caliphs that succeeded him.<sup>1</sup>

In this scene, the Christian monk Bahira, in monastic dress similar to that worn by Armenian monks, recognizes the youthful Muhammad as the future Prophet and points dramatically at him. The monk looks out from his monastic cell and gestures with his arm, directing the gaze of the viewer to the central scene where two clusters of men flank the Prophet and pay obeisance. Even the camels kneel before him. An angel holding a scroll in one hand and a flask in the other reaches down from the sky to anoint the Prophet with chrisem (holy oil), which denotes the religious significance of the scene. Although the figures bear Mongolian features and dress, the iconography is particularly noteworthy for its close comparison with Christ's Baptism in a Vaspurakan manuscript from Berkri near Lake Van (cat. 48).<sup>2</sup> sy





# ARMENIANS EXPAND WEST: THE KINGDOM OF CILICIA

HELEN C. EVANS

Cilicia, the territory on the Mediterranean Sea by the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician Gates, became an increasingly important center for Armenians in the eleventh century when the Byzantine emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025) expanded his empire to the east, leading to the absorption of Armenian kingdoms such as Ani (1045) and Kars (1064). Subsequently, the Armenian populations were resettled in areas within the empire's borders under direct Byzantine rule. By the end of the twelfth century, the Armenians in Cilicia under Levon the Great (r. 1198/99–1219) had managed to establish an independent kingdom that would control international trade routes through powerful alliances with the Crusaders and their states on the Mediterranean shore and with the Mongols. The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia fell in the late fourteenth century as the Mamluks of Egypt overcame their lands. While Armenians remained active in the region, many moved west along the trade routes or returned to the Armenian homeland taking Cilician art with them.

In 1150/51, the catholicosate of the Armenian Church relocated from the turmoil in Greater Armenia to Hromkla, originally a Roman fortress on the Euphrates River. Closely allied with the Cilician

Fig. 44. Fortress of Lambron, late 11th–early 12th century



Fig. 45. View of Sis, capital of Cilicia, 13th–14th century

kingdom, Hromkla became one of the greatest intellectual centers in the region. Cilician clergy trained at Hromkla, and its scriptorium—where T'oros Roslin, Armenia's most famous artist, was active in the 1260s (cats. 57, 59)—was closely related to those in Cilicia (cats. 53–55).<sup>1</sup> With Mongol support, Cilicia expanded its territories to include Hromkla in 1258. Mamluk devastation of the site in 1292 forced the move of the catholicosate in 1293 to Sis, where it remained even as a catholicosate was reestablished at Etchmiadzin in 1441.<sup>2</sup>

As the Armenians prospered in Cilicia, two families rose to power—the Rupenids and the Hetumids.<sup>3</sup> The Rupenid family, seeking independence, initially dominated politically. In 1198/99, the Rupenid Levon the Great arranged to be crowned king by Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI (r. 1198–1212) and Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216).<sup>4</sup> Aimery of Cyprus (r. 1197–1205) was made king of Cyprus by Henry VI about the same time. In claiming a Western crown, both kings sought protection for their kingdoms from the Byzantine state.<sup>5</sup> The two countries became allies with frequent intermarriage between their ruling families, and many Armenians emigrated to Cyprus over the next

centuries.<sup>6</sup> After the First Crusade (1095–1099), Levon also allied with the Crusader states established along the coastline of the Mediterranean from Antioch to Jerusalem. Cilicia's port at Ayas became a critical stop for trade goods from Central Asia going to Europe, often through contracts the Armenians signed with the Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians, which provided the Italian merchants with special trading privileges, including exemptions from some taxes.<sup>7</sup>

Levon's efforts to marry Zabel, his daughter and heir, to a son of the king of Hungary were unsuccessful, and she was wed to Philip, the fourth son of Bohemond IV of Antioch. After the Cilicians deposed Philip, Zabel was forced to marry Hetum I, a young son of her regent Baron Konstantine, a member of a cadet branch of the Hetumid family whose fortress was at Bardzberd. In previous decades, the senior Hetumid family had led relations with the church, especially from its primary fortress at Lambron (fig. 44) and its monastery and scriptorium at Skevra (see Evans, p. 138). The Rupenid/Hetumid marriage alliance enabled the cadet branch of the Hetumids to become the dominant family in Cilicia both politically and ecclesiastically.<sup>8</sup> Baron Konstantine placed his sons in prominent positions in



the church and the army and married his daughters advantageously. His son, King Hetum I's half-brother, Archbishop John (Yovhannes), was a leading figure in the church and ran his own scriptorium at his monastery of Grner (cats. 64, 67). Another brother, Constable Smbat, headed the army. One sister, Step'ania, became queen of Cyprus.<sup>9</sup>

Soon after the rise of the Hetumids, the Mongols appeared. This emerging military power from the East that successfully advanced from Siberia to Hungary first invaded the Armenian homeland and the Seljuk sultanate of Rum. Recognizing their power, King Hetum I surrendered the family of the ruler of the Seljuks of Rum, who had been sent to him for safety, to the Mongols.<sup>10</sup> In 1247/48, he dispatched his brother Constable Smbat to the Mongol capital Karakorum to seek an alliance and support for regaining the Holy Land. Smbat returned to Cilicia with a treaty of union, making Cilicia the first Christian state to join with the Mongols without being conquered. Smbat also brought back a Mongol wife, as Mongol treaties were done by marriage alliances; their son was recorded as being at the Cilician court in 1264/65. King Hetum I also traveled to the Mongols in 1253/54, returning in 1256 through

Greater Armenia, making him the first Cilician ruler to visit his homeland.<sup>11</sup>

In the same years, Louis IX, king of France (r. 1226–1270), came east on Crusade and made extensive contact with members of the Cilician aristocracy. The queen of Cyprus, Hetum I's sister, provided him with the helpful letter her brother Constable Smbat had written describing his visit to the Mongols. Louis was so impressed that on his return to Europe in 1254 he left his ward, Bohemond VI of Antioch, under the protection of Hetum I, evidence that Louis considered Cilicia the most powerful Christian state in the Near East. By that date, records show that the royals of Cilicia were dressing in the Crusader "Frankish" manner and knighting their sons in the Western style, much to the dismay of some in the Armenian homeland. In 1260, the close alliance of the Cilicians with the Mongols was confirmed as Hetum I and Bohemond VI marched in the train of the Mongols at their capture of Damascus.<sup>12</sup>

In the same period, Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254) sent members of the new Franciscan and Dominican Catholic Orders to the Mongols.<sup>13</sup> Among the Westerners to pass through Cilicia on their way to the capital at Karakorum was the Franciscan William of





Fig. 46. Sargis Pidzak. Assizes of Antioch, 1331. Tempera, ink, and gilding on parchment, 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (16.8 × 12.5 cm). Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 107, fols. 1r–2v)

Rubruck, who, with the blessing of Louis IX, sought to convert the animist Mongols to their faith. Rubruck's account of his journey records how Hetum's extensive assistance enabled him and his companions to survive. Rubruck's text refers to illuminated manuscripts given to him by Louis IX and his queen that he showed to those he met. He also describes the handsome tent church of an Armenian from Jerusalem that he saw at the court of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–1259).<sup>14</sup> After returning from Karakorum, Rubruck remained for years in Acre as a professor of theology at the Franciscan school, where Armenian was one of the languages taught as part of their missionary effort.<sup>15</sup>

Rubruck was one of many who traveled through Cilicia on their way to the Mongols, often through the Armenian port at Ayas.<sup>16</sup> The site was critical for

Cilicia's role on the *Pax Mongolica* trade routes as goods from across Mongol-controlled lands—from China under the Yuan Mongols, Persia under the Ilkhanid Mongols, and Russia under the Golden Horde Mongols—arrived there for transport across the Mediterranean (see Goshgarian, p. 81).<sup>17</sup> In 1271, Marco Polo described the port as “a city good and great and of great trade. . . . All the spicery and the cloths of gold and of wool from inland are carried to this town.”<sup>18</sup>

By that date, Levon II (r. 1270–1289) was king of Cilicia, and like his father, a close ally of the Mongols.<sup>19</sup> During his reign and throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, the scriptorium at Sis, the capital of Cilicia (fig. 45), produced elaborate, richly gilded manuscripts with Christian imagery and often royal portraits that reflected the court's ambition to be seen

as the greatest Christian power in the East, the powerful link between the West and the Mongols (cats. 63, 65, 66). Franciscans were so successful in Cilicia that there was a Franciscan monastery in Sis by 1289. Levon's son and successor, Hetum II, became a Franciscan, retiring at times to live as a monk during his often interrupted reign from 1289 to 1307.<sup>20</sup> In 1326, the Franciscan Fra Andreas wrote home to Italy of the continuing Franciscan link with the Armenians, describing an Armenian lady in the Chinese merchant city of Quanzhou who had provided funds for a handsome church and an endowment for its bishop, Brother Gerardus.<sup>21</sup> While many Armenians suffered under Mongol rule, others in Cilicia and the Armenian homeland flourished through their activities controlling aspects of the *Pax Mongolica* trade routes.

The stability and prosperity afforded to the kingdom of Cilicia through its alliances with the two greatest powers of the era—the French in the West and the Mongols in the East—began to collapse with the emergence of the Mamluks of Egypt as a rival to the Mongols. The Mamluks first devastated Sis in 1266.<sup>22</sup> Following his conversion to Sunni Islam in 1295, the Mongol ruler Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304) was less interested in his Christian allies. Hetum II was at the Mongol court when the conversion was announced and was able to return safely home. He also brought with him the Chinese prelate Rabban Bar Sauma of the Syrian Church of the East (Nestorian), who in 1288 had traveled to Rome as an envoy of the Mongols.<sup>23</sup> In this era, Mongol troops were stationed in Cilicia, often serving as tax collectors.<sup>24</sup> The increasing turbulence of those years was recorded by Hetum the Historian, a member of the royal family, in his *The Flower of*

*Histories of the East*, written at the order of Pope Clement V (r. 1305–1314) in 1307 in Poitiers.<sup>25</sup> The popular text later became part of a travel compendium compiled about 1400 for the family of Jean, duc de Berry (1340–1416), one of the most influential families in Europe.<sup>26</sup>

The last great painter of Armenian Cilicia, the monk Sargis Pidzak (act. 1307–1354), flourished in Sis and at the monastery of Drazark (cats. 68, 69). Among the many works he produced in Sis was a copy of the Assizes of Antioch, a Western legal code used in Cilicia (fig. 46). On the frontispiece, King Levon IV (r. 1320–1342) dispenses judgment sitting cross-legged in an Eastern style, a symbolic representation of his kingdom's delicate balance between the East and West.<sup>27</sup>

In the fourteenth century, the increasingly powerful Mamluks frequently attacked the kingdom in an effort to limit its commercial power, with Ayas falling by 1335. Fighting among the Cilician barons increased disorder within the kingdom and helped lead to its fall by the end of the century.<sup>28</sup> Many Armenians remained there and the catholicosate of Cilicia continued to be a powerful voice within the Armenian Church (see Ballian, p. 151). Others left Cilicia following routes farther west into Crimea and Italy (cats. 70–74). Many returned to Greater Armenia, to sites like the monastery of Gladzor (cat. 40). Ultimately Cilician manuscripts influenced ones made for the merchant elite of Constantinople, Kaffa, and New Julfa (cats. 107, 108, 127). Thus, as the Armenians of Cilicia moved, they took with them Cilician art and culture that remained influential symbols of the power and authority of the kingdom of Cilicia throughout the medieval era.

# ARMENIANS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Armenians were a major force on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire before its capital was moved to New Rome, also known as Constantinople, in 330 AD. There they continued to control important silk trade routes to the East and to provide the state, which would be called Byzantium, with many elite members of the military.<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Isaac, exarch (governor) of Ravenna, the eastern capital of the Roman Empire from 625 to 643, identifies him as an Armenian.<sup>2</sup> The ninth-century emperor Basil I, whose father was Armenian, would establish the Macedonian Dynasty, which ruled Byzantium until 1056 and maintained extensive Armenian connections.<sup>3</sup> Armenians, furthermore, attended Constantinople's great centers of learning.<sup>4</sup> After 989, the Armenian architect Trdat both restored the earthquake-damaged dome of the great church of

Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (fig. 47) and built the Armenian cathedral at Ani (see fig. 22).<sup>5</sup> In that same period, the emperor Basil II moved Armenians within the empire to stop Muslim advances, an effort that failed in 1071 with the Byzantine defeat at the battle of Manzikert. Armenians who were resettled in the empire established the kingdom of Cilicia, which in the late thirteenth century aspired to supplant Byzantium (see Evans, p. 129). Cilicia's leading pro-Byzantine family, the Hetumids, supported pro-union positions at a church council in 1179 that would have reunited the Armenian and Orthodox Churches, which had officially separated in 648/49.<sup>6</sup> Armenians and Byzantine Orthodox Christians would both later come under Muslim rule during the Ottoman Empire from 1453 to 1922 (see Ballian, p. 225). HCE



Fig. 47. Exterior view of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, built 532–37, restored after 989

## CAT. 50 Gospel Book

Adrianople, 1007

Scribe: Kirakos (act. ca. 1007)

Tempera and gold on parchment; 280 folios

16½ × 12⅞ in. (42 × 32 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 887/116)

This manuscript was produced in Byzantine territory before the rise of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which had ties to Byzantium. It attests to the importance and affluence of Armenians serving the Byzantine state and to their awareness of their own traditions, even as they served others. Armenians had long been valued members of the Byzantine military, especially on the eastern frontier, with many rising to positions of high rank in the Byzantine army.<sup>1</sup> In this Gospel book, the Armenian donor Yovhannes wears the dress of a ranking Byzantine officer.<sup>2</sup> The

Gospel is written in Armenian, in *erkat'agir* script, by Kirakos (an Armenian name), and includes a dedicatory colophon on folio 279 verso identifying the donor as *protospatharios* of Emperor Basil II and *proximos* of Duke Thotorakan (Theodorokanos). A *protospatharios* was a dignitary in the Byzantine imperial hierarchy; a *proximos* was also a title of significant rank. The donor's name, Yovhannes, is Armenian, and he serves both a Byzantine emperor of Armenian descent and a duke whose family has been identified as Armenian.<sup>3</sup> The text was written in Adrianople, probably for one of the many Armenian soldiers stationed in the area. In the exquisite image of the enthroned Virgin and Child, which may have been done by a Greek artist, the Child looks away from the donor, who may have been added to the facing page; a later owner, the consul Photios, added his dedication in Greek beside the donor's head.<sup>4</sup> HCE



fol. 7v-8r

## ARMENIAN SITES IN CILICIA

Cilicia was the site of an Armenian kingdom between 1198/99 and 1375. The topography of the area included the rugged mountainous coast, known as “Rough Cilicia,” and the fertile inland plains, or “Flat Cilicia,” with its vineyards and agriculture. Armenian presence grew in the tenth and eleventh centuries with migrations from Greater Armenia, particularly after the battle of Manzikert in 1071. Gradually, two Armenian families emerged as local powers: the Rupenids, located in the Anti-Taurus Mountains, and the Hetumids, who settled at the Cilician Gates.

The built landscape of Armenian Cilicia included fortresses, churches, monasteries, and princely, patriarchal, and royal residences. Few of these structures stand today, however, with the exception of fortification architecture. Over seventy-five fortresses survive, enhancing the already protective features of the natural landscape. They stud the semicircular chain of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains, guarding the passes created by rivers and gorges. Fortresses also defended the Venetian and Genoese warehouses in the region of Misis (ancient Mopsuestia), the inland station



where goods were brought by land or river to the port of Ayas. Protecting not only the inhabitants but also the trade and agriculture of the region, the fortresses were imposing and mutually visible, facilitating quick intercommunication and giving defenders time to prevent or prepare for attack. Thus, despite its role as a trade center, Armenian Cilicia was a landscape not of cities but of strongholds.<sup>1</sup>

Robert W. Edwards has identified specific features of fortifications from the period of Armenian control.<sup>2</sup> The fortresses, he notes, conform to and exploit the topography of their sites, making defensive use of steep cliffs and outcrops, with the interiors divided into multiple baileys (enclosures). Walls were constructed with rubble masonry and equipped with

interior chapels, battlements, wall-walks, and slot machicolations (slit-like openings at or near gates), while wall towers were generally rounded rather than angular. Initial approach to the fortress typically proceeded along an outer curtain wall, exposing entrants to fire from above. Bent entrances, like that of the Lion's Gate of Ani, were also typical of Armenian Cilician fortresses. Taken as a whole, Edwards's explorations and publications suggest a robust and sophisticated military architecture. The fortress of Levonkla (Turkish Yilankale, or "Snake Castle"), in the province of Adana, offers a well-preserved example of the tradition (fig. 48). Dramatically situated above the Pyramus River, it features carefully cut stone fortifications that follow the natural outcrop of the site, rounded towers, and a chapel in its uppermost bailey.

Cilician fortresses also served as residences for the great princely and royal families and as the seats of bishops and patriarchs. The church of the Rupenid T'oros I at Anavarza, now in ruins, took the form of a three-aisled basilica once adorned with interior fresco painting.<sup>3</sup> The exterior bore reused Byzantine sculpture and a bas-relief inscription announcing the aristocratic lineage of the Rupenids. Fortresses also sheltered monastic scriptoria, where Armenian texts were copied and illustrated well before the formation of the kingdom. By 1151, Hromkla, on the easternmost border of Cilicia, had become the seat of the Armenian catholicosate, and it is from this site that one of the earliest illustrated Cilician manuscripts is preserved (cat. 55). The celebrated painter T'oros Roslin (act. 1256–1268) spent much of his career there, working with the sponsorship of the catholicos, often for the Hetumid court (cats. 57, 59). The monastery of Skevra housed an equally active scriptorium (cats. 51, 52). Artistic patronage at the fortress of Sis, Cilicia's royal capital, was also active, particularly after the transfer there of the patriarchal see from Hromkla in 1293 (cats. 63–69). CM



Fig. 48. Fortress of Levonkla, late 12th century

## SKEVRA

The monastery of Skevra, one of the earliest monasteries established as Armenians settled in Cilicia, was located near the fortress of Lambron, founded by the Byzantine-aligned Baron Oshin and home, by descent through him, of the powerful Hetumid dynasty. The monastery was the most important intellectual center of the Armenians within Cilicia. In the twelfth century, its head was the Hetumid prelate Saint Nerses of Lambron (1153–1198)—a descendant of Baron Oshin and the nephew and protégé of the Patriarch Saint Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali)—who studied at Hromkla, becoming a monk at the age of sixteen.<sup>1</sup> Appointed archbishop of Tarsus in 1175, Nerses of Lambron led the Armenian Church's efforts

to interact with both the Latin Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church of Constantinople. He translated the Benedictine Order's Rule into Armenian and urged Armenian monasteries to adopt its practices.<sup>2</sup> The scriptorium he established at Skevra included scribes lent from Hromkla by Nerses the Gracious.<sup>3</sup> Their work shows their patron's interest in both Byzantine and Latin art (cats. 51, 52). Skevra remained a major center of learning and affluence throughout the history of the kingdom of Cilicia, retaining close ties to the Hetumid court. In 1293, Skevra's abbot, who became Catholicos Kostandin IV (r. 1322–1326), donated an elaborate reliquary displaying King Hetum II kneeling in a rondel before the Crucified Christ (fig. 49).<sup>4</sup> HCE



Fig. 49. Reliquary triptych of the monastery of Skevra. Cilicia, 1293. Gilded silver on wood,  $25\frac{3}{8} \times 27\frac{3}{8} \times 3$  in. (65 × 69.5 × 7.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (AR-1572)



fols. 55v–56r

### CAT. 51 *Book of Lamentation*

Monastery of Skevra, Cilicia, 1173  
 Scribe: Grigor of Mich'ets'i (also called Skevrats'i; ca. 1150–1215)  
 Written by Grigor of Narek (Grigor Narekats'i; 951–1003)  
 Tempera and gold on parchment; 343 folios  
 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (15.4 × 11.5 cm)  
 “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1568)

Shown with his hands raised in prayer, Saint Grigor of Narek (Grigor Narekats'i) appears as if dedicating his *Book of Lamentation*, one of the world's great mystical poems, to Christ, who blesses the saint from the heavens. A leading writer of the Armenian Church, Grigor of Narek was first recognized as a saint in this copy of the *Book of Lamentation* in his hagiography, authored by the manuscript's patron, Saint Nerses of Lambron, Cilicia's leading theologian.<sup>1</sup> This copy originated at Skevra, one of the earliest and most important monasteries and

scriptoria of Cilician Armenia, and where Nerses was abbot, far from the monastery of Narekavank' in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), where Grigor of Narek had written the text. The image of the saint was inspired by Byzantine art and reflected Cilicia's desire to be seen as producing intellectuals equal to those of the Byzantine Empire. The artist's use of the word “watchful” by the saint is an explicit reference to his Prayer 72.<sup>2</sup> The rich gold ground on which the figure appears confirms the wealth of Armenian Cilicia in the decades before it would become a kingdom. In 2015, Pope Francis recognized Saint Grigor of Narek as a Doctor of the Church, one of the highest honors of the Catholic Church and evidence of the lasting impact of the saint's writings.<sup>3</sup> In a passage in the *Book of Lamentation* that anticipates this enduring influence, Grigor of Narek wrote, “May it be recited to the ears of all generations, and may it be preached to all peoples” (Prayer 88b).<sup>4</sup> HCE



## CAT. 52 Gospel Book

Monastery of Skevra, Cilicia, 1193

Illuminator and scribe: Kostandin (act. 1193)

Ink and pigments on parchment; 248 folios

11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (30 × 21.6 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 1635)

Kostandin copied and illuminated this Gospel book for Prince Hetum, head of the Hetumids at Lambron, and for the prince's brother Saint Nerses of Lambron, abbot of Skevra.<sup>1</sup> The first page of the Gospel of John reflects the family's interest in the Catholic West, as the vertical stroke of the incipit letter incorporates the four symbols of the evangelists in the order of Saint Jerome. The same letter appears in the Gospel book of 1166 produced at Hromkla, which introduced such use

of the evangelists' symbols into Armenian illumination (cat. 55); Nerses was a student at Hromkla at the time that Gospel book was created.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Lamb of God over the headpiece in the Skevra Gospel book is closely copied from the Hromkla Gospel book.<sup>3</sup> Long a popular image in the West, the Lamb of God was outlawed in the East at the Quinisex Council of 692. Nerses's adoption of it as his symbol emphasized his interest in the Western church, including his admiration for a Benedictine monastery near Antioch.<sup>4</sup> The Crucifixion that appears on the facing page, rather than the traditional evangelist's portrait, is typical of Byzantine works, while the inscriptions in Armenian confirm its Armenian context. Colophons in the manuscript attest to its medieval presence at the Cilician port in Ayas and Cyprus before its arrival in Constantinople in 1850.<sup>5</sup> HCE



fols. 248v–249r

# HROMKLA

Hromkla, the site of an old Roman fortress on the Euphrates River, was the most important center for the Armenian Church between about 1151, when it moved there to escape Muslim advances in the homeland, and 1293–94, when it was destroyed by the Mamluks (fig. 50). The Armenian widow of Jocelyn de Courtney, the Crusader ruler of Edessa, sold Hromkla—located west of former threatened patriarchal centers, such as Etchmiadzin, Ani, and Aght'amar, and east of the newly developing power of Armenian Cilicia—to the Armenians (see Evans, p. 129). The relatively cosmopolitan center also housed representatives of the Syriac Church and the church of the Catholic Crusaders.<sup>1</sup> During the years that the catholicosate was at Hromkla, the church engaged in unsuccessful discussions of union with the Byzantine state in 1179 and in more successful talks with Rome through the Franciscans in 1251.<sup>2</sup>

Acquired by Catholicos Gregory III Pahlavuni (1113–1173), a descendant of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, Hromkla became a center of manuscript production under his successor and younger brother, Saint Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali; 1102–1173). An ally of the Hetumids of Cilicia, Nerses the Gracious ordered the production of Hromkla's first manuscript in 1166 (cat. 55). His protégé and grandnephew, the Hetumid Saint Nerses of Lambron, borrowed scribes from Hromkla to establish his scriptorium at Skevra in Cilicia (see Evans, p. 138).<sup>3</sup> The site reached its artistic peak under Catholicos Konstandin I, an ally of the cadet branch of the Hetumids who obtained control of the kingdom of Cilicia in 1219. During Konstandin I's reign, T'oros Roslin (act. 1256–1268), flourished at Hromkla (cats. 57, 59), creating stylistic and iconographic innovations that would profoundly influence subsequent generations of Armenian art (cats. 68, 73, 126). HCE



Fig. 50. View of Hromkla from the Euphrates River

## CAT. 53 Khachkar of Basil Pahlavuni

Hromkla, after 1150

Stone, traces of paint in the inscription

25<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 22<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (65.5 × 56 × 12 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (1033)



The central depressed area of the khachkar depicts a jeweled cross on a stepped base, with flared arms featuring hanging pinecone jewels and trefoil terminals.<sup>1</sup> The similarity to precious metalwork is remarkable and enhanced by the inscribed border that surrounds three sides of the slab, which resembles those borders on Byzantine and Crusader silver cross reliquaries or Armenian silver-gilded Gospel covers that have similarly arranged inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The upper and lower areas of the khachkar are filled with the eight-lobed rosettes and semispherical bosses used in the symbolic contexts of the sun and the moon, as in the Crucifixion scene. The same symbolism is attributed to bosses

and rosettes commonly found on Islamic tombstones, mihrabs, and Seljuk portals.<sup>3</sup>

The small size, the nearly square proportions of the stone, and the plain background are unusual for khachkars, which normally depict the cross amid lush vegetation representing the source of life. Ultimately deriving from the iconography of coins, the cross on a three-stepped base is found on early khachkars and is frequently reproduced on twelfth- and thirteenth-century frontispieces of Syriac and Coptic religious books.<sup>4</sup>

The deceased “Basil the servant of God” mentioned in the inscription has been identified by Claude Mutfian as Basil Pahlavuni, brother of the first two catholicoses of Hromkla, Gregory III and Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali), and father of the third, Gregory IV.<sup>5</sup> The transfer of the catholicosate to Hromkla, a fortress on the Euphrates, just before 1151 marked the decisive shift in the balance of power from the central Armenian lands to the Euphrates region and Cilicia, and was accompanied by an intellectual rapprochement with Byzantine Constantinople initiated by the Pahlavuni catholicoses. This rare khachkar, with its Byzantine-style cross, conforms to the spirit of the age.

The identification with Basil Pahlavuni is not supported by other sources, and it seems strange that he is not referred to by his title of *ishkhan* (prince). His interesting personality, however, makes him an appealing candidate. Representing the military branch of the aristocratic Pahlavuni family, he was a kind of itinerant feudal lord in search of land and power—one who might fight either with or against the Byzantines, Crusaders, or Muslims. Basil Pahlavuni is last mentioned as Lord of Gargar on the Euphrates, fighting with Franks and Greeks against the Artukid ruler of Hisn Kaifa, whose vassal he ultimately became.<sup>6</sup> AB

CAT. 54 *Ritual Book of Ordination (Dzernadrut‘ean Mashtots‘)*

Monastery of Zarnuk, near Cilicia, 1248

Scribe: Sargis (act. ca. 1248)

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 45 bifolia with lacunae

Bifolia: 7½ × 10½ in. (19 × 26.8 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 1657/440)

The image in this manuscript is the earliest known Armenian depiction of the ordination of a member of the clergy.<sup>1</sup> Standing before a ciborium covering an altar, a bishop holds a Gospel book over the head of the priest or deacon he is confirming.<sup>2</sup> Two attendant deacons with candles flank the scene. The bishop wears the pointed cowl (*knkugh*) typical of Armenian clerical dress and an omophorion, indicative of his rank (cat. 106). Variations on this image appear in later Cilician manuscripts, including a Gospel book dated to 1289 (cat. 67), in which Archbishop John (Yovhannes) wears a miter (*xoyr*), a vestment widely distributed throughout Armenia by Pope Innocent III in 1202.<sup>3</sup> The teacher of Sargis was Kirakos, argued to be a scribe working at Hromkla.<sup>4</sup> While Armenian texts do not mention the monastery of Zarnuk, it is thought to have

been near Cilicia, perhaps in Malat‘ya (Melitene), where the Syriac Church, a miaphysite church similar to the Armenian Church, was active. The Syriac Church was also present in the Armenian-controlled areas of Hromkla and Sis.<sup>5</sup> A Syriac text of 1238 offers a possible model for the image (fig. 51), although a common source for both in Byzantine illumination cannot be excluded.<sup>6</sup> HCE



Frontispiece

Fig. 51. "Ordination of a sub-deacon," from the *Syriac Book of Ordination*. Syria, 1238–39. Tempera and ink on paper, 9½ × 6¼ in. (24 × 16 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (MS 112, fol. 28r)

## CAT. 55 Gospel Book

Hromkla, 1166

Illuminator and scribe: Kozma (act. 1166)

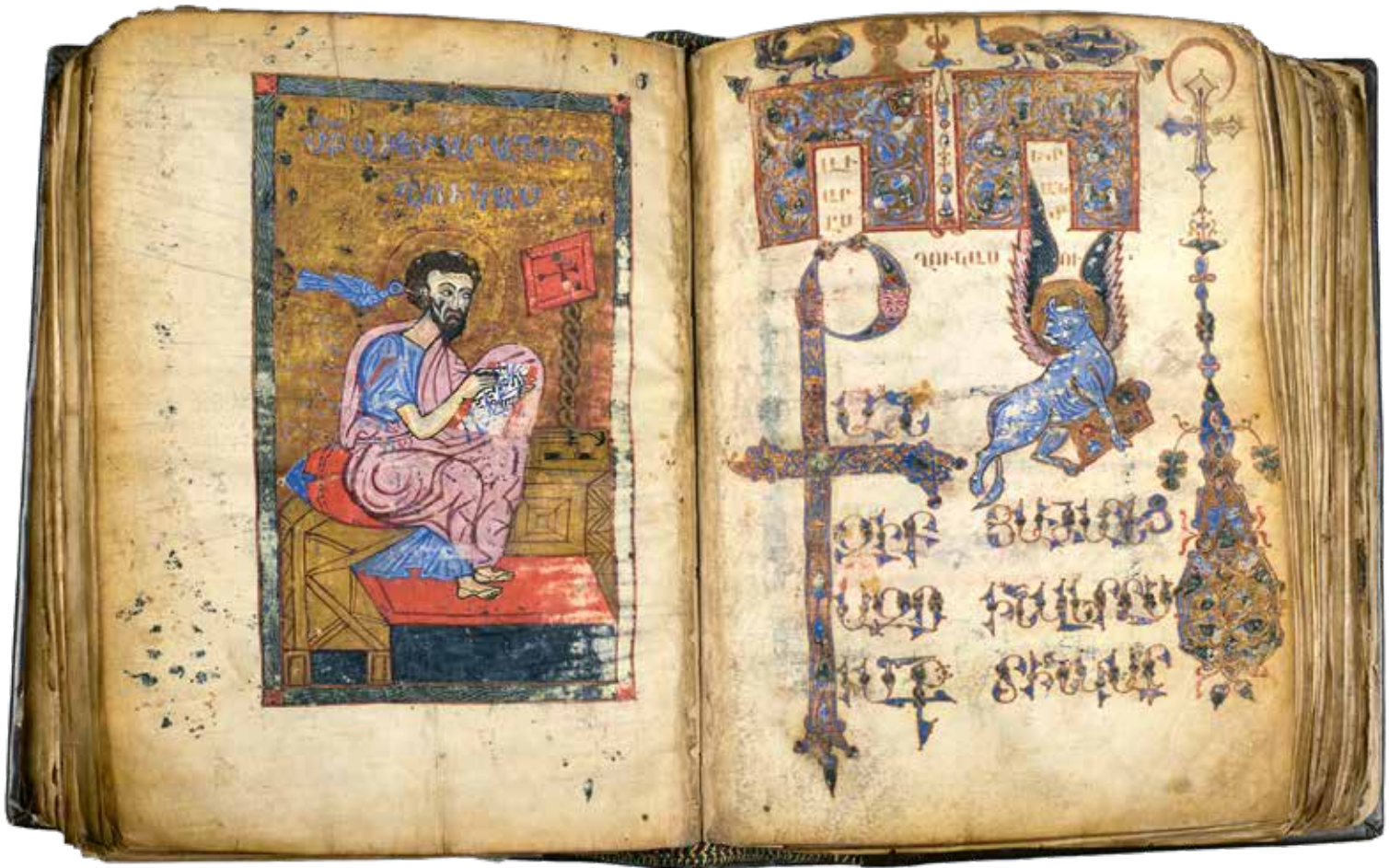
Tempera and ink on parchment

11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (28.4 × 22.5 × 12.4 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 7347)

This manuscript from 1166, the first produced at Hromkla, followed the Armenian tradition in its use of a handsome style of script and elaborate headpieces for its incipit pages, as here, for the Gospel of Luke. Innovative details display an awareness of contemporary Western and Byzantine art.<sup>1</sup> Catholicos, and later saint, Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali) encouraged his protégé, Saint Nerses of Lambron—who studied at

Hromkla, arriving about 1165—to translate Latin texts, including the writings of Pope Gregory I, also known as Saint Gregory the Great.<sup>2</sup> The dove of the Holy Spirit flying to inspire the evangelists Mark and Luke appears in Western depictions of Saint Gregory, such as in the eleventh-century Sacramentary of Warmundus.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the evangelist symbol of the ox for Luke on the incipit page is first found in Western texts,<sup>4</sup> while the evangelist portrait of John with his scribe Prochoros is an introduction from Byzantine sources. The portrait, the evangelist symbols, and the Lamb of God found on the incipit page for the Gospel of John in this manuscript were adopted by Nerses of Lambron for manuscripts at the scriptorium he established at Skevra (cat. 52).<sup>5</sup> HCE



fols. 164v–165r



fol. 103v-104r



## CAT. 56 Bardzrberd Gospel Book

Hromkla; manuscript, 1248; book cover, 1254  
 Illuminator and scribe: Kirakos (act. first half 13th century)  
 Metalsmith: Vardan (act. first half 13th century)  
 Manuscript: tempera, ink, and gold on parchment; 351 folios;  
 cover: gilded-silver sheet, gemstones, and leather  
 Cover: 10 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (27 × 21 × 11.5 cm)  
 Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 8)

The handsome, richly gilded portrait of the evangelist Mark and his Gospel's incipit page reflect the sophistication and wealth of Armenians associated with the kingdom of Cilicia in the mid-thirteenth century. Saint Mark writes his Gospel in Armenian with the tools of a scribe, arranged here on his desktop, as is often found in Byzantine manuscripts. On the incipit page, the first lines of his Gospels are in elaborate Armenian letters. Kirakos, the illuminator and scribe, along with the scribes Yovhannes and Deacon Sargis, led the

production of a new generation of outstanding manuscripts at Hromkla under the patronage of Catholicos Konstandin I, a close ally of the Hetumid royalty of Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> The iconography of these manuscripts, including their canon tables, laid the foundation for the next great artist at Hromkla, T'oros Roslin, who would offer a prayer for Kirakos in a colophon in one of his manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Like the Hromkla Gospel book of 1166 (cat. 55), the cover of this manuscript, especially the image of the enthroned Christ in Majesty, reflects an awareness of contemporary Byzantine and Western iconography.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Step'anos, the chancellor for Konstandin I, sponsored this volume at Hromkla, requesting that at his death it be sent to the great monastery of Grner, headed by Archbishop John, the half-brother of King Hetum I.<sup>4</sup> By 1591, it was at the nearby castle of Bardzrberd, the thirteenth-century family home of Cilicia's ruling Hetumid dynasty and Catholicos Konstandin I.<sup>5</sup> HCE

## CAT. 57 Gospel Book

Hromkla, 1256

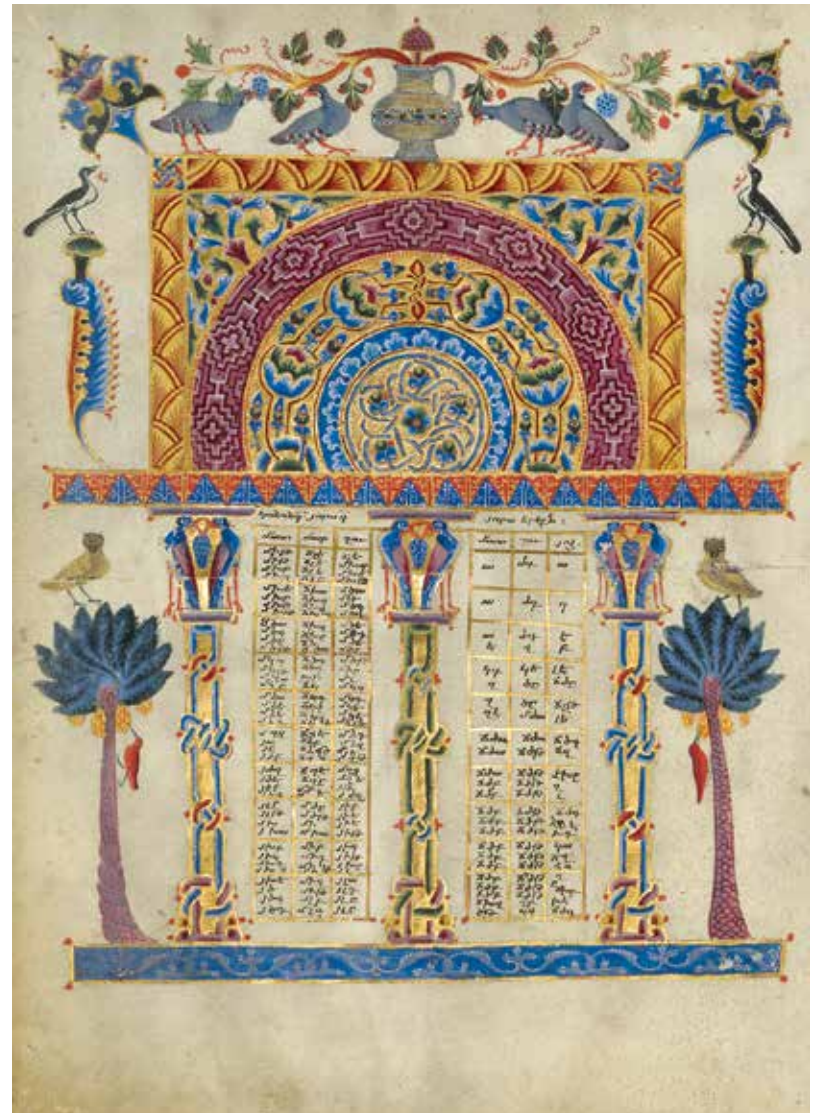
Illuminator and scribe: T'oros Roslin (act. 1256–1268)

Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment

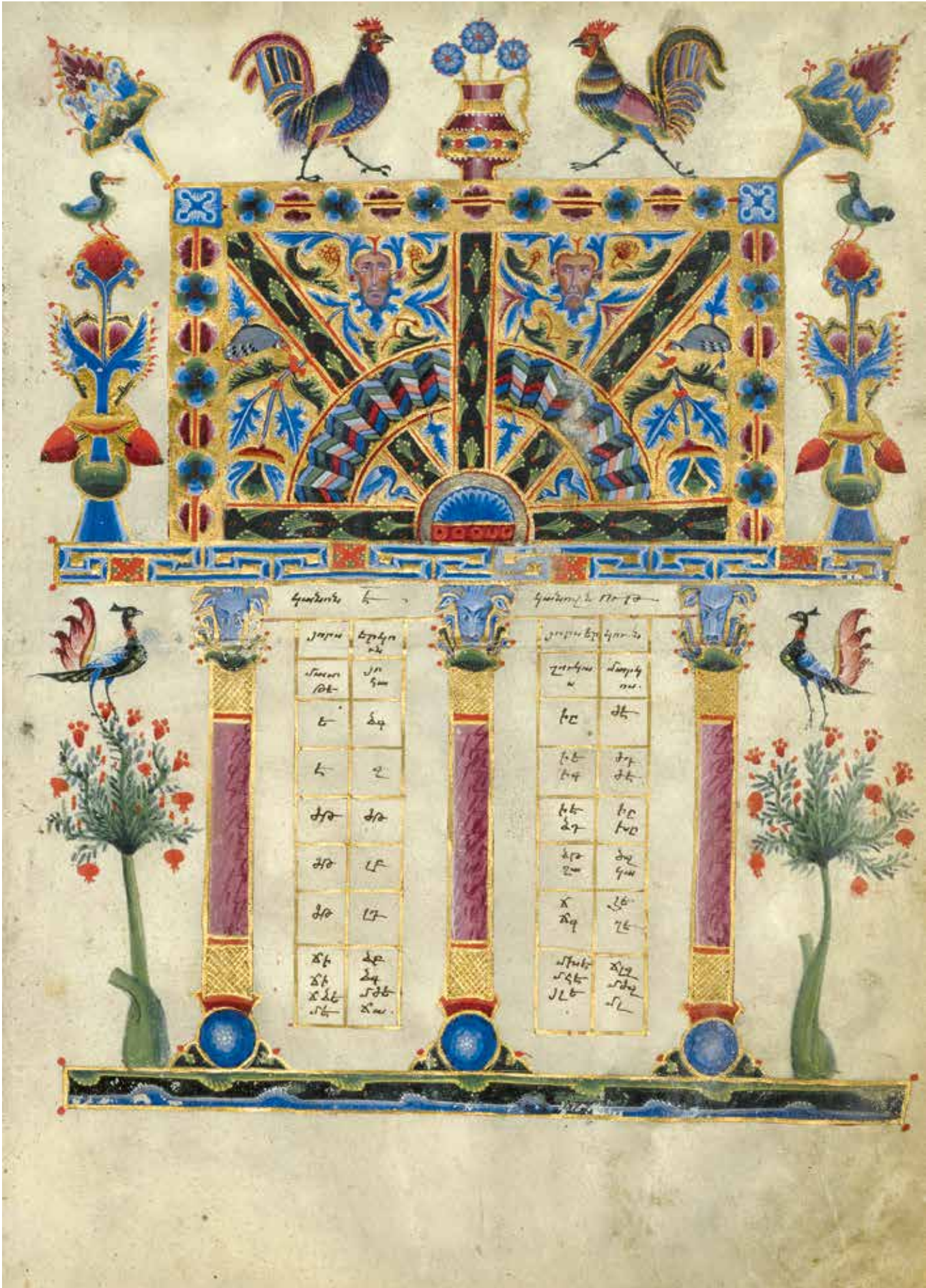
10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (26.5 × 19 cm)

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Gift of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia (MS 59[3])

In the first of his seven signed works, the Zeyt'un Gospel book, T'oros Roslin, Armenia's greatest artist, placed animated quails eating grapes and striding roosters on the headpieces of the canon tables with date palms and pomegranates flanking the tables of concordances.<sup>1</sup> The book was created for Catholicos Konstandin I, one of Cilicia's preeminent patrons of the arts. Roslin based the formats of his canon tables on those of his immediate predecessors at Hromkla, especially the scribe Yovhannes, who had also worked for the catholicos.<sup>2</sup> Both revived the style employed a half century earlier in the manuscripts produced for Saint Nerses of Lambron, who had supported the union of the Armenian Church with that of Rome in 1198/99 (cat. 52). The revival of this style provided visual support for the new papers of union, which were signed at Hromkla in 1251 by the Armenian Church and the Franciscans, an alliance formed in response to the Mongol advance into Hungary in 1141.<sup>3</sup> Other motifs in the manuscript, like Christ Carrying the Cross to Calvary, reflect Roslin's knowledge of European motifs from new connections with the West.<sup>4</sup> The artist identified himself in the manuscript as "T'oros, by surname called Roslin, after my forebears," perhaps an indication that he was a child of an Armenian woman and a Crusader.<sup>5</sup> Whatever his ancestry, Roslin was a devout member of the Armenian Church, who, in his role as chief scribe and illuminator for the catholicos, produced iconographic and stylistic innovations that influenced future generations of Armenian artists. HCE



fol. 3v





## CAT. 58 Moralized Bible

Paris, mid-13th century  
Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment; 153 folios  
15¼ × 10<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (40 × 27.5 cm)  
British Library, London (MS Harley 1527)

Moralized Bibles are richly illuminated manuscripts with eight medallions on each page juxtaposing biblical and moralizing images with short explanatory texts. This elaborate example, a volume of the Oxford-Paris-London Bible, is thought to have been commissioned by Blanche of Castile, queen of France (1188–1252), in association with the marriage in 1234 of her son King Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) to Marguerite of Provence (1221–1295).<sup>1</sup> The Moralized Bible style



dominated all royal commissions during the reign of Louis IX, including the Arsenal Bible, which is thought to have been produced on the king's order in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291), while he was on Crusade in the East from 1250 to 1254.<sup>2</sup> At that time, William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan monk, traveled as an envoy to the Mongols. He carried with him illuminated books, likely in the Moralized Bible style, that were gifts from the king (see Evans, p. 129), and he recorded in his journal showing them to those he met. Rubruck was assisted extensively on his travels by the Cilician court, and it is possible that the artist T'oros Roslin could have seen the books Rubruck had with him.<sup>3</sup> In his first work, the Zeyt'un Gospel book, and in later manuscripts, T'oros Roslin introduced various motifs from Moralized Bibles into Cilician illumination.<sup>4</sup> In his most elaborately illuminated Gospel book, produced for the nephew of Catholicos Konstantin I, T'oros Roslin demonstrated his outstanding ability to adapt various sources to make an innovative, unique image by inserting the Foolish Virgins from the Moralized Bible into a full-page illumination titled the "Second Coming of Jesus Christ" (fig. 62).<sup>5</sup> Previously unknown in Eastern illumination, these figures are from the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, in which the Foolish ones are turned away for not having prepared for their bridegrooms, a symbolic representation of those who will not be saved at the Second Coming (Matthew 25:1–13).<sup>6</sup> Some of the Moralized Bible motifs introduced by Roslin later influenced works created at the monastery of Gladzor in Greater Armenia.<sup>7</sup> HCE

Fig. 52. T'oros Roslin. "Second Coming of Jesus Christ (Last Judgment)," from a Gospel book. Hromkla, 1262. Tempera and ink on parchment, 10<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27 × 19 cm). Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (MS W.539, fol. 109v)

**S**imile  
est reg-  
ni ce-  
lorum: sicut  
qui accipi-  
unt lampades  
suas exier-  
unt obviam  
sponsi  
et sponse. Quis  
autem ex eis  
evigilavit?  
Sed et  
satis nescit  
secum oleum  
habere. Et  
accipit oleum  
a vicinis suis  
lampadas.

**D**icitur  
ergo  
omnes illos  
qui  
credunt et opera  
deorum cultu  
dunt opera  
plam pade sig-  
nificant. Olee  
mores vite. s-  
vignies fame  
et mors q bona  
opa p humana  
laude faciunt  
pudentes s. f.  
illo q ex opibz  
suis laude cari-  
tatis qm ut  
gum dei hanc  
i fudo utra et  
nam possideat

**M**ora aut  
sponde  
sponsi  
domina evig-  
et dormierit  
et ad nocte  
clamor fiet: et  
ecce sponsus  
venit et ecce  
obvia ei.

**M**ora sp-  
si pro  
longa  
tionem tunc  
Somni' ungu-  
morte' bini-  
meda nox su-  
bati advenit  
et mercurum in  
dicit diem. cla-  
mor tubam  
clan geh q ca-  
nec et morum q  
in xpo sit resur-  
gent tempus.



**T**unc sur-  
gunt  
omnes  
virgines ille  
et  
omniter kam  
pades suas. Fi-  
tue aut sapien-  
tibus dixerit da-  
te nobis oleo  
utrum q lamp-  
des nre exigu-  
e fuerit pudent-  
e flebunt no suffi-  
ciat nobis et uob-  
is. Et post ad ven-  
ientes remitte-  
re uos.

**R**efurtio  
virginu  
gerale  
et refurtione  
omne lampadi  
mordatione ho-  
noru opm. lamp-  
des granite opa  
sui caritate. Olee  
mores vite. s-  
vignies fame  
et mors q bona  
opa p humana  
laude faciunt  
pudentes s. f.  
illo q ex opibz  
suis laude cari-  
tatis qm ut  
gum dei hanc  
i fudo utra et  
nam possideat

**D**icitur  
ergo  
omnes illos  
qui  
credunt et opera  
deorum cultu  
dunt opera  
plam pade sig-  
nificant. Olee  
mores vite. s-  
vignies fame  
et mors q bona  
opa p humana  
laude faciunt  
pudentes s. f.  
illo q ex opibz  
suis laude cari-  
tatis qm ut  
gum dei hanc  
i fudo utra et  
nam possideat

**H**oc est qd  
q bona  
agunt  
in p uita echa  
huda: ipi cum  
sponsi xpo inna-  
bunt ad gaudi-  
a nuptiaru xpa-  
claudet apertus  
paradisus. Hoc qd  
sunt unguis  
nourtime uen-  
itibus: pullantibus  
et ossu e nestro  
uof: f q p uenit  
um nulla car re-  
dempto.



## CAT. 59 Gospel Book of Lady Keran and Prince Levon II

Hromkla, 1262

Illuminated by T'oros Roslin (act. 1256–1268)

Scribe: Avetis (act. 1262)

Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment; 293 folios

10 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (27 × 19 cm)

Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 2660)

Catholicos Konstandin I ordered many works for the ruling Hetumid family of Cilicia, with whom he was closely associated (cat. 57). Several of these were gifts, and they contain portraits of the royal family at significant moments in their lives. This Gospel book was a wedding gift to the young heir to the Cilician throne, Levon II, namesake of King Levon the Great, and his bride Lady Keran of Lambron in 1262.<sup>1</sup> Roslin painted the young royals with Levon holding a richly decorated book that may represent the catholicos's gift. Their silk garments reflect Cilicia's importance to the silk trade.<sup>2</sup> Lady Keran was a member of the original dominant Hetumid family of Lambron, which included Saint Nerses of Lambron, and her marriage to Levon confirmed an alliance between the two, at times feuding, factions of the family. The portrait displays the Hetumid vision of itself as the new Christian political power in the East, replacing the weakened Byzantine state that had only regained control of its capital Constantinople from the Crusaders in 1261. As in Byzantine royal images, Christ flanked by angels blesses the young couple's marriage and future rule from heaven. Levon wears a *tablion* (cloth square) on his cloak, a typical feature of Byzantine imperial dress.<sup>3</sup> This visual representation of their new power appears again in a Gospel book dated to 1266, in which Levon is described as "born in the purple," the Byzantine term for being of royal birth.<sup>4</sup> In the 1272 Queen Keran Gospel book, the couple, as king and queen, wear the regalia of the Byzantine emperors (see fig. 6). HCE



fol. 228r

## LITURGICAL OBJECTS FROM SIS

Liturgical objects and textiles from the medieval kingdom of Cilicia are few in number, and, apart from the Bardzrberd Gospel book cover (fig. 53), their importance has only recently been acknowledged.<sup>1</sup> The hand reliquary of Saint John the Baptist has little to offer in the way of comparisons, given that only the undecorated inner container has survived from the medieval period (cat. 61). But other objects, such as the arm reliquary of Saint Nicholas (cat. 60) and the miter lappets now housed at Etchmiadzin (cat. 62), are splendid examples of Cilician art, ingeniously combining Armenian traditions with those of Byzantium and the Latin West. The lappets in particular are unique because they are embroidered with a Crusader coat of arms, showing the mixed Armenian and Latin ancestry of the owner.

Cilician art had a long-lasting effect on the subsequent production of Armenian liturgical objects mainly because, thanks to the prestigious association of the royal house with the Church of Cilicia, symbols, practices, and forms of art that were introduced from the

Latin West and embraced by Cilician nobility gradually became established in the Armenian Church. A typical example is the evolution of the head covering used by bishops, which saw the traditional white hood decorated with a cross, as seen in manuscript illuminations (cat. 54), replaced by the Latin miter (cat. 62). The miter first came to Cilicia in the late twelfth century in the form of a papal gift to the catholicos; its crown was relatively short at the time, a shape it maintained in the Armenian Church up to at least the fifteenth century, as can be seen from the miter worn by Saint Gregory the Illuminator on the processional banner from Etchmiadzin (cat. 75).<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, items that already existed in the Catholic Church, such as the arm reliquary and the lappets, were adopted in Cilicia with the same form and function as in the West but using the techniques and iconography of the Byzantine tradition. The Bardzrberd Gospel book cover is perhaps the most telling example: one side is reminiscent of Byzantine models, while the other evokes Western European ones.<sup>3</sup> AB



Fig. 53. Book cover of the Bardzrberd Gospel book (cat. 56). Probably made in Hromkla, 1254. Gilded-silver sheet, repoussé and chased; pierced bosses, gemstones, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (27 × 21 cm). Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 8)





## CAT. 60 Arm Reliquary of Saint Nicholas

Cilicia, probably Sis, 1315

Silver with parcel-gilded silver sheet, twisted filigree,  
and gemstones

18<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (47.5 × 9.5 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (2v)

The Armenian Church is famed for its special veneration of the right arm of its founder, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and several arm reliquaries have survived. This Cilicia arm reliquary is the oldest known example, but it is dedicated to the right arm of Saint Nicholas and was produced during a period of growth for the saint's cult in the Armenian lands. Its realistic form originates in the Latin West—where, among surviving “speaking” reliquaries, right arms constitute the largest category—while the use of a medallion with the bust of the saint to indicate its contents is a Byzantine characteristic. Saint Nicholas is identified by an inscription in Armenian and depicted following Byzantine iconographic conventions, save for one detail that betrays its Cilician and Crusader context: he wears a papal pallium and not a folded omophorion, a prerogative bestowed upon the Armenian catholicos by the pope in the late twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> The veneration of Saint Nicholas in the Armenian Church spread in the thirteenth century, especially in the second half, when the name Nicholas became more common. His earliest painted depiction is in a lectionary of 1286, while the oldest image of him on silver is on the 1293 Skevra reliquary (see fig. 49), which features similar medallions with busts of saints that have the same round, bulging eyes as those on this arm reliquary.<sup>2</sup> The stylistic association with the Skevra reliquary suggests it was made by a workshop or family of silversmiths based at Sis and working for the church and the court for at least two successive generations.

The Skevra reliquary is associated with King Hetum II, who corresponded with the first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, and who later became a Franciscan monk himself. The Franciscan connection is only one aspect of the extreme Latinophilia that characterized

the Cilician elite of this period, starting with Hetum II and continuing with his successors, who proclaimed the union of the Armenian Church with Rome amid protests and riots and the subsequent persecution of the majority of the protesters. In the context of these events, the recovery of Saint Nicholas's arm relic by Catholicos Kostandin III, proclaimed in an inscription on the object's wrist, "I, Catholicos Kostandin, received this right [arm] of Saint Nicholas through the desire of my heart," and his commissioning of the reliquary in 1315<sup>5</sup> can be seen as a miraculous invention—a sign of divine favor intended to boost the religious leader's popularity and perhaps to compensate for the absence of Saint Gregory's right arm, lost after Hromkla was sacked by the Mamluks in 1292/93.<sup>4</sup>

The reliquary owes its present form to its 1926 reconstruction from various fragments of the original case and from other, now lost, reliquaries or other pieces of silverwork. The wrist with the inscription and

the open hand with the medallion are made from the same sheet of silver and are part of the original case. Most of the fragments can be identified in a photograph of the reliquary from 1915, although they were arranged differently at that time. Today, the most conspicuous fragments include the filigree window, probably reused from a medieval Western European reliquary; the forearm inscription, "[this] relic of the right hand of Saint Gregory was separated by Lord Theodoros";<sup>5</sup> a silver sheet at the bottom with a bull, symbol of the evangelist Luke, and the Latin inscription "S[an]C[tu]S LUCAS"; and the band, at the base, with medallions enclosing winged griffins, which originally covered the arm, imitating the episcopal textiles found on Latin reliquaries. The inscription on the middle part of the case is a 1926 copy of an older, now lost, inscription that had been read before the 1926 restoration: "The right arm of Saint Stephen presented [in 1179] by Bishop Sahak," who was perhaps the archbishop of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> AB

## CAT. 61 Reliquary Cross with Relics of Saint John the Baptist

Cilicia, 13th–14th century; restored in Adana, April 20, 1670  
Silver gilded, filigree, precious and semiprecious stones, and  
pearl and coral buttons  
10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.5 × 22 × 2 cm)  
Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N259/2615)

This outstanding reliquary was made during the period of the Armenia kingdom of Cilicia, and it houses a relic of the biblical saint John the Baptist.<sup>1</sup> In the Armenian Church, relics of saints are kept in receptacles in the shape of boxes, right arms, and crosses. This reliquary is representative of all three types. The box and the trefoil arms forming the cross are local Armenian metalwork styles; however, the open right hand with jointed fingers is more typical of Latin Church art. It is not a coincidence that open-hand reliquaries were produced in Cilicia as the kingdom was a bridge between West and East, and Armenian lifestyle, culture, and art of that region carry a decidedly Western influence.<sup>2</sup>

Later Armenian jewelers did not make this type of reliquary.<sup>3</sup> Yet, an open-hand reliquary with jointed fingers from 1760 is extant in the Treasury of the Mother See; it too carries a relic of Saint John the Baptist.

In our view, this cross reliquary is from the thirteenth or fourteenth century and could have been made in a workshop in any Cilician city. The original inscription is lost; however, based on the one inscribed on the back on the occasion of the 1670 renovation, one could surmise the reliquary was produced in Adana: "This Right [hand] of Saint John the Precursor was renovated in the God-protected metropolis of Adana, through the generosity of all its Christian [population] and the



preaching of Nerses, *vardapet* of Taron, and the sponsors Khoja Sargis, Khoja Avetik', Khoja Grigor, [and] Khoja Avag, by the hand of Master Alik'san from Urfa. In the year 1119 [AD 1670] and the month of April 20."

It should be noted that the renovation is awkwardly executed, and the coral beads set near the corners of the pearl frame boxing the hand were probably added to the arms of the cross at this time. (The Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin have items made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries similarly adorned with coral beads.) Some loss of metal is noticeable at the base of the fingers, as only the tip of the thumb is extant. The ring on the little finger and the jeweled

cross at the base of the hand are likely later additions. The gemstones set in various beaded-bezel settings on the trefoil cross arms convey a splendid appeal.

Relics of Saint John the Baptist have been kept in the Armenian Church since the early fourth century. The historian Agat'angeghos records that in 302 Saint Gregory the Illuminator brought from Caesarea in Cappadocia relics of Saint John the Baptist and bishop Saint Athanagines to the kingdom of Armenia, and he placed some of these relics in the numerous churches he built across the kingdom;<sup>4</sup> the rest were kept in reliquaries at various monasteries and churches of historical Armenia and the diaspora. AK

## CAT. 62 Miter Lappets

Cilicia, 13th–early 14th century

Silk, gold, silver, and silk thread on cotton

Left: 17 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (44.7 × 6.7 cm); right: 17 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45.4 × 7 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (303 a,b)

These miter lappets are the oldest in the museum collection of Holy Etchmiadzin.<sup>1</sup> They were made in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and originally attached to a miter; however, they arrived at Etchmiadzin without the miter, worn and frayed.

As a result of contacts between the Armenian and Latin Churches, Popes Lucius III and Innocent III, in 1184/85 and 1202, respectively, sent to the catholicos and bishops in Cilicia gifts of episcopal miters with lappets. By the end of the twelfth century, the miter had been adopted as part of the liturgical vestments of Armenian catholicoses and bishops. At first, Armenian miters and lappets did not differ from those used in the Latin Church; however, starting in the thirteenth century, unique, “brilliantly colored and gold threaded” miters and lappets were made in Cilician workshops in exquisitely magnificent styles. As in the Latin custom, initially lappets were attached to a miter, but sometime between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Armenians began to hang them from an appareled amice or a vakas.

There are four evenly placed medallions and three cruciform or rhombus shapes encapsulating fleury crosses on each lappet. The spaces between the medallions and crosses are filled with fleur-de-lis decorations. Immediately below the lowest medallions are heraldic shields bearing six crosses: three in chief and three in base, separated by a fess, the metallic thread of which is frayed, showing the cotton foundation. The fringes of the lappets end with lily and palm-leaf decorations. Represented in the medallion pairs, facing each other, are Mary the Mother of God and John the Baptist in a Deesis composition, followed below by the apostles Peter and Paul, and the evangelists John and Matthew, and Luke and Mark. These half-length figures are identified by their names rendered in blue silk thread. Unfortunately, the upper sections of the lappets have



been cut, damaging the first two medallions. Despite their generally poor condition, these lappets are remarkable for their captivating and harmonious color palette, for the personified features of the pictured saints, and for their consummate needlework. AK





fol. 13v–14r

## CAT. 63 Gospel Book

Sis, 1272–78

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 281 folios

10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (26.8 × 20 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 2629)

During the later thirteenth century, a number of beautifully illuminated manuscripts were made for the Cilician court by unknown artists. Their richly gilded decoration reflected the country’s affluence and role among the greatest Christian powers in the East. These works, generally associated with the capital Sis, display dramatically posed, exaggerated figures in vibrant settings—often baroque exaggerations of motifs introduced in earlier Cilician illumination. This Gospel book exemplifies the new style and the close connections between these manuscripts, especially the Marshal Oshin Gospel book of 1274 (cats. 65, 66), and earlier Cilician works.<sup>1</sup> It was commissioned by Kostandin the Coronant (the one who hands the crown to the king at his coronation), who was lord of Sarvandik’ar, a castle that dominated the eastern trade

route from Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> The format of the evangelist portrait and incipit page are typical of earlier Cilician art (cats. 55, 56). The billowing form of Saint Matthew, with his large feet, however, adapts the widely popular style of the contemporary Byzantine Palaiologan Dynasty (1261–1453), just as the portrait of Saint Grigor of Narek (Grigor Narekats’i) that was produced at Hromkla (cat. 51) had modified an earlier Byzantine style.<sup>3</sup> The marginal marker on the right side of the incipit page, in contrast, is a modification of a Western motif—the Tree of Jesse displaying the genealogy of Christ as described at the beginning of Matthew (1:1–21). The prophet Jesse sleeps at the tree’s base, while medallions with portraits of David, Solomon, and the Virgin rise over him to Christ, who stands in a blessing pose at the top. This image, which first appears in Cilician art at this time, is also seen in the Second Prince Vasak Gospel book (cat. 64) and later in works produced at Gladzor (cat. 44).<sup>4</sup> The bust of Christ Emmanuel (the incarnate word of God) at the center of the headpiece is also drawn from the genealogy of Christ as described in Matthew (1:22–23). HCE

## CAT. 64 Second Prince Vasak Gospel Book

Sis, 1268–85

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 323 folios

10¼ × 7⅞ in. (26 × 20 cm)

Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 2568/13)

In this richly decorated Gospel book, the inscription beneath the dynamic donor's portrait identifies the figures as "Baron [Prince] Vasak, brother of the king of the Armenians, owner of this Gospels, and his sons Kostandin and Hetum, given by God. May Christ God receive them among His elect, through the intercession of His holy mother. Remember also in Christ the corrector of this, his brother [Arch]bishop John and other relatives." Baron Vasak and Archbishop John (Yovhannes) were younger half brothers of King Hetum I.<sup>1</sup> In the portrait, Vasak appears as a robust younger man. His son Hetum was born in 1260, and his wife, who is not portrayed, died in 1268.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the manuscript is generally dated to the early 1270s and connected with the baroque style of the Queen Keran Gospel book of 1272 (see fig. 6), which is thought to have been made at Sis.<sup>3</sup> The pose of the Virgin, who spreads her mantle over the princely family as she introduces them to Christ, is related to Western art. Sirarpie Der Nersessian associated the appearance of the image with the arrival of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Cilicia. By the time the manuscript was made, the Franciscans were an increasing presence in the kingdom's capital, Sis, and closely allied with the royal court.<sup>4</sup> The reference to Archbishop John's correction of the text in an inscription reflected his intense interest in ensuring that manuscript texts were accurate. The Gospel book may have been for a time located at his scriptorium at Grner, near his family's castle at Bardzrberd, while he edited the text.<sup>5</sup> HCE



fol. 32or

## CATS. 65, 66 Marshal Oshin Gospel Book

Sis, 1274

Scribe: Kostandin (act. 1274)

Tempera, ink, and gold on parchment; 320 folios

10<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.5 × 20.5 cm); one leaf, 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 6 in. (22.2 × 15.3 cm)

Manuscript: Morgan Library and Museum, New York, purchase by J. P. Morgan, Jr., in 1928 (MS M.740); leaf: Morgan Library and Museum, New York, purchased in 1998 with funds from: The Manoogian Simone Foundation; the L. W. Frohlich Charitable Trust, in memory of L. W. Frohlich and Thomas R. Burns, in recognition of the interest in and contributions to the arts of the written word; the Hagop Kevorkian Fund; the Fellows Acquisition Fund; Kaloust P. and Emma Sogolian; Antranig and Varsenne Sarkissian; an anonymous donor, in memory of Sirarpie Der Nersessian; and the Institute de Recherche sur les Miniatures Armeno-Byzantines (MS M.III)

Now reunited with the Marshal Oshin Gospel book for which it was made, the donor portrait shows Marshal and his two sons, Kostandin and Hetum, kneeling before an enthroned Virgin and Child in upright Western poses as in the Second Prince Vasak Gospel book (cat. 64).<sup>1</sup> Marshal Oshin was the uncle of Queen Keran, wife of King Hetum I's son, King Levon II, who ascended the throne in Sis in 1270. Archbishop John (Yovhannes) was the king's uncle. As all were members of branches of the Hetumid ruling family, the illumination is evidence of the tightly interwoven aristocracy for whom the princely Cilician manuscripts were made.

The Virgin's mantle is extended over the donor group in a symbolic protective pose identifying her as the Madonna of Mercy, a Western motif. She first appears in Cilician illumination as a standing figure in the Second Prince Vasak Gospel book. Here, the poses of the figures are so similar to those painted by Duccio di Buoninsegna in his *Madonna of the Franciscans* (fig. 54) that it raises questions regarding the generally accepted date of about 1280 to 1300 for Duccio's work.<sup>2</sup>

Archbishop John, at the left rear, gestures to present Marshal Oshin and his sons to the Holy Family. The archbishop's cope, decorated with fleur-de-lis, also demonstrates an interest in Western culture as the motif was a symbol of the French court of King



Fig. 54. Duccio di Buoninsegna (Italian, act. 1278–1318). *Madonna of the Franciscans*, ca. 1280–1300. 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (23.5 × 16 cm). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena



Fig. 55. Brocade with fleur-de-lis motif. French or Italian, 13th–14th century. Silk and metal thread, 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (12.3 × 8.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.50.1022)

Louis IX, with whom King Hetum I was closely allied (fig. 55). The pattern has also been associated with the House of Anjou in Sicily, a cadet branch of the French royal family.<sup>3</sup> In its design, the fabric represents the westernmost reaches of the Armenian textile trade.

In contrast, the richly decorated dedicatory pages, with their gold and blue bands of text, display elaborate headpieces, elements of which are evocative of Islamic art and thus associated with Cilician trade routes to the East. Dedicatory pages like these first appear in Cilician illumination at Hromkla in the Bardzrberd Gospel book of 1248 (cat. 56).<sup>4</sup> This manuscript's use of the traditional Armenian format for such pages, in which columns are shown supporting a headpiece, is modified here by the insertion of an Islamic-style, polylobed red arch that encloses a human-headed harpy with two bodies. Motifs such as these reflect Cilicia's role as a major force on Mongol trade routes originating from the port at Ayas and extending to China.<sup>5</sup> HCE



leaf, MS M.IIIII



fol. 6v

## CAT. 67 Gospel Book of Archbishop John

Sis, 1289

Scribes: Archbishop John (Yovhannes; d. 1289) and an unidentified scribe

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 353 folios

10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.8 × 19.5 cm)

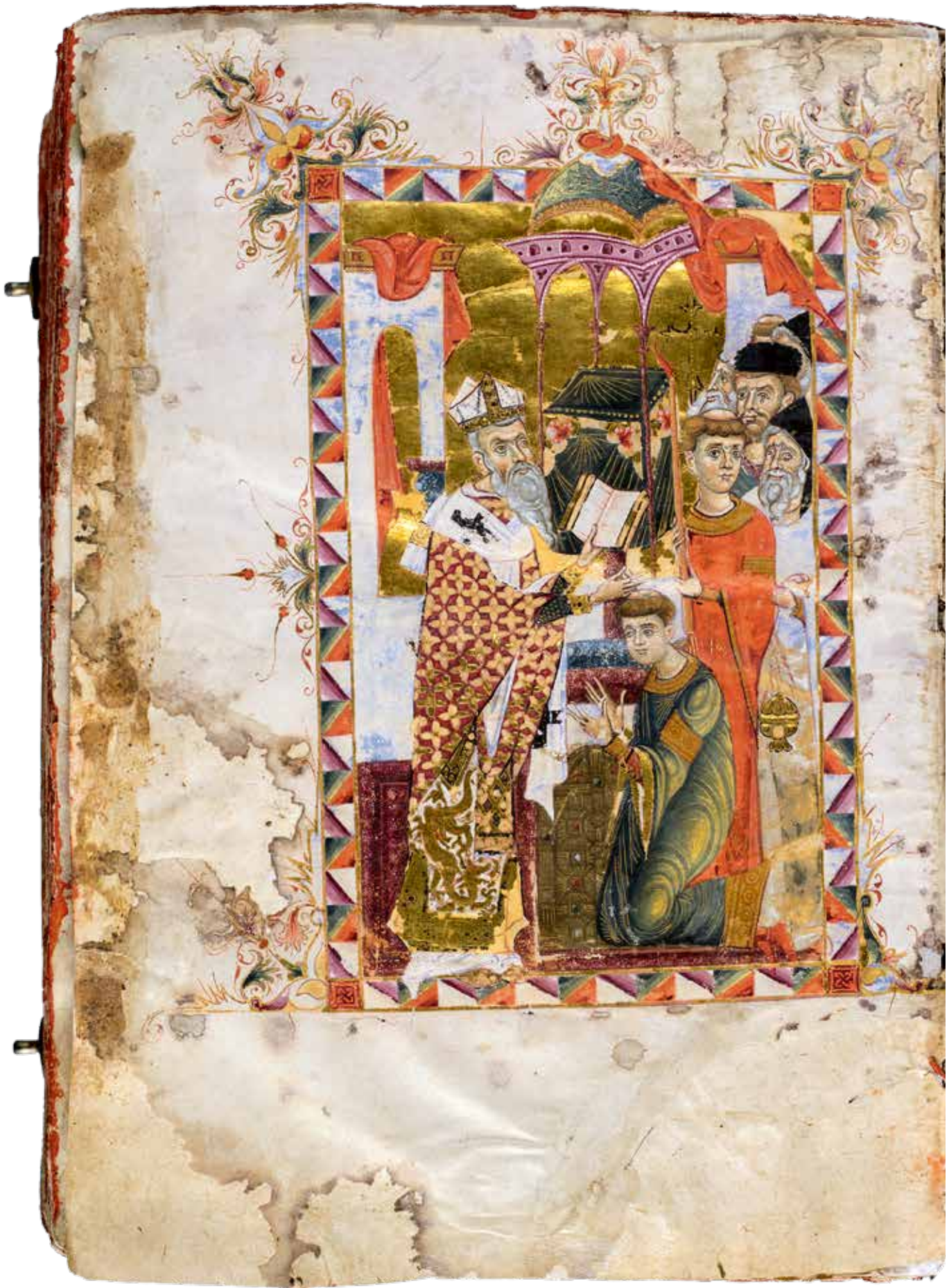
“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 197)

Archbishop John (Yovhannes), the youngest half brother of King Hetum I, was ordained archbishop of a region that included Bardzrberd, the family seat, in 1259. He established a scriptorium at Grner, where he sought to collect a library of significant texts.<sup>1</sup> This manuscript, made for his personal use, contains colophons stating that he wrote some, if not all, of the text in 1289, during the first year of the reign of King Hetum II, Archbishop John’s grandnephew. Illuminated at the Cilician capital of Sis, the manuscript shows the archbishop as an old man in the year of his death ordaining a deacon.<sup>2</sup> The Marshal Oshin Gospel book of 1274 shows him as a younger man (cats. 65, 66). His vestments in both portraits reflect his interest in textiles and the breadth of their sources. Here, the hem of his tunic displays an ornate upright Chinese dragon very similar to one on a Central Asian textile from the eleventh to twelfth century in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 56). Such a textile may have been given to the royal family on one of its visits to the Mongol court, as vassals often received rich robes in recognition of their importance (see Evans, p. 129).<sup>3</sup> Such works may also have been brought to the Cilician court by travelers, among them Rabban Bar Sauma, a Central Asian member of the Church of the East (Nestorian) who traveled through Armenia on his way to and from Rome in the 1280s with gifts from Arghun Khan.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese silk here and the fleur-de-lis on the earlier portrait in the Marshal Oshin Gospel book exemplify Cilicia’s role as a major conduit of trade



Fig. 56. Tapestry with dragons and flowers. Eastern Central Asia, 11th–12th century. Silk, 21 × 13 in. (53.3 × 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1987 (1987.275)

between the East and West under the *Pax Mongolica*. Elsewhere in the Gospel book, an illumination of the Virgin crowned Queen of Heaven, a popular motif in Western European art that rarely appears in the East, must reflect the growing presence of the Franciscans in Sis, where they had their own monastery by 1289.<sup>5</sup> HCE





fol. 19v

## CAT. 68 Gospel Book

Monastery of Drazark, Cilicia, 1331

Illuminated by Sargis Pidzak (act. 1307–1354)

Scribe: T'oros (act. first half 14th century)

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 387 folios

10 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 6 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (25.5 × 17.5 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 16)

Sargis Pidzak, a married priest, was the last great painter from the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> Active in the first half of the fourteenth century as the Mamluks increasingly threatened the state, he worked primarily at Sis and at times at Drazark, a nearby monastery whose scriptorium was established in the twelfth century by the Rupenid dynasty. Sargis's cousin Basilios, as the abbot at Drazark and the archbishop of Sis, may have introduced the artist to the king, royal family, and elite members of the clergy for whom he produced many of his nearly fifty richly illuminated manuscripts (see fig. 46).<sup>2</sup> Here, the artist depicts the donor Sargis, a celibate priest, kneeling and wearing a pointed headpiece typical of Armenian monastic garb.<sup>3</sup> The artist's brilliantly colored images are more stiffly drawn than the thirteenth-century Cilician illuminations with their evangelist symbols and figurative incipit letters that inspired him (cat. 56). Yet his contemporaries found his works so lifelike that he was nicknamed Pidzak, the bee or wasp, for supposedly painting an insect so realistically that others tried to drive it away, and perhaps for his industry as a scribe and artist.<sup>4</sup> HCE



fol. 422v-423r

## CAT. 69 Bible of Yerevan

Sis, 1338

Illuminator and partial scribe: Sargis Pidzak (act. 1307–1354)

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 546 folios

9¼ × 6¼ in. (23.4 × 16 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 2627)

This densely illuminated Bible, made for Hakob II (r. 1327–1340 and 1356–1360), the wealthy catholicos of the Armenian Church, is an outstanding example of Sargis Pidzak’s portraiture.<sup>1</sup> On the left page of the Bible (fol. 422v), three portraits appear to designate the beginning of the Gospels. At the top, the evangelist Matthew sits writing the first letter of his Gospel as the hand of God extends from the heavens inspiring his effort. Below him in the largest image, Hakob II appears enthroned holding an open Gospel book, the word of God, and raising his right hand in a blessing pose. He

wears a pointed cowl (*knkugh*), like the bishop in the 1248 *Ritual Book of Ordination* (cat. 54); later prelates began to wear short miters and then longer ones, as seen in the portrait of an Armenian bishop from about 1650 (cat. 130).<sup>2</sup> His cross-decorated omophorion signals his rank. At the lower left, Sargis depicts himself painting Hakob II in a pose similar to that of the evangelist.<sup>3</sup> His unusual headdress may relate to those of the Mongols, Cilicia’s allies and overlords.<sup>4</sup> As depictions of illuminators, or even their names, are rare in Armenian art, the image is evidence of the respect accorded Sargis by his contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> The facing page with the text of Matthew has two marginal narrative scenes. At the top the dove of the Holy Spirit with a nimbed halo announces the Nativity shown as a bust of the Virgin, the infant Christ in the manger, and the ass; below, the angel appears to Joseph in a dream. HCE



## ARMENIANS IN CRIMEA AND ITALY

In 1375 the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which was founded in the eleventh century and developed into one of the most important trade centers under the *Pax Mongolica*, fell after incessant attacks by the Egyptian Mamluks. As a result, the Armenians lost their one remaining foothold of independence, triggering one of the largest waves of migration in Armenian history. Many refugees settled in southern Crimea, where they found significant Venetian and Genovese commercial hubs located along the routes connecting the Mediterranean region with Asia. This newly arrived group of Armenians augmented colonies established in the wake of the Arab invasion (seventh century) and the fall of Bagratid Armenia (eleventh century).

The city of Kaffa became the de facto capital of Armenians in Crimea, where by the fifteenth century they constituted more than half the population.<sup>1</sup> Large populations of Armenians also settled in Sudak, Karasubazar, and Tana. The main spiritual center was the monastery of the Holy Cross (Surb Khach<sup>՛</sup>) in Staryi Krym, where the first Armenian scriptorium in Crimea was founded in the thirteenth century (fig. 57).<sup>2</sup>

Yet the Crimean Armenians also came from places other than Cilicia, and this variety is reflected in their artistic trends. As a result, we find a compilation that,

in addition to the refined Cilician style, includes the more expressive linear painting of Greater Armenia, as well as influences of European art originating in other centers of the diaspora. This assortment gave rise to a distinct Crimean Armenian school of illumination, characterized by a relatively simple linear style, a restricted, warm, and saturated color scheme, and unique iconographic motifs.<sup>3</sup> Decorations were often limited to the canon tables, portraits of the evangelists, and marginal ornaments. Moreover, due to the economic situation in Crimea, almost no gilded decoration was used.

Crimean Armenian art was particularly impacted by the work of Italian artists, whose influence had been present in Armenian culture since the founding of the kingdom of Cilicia. This was due to several factors, including warm relations with the Crusaders and with Franciscan and Dominican monks whose missionary routes passed through Armenia. Furthermore, since the end of the twelfth century, Armenian monks—the Basilians—had settled along pilgrimage trails in northern and central Italy.<sup>4</sup>

Italian artistic modes contributed such themes as illustrations of the Apocalypse of Saint John, absent from Armenian art until then, as well as a realistic style in which we can discern early experiments with a linear perspective and chiaroscuro. Even the faces of the evangelists exhibit European features and light-colored hair. Indeed, in the fifteenth century, Armenian monks started adopting Latin rites and became increasingly Italianized, so much so that Armenian religious orders began to disappear. Meanwhile, the same time period saw Crimea itself conquered by the Ottoman Empire, shifting Armenian colonies north, toward present-day Poland and Moldova. In these new centers, the artistic tradition of writing and illuminating manuscripts by hand continued into the eighteenth century. JR-K



Fig. 57. Monastery of the Holy Cross (Surb Khach<sup>՛</sup>), Staryi Krym, 1358

## CAT. 70 New Testament

Sis, 1293; Monastery of Medzayr (Medsk'ar), 14th century  
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 393 folios  
8 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{11}{16}$  × 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (20.7 × 14.5 × 5 cm)  
Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 212)



fol. 196v–197r

Most of this manuscript—including the text and monochromatic ornaments—was created in 1293 in Sis, the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> The figural illustrations, however, were added in the fourteenth century using a broad range of colors. The compositions of the first group of decorations represent a traditional style typical of Cilician art from the end of the thirteenth century. The second group, in contrast, was inspired by Italian trends, most readily in the portrayal of figures who, after Giotto (ca. 1267–1337), were depicted more realistically and dressed in voluminous, sprawling draperies. It might be assumed that the unknown author of this manuscript was educated in Italy.<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the twelfth century, Armenian rulers solicited a reunification of the Armenian Apostolic

and the Roman Catholic Churches, which would have allowed the ruler of Cilicia to hold the title of “king”; church leaders supported the effort.<sup>3</sup> Armenian prelates, including Saint Nerses of Lambron, were in contact with the order at this time and later the charismatic Franciscans. King Hetum II was so fascinated by the Franciscans that in 1293 he briefly abdicated the throne in favor of his brother, Thoros III, and donned the Franciscan habit.<sup>4</sup> Lilit Zakaryan argues that the portrayal of Saints Peter and Paul may be a symbol of the unification of the Armenian and Catholic Churches, so coveted by King Hetum.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript of the New Testament constitutes a symbolic expression of close relations between Armenia and Italy in the late Middle Ages. JR-K

## CAT. 71 Bible

Bologna, Italy, late 13th–early 14th century; Surchat, Crimea, 1368  
Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 487 folios  
11<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.5 × 22.4 × 12.2 cm)  
“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 2705)

The first part of this manuscript was created in Bologna at the turn of the fourteenth century. It includes the Old Testament as well as three full-page miniatures illustrating the story of King David and the Apocalypse (fol. 476v). In 1368, near Surchat, the manuscript was expanded with the New Testament and several illuminations, among them the portraits of the evangelists.<sup>1</sup> The full-page illuminations in the oldest part of the manuscript were executed in a Latin style and were likely influenced by Greek painters who arrived in Italy in 1204, after the fall of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.<sup>2</sup> The portraits of the evangelists were also illustrated by an unknown artist, who was likely Armenian. Evidence of the artist’s identity is traced to his use of a model that was popular in Cilician miniature painting, in which the evangelist Luke is portrayed in the company of Saint Theophilus.<sup>3</sup> The style of the portraits, particularly in the figures’ facial features, draws inspiration from contemporary Byzantine miniatures.<sup>4</sup> Both groups of illustrations derive from the Byzantine artistic community, forming a stylistically coherent Bible.

In the seventeenth century in Kaffa, the artist Niko-  
layos undertook a restoration of the damaged Bible. He  
copied the Old Testament and likely repainted some  
of the miniatures.<sup>5</sup> He later created two manuscripts  
inspired by this Bible.<sup>6</sup> JR-K



fol. 476v

## CAT. 72 Gospel Book

Perugia, Italy, 1331

Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 164 folios

9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 2 in. (25 × 17.4 × 5.1 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 7628)

In the mid-thirteenth century, many Armenian monks were forced to abandon Palestine and Antioch following the Mamluk invasion. They settled along well-known European pilgrimage routes, including several Italian cities, such as Perugia, Bologna, Venice, Assisi, and Orvieto. In 1273 the bishop of Perugia consecrated the church and monastery of Saint Matthew de Porta Sancti Angeli, which belonged to the Armenian monks of the Order of Saint Basil.<sup>1</sup> The church’s interior decorations—frescoes, likely created by an Italian artist influenced by Jacopo Torriti and by the Master of Marzolini Triptych—indicate that the quickly assimilated Armenian colony was open to local artistic trends.

This Gospel book confirms strong ties between the Armenian diaspora and Perugia.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has a traditional Armenian format. The incipit page of each Gospel is embellished with a headpiece, a sizable initial, and ornaments in the margins. The author did not employ any perspective, and the details are painted schematically. However, a clear departure from the Armenian model can be seen in the placement of the evangelists’ portraits in headpieces rather than on the verso page preceding the Gospels. Moreover, the author clearly drew on Western European sources in the style and choice of decorative motifs. For example, the evangelists all feature northern European complexions, light-colored hair, and tonsures (a shaven patch on the top of the head) similar to those of Roman Catholic priests. Other details of the illustrations, such as the furniture, putti and angels at the top of marginal ornaments, and sartorial elements, betray their Latin influence (fol. 47v, Saint Mark).<sup>3</sup> JR-K



fol. 47v

## CAT. 73 Gospel Book

Kaffa, 1420

Illuminated by K'ristosatur (act. 1420)

Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment; 282 folios

7¼ × 5¼ × 2½ in. (19.7 × 14.6 × 6.4 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 7686)

The colophon for this Gospel book indicates that it was created by the artist K'ristosatur in 1420, in the Crimean city of Kaffa.<sup>1</sup> In a manner similar to nearly all Armenian Gospel books, this one opens with the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus explaining the significance of the ten canon tables (*khoran*) that follow. The letter is an arrangement of parallel pericopes from the four Gospels edited by the theologian Eusebius of Caesarea. From about the twelfth century, headpieces crowning this text have included the busts of the author, Eusebius, shown as an old man with a long gray beard on the

verso, and Carpianus, depicted younger with dark hair on the recto.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript illuminations—including decorations of the letter, canon tables, portraits of the evangelists, and marginal ornaments—are modeled on miniatures found in the Smbat Gospel book, created in Cilicia in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> After finding its way to Crimea, the latter was supplemented with eight full-page miniatures illustrating the New Testament. K'ristosatur, however, copied only the original Cilician miniatures, which represented a high level of artistry, having been executed under the refined stylistic influence of T'oros Roslin (cat. 57). Especially noteworthy are the similarities in the portrayal of the figures, with sophisticated, slightly elongated proportions, as well as in the saturation of colors with the predominance of blue, and the intricate and harmonious ornaments. JR-K



folios IV-2r

## CAT. 74 Commentary on the Psalms

Kaffa, 1449

Tempera, gold, and ink on paper and parchment; 386 folios

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (18.5 × 14.5 × 7.8 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1203)

This manuscript includes Gregory of Tat‘ev’s (Grigor Tat‘evats‘i) “Commentary on the Psalms,” as well as a text by his teacher, Yovhannes Orotnets‘i, that concerns the martyrdom of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>1</sup> In 1345 the two authors founded a university attached to the monastery of Tat‘ev, which developed into one of the most important intellectual centers in Armenia. Following Orotnets‘i’s death, Gregory of Tat‘ev became the university’s headmaster. He involved himself in all the contemporary fields of study, including theology, philosophy, pedagogy, medicine, and grammar.

The miniature on folio 14 verso shows Gregory of Tat‘ev surrounded by his students. This is the only sheet in the manuscript that is made of parchment rather than paper, and it is slightly smaller than the rest, which suggests its late addition to the volume. It may have come from another manuscript likely painted during the philosopher’s lifetime.<sup>2</sup> Realistic details indicate that the manuscript author either painted from nature or received precise information concerning the headmaster’s appearance. The teacher, dressed in a *vardapet*’s habit, has a calm facial expression, a long gray beard, and a characteristically drooping left eyelid. His body, inscribed on the vertical axis and outlining a balanced cross, dominates the remaining figures of expectant students, at nearly double their proportions. There is a hypothesis that the author was inspired by the Italian style of the *Madonna della Misericordia* (1445–62) by Piero della Francesca.<sup>3</sup> This manuscript is one of the last creations of the Armenian golden age in Crimea, as the region was soon conquered by the Ottoman Empire. JR-K



fol. 14v

Արքունիքի պալատի  
ինքնաբնակարանը



Արքունիքի պալատի  
ինքնաբնակարանը



# ARMENIAN GLOBAL CONNECTIONS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

RACHEL GOSHGARIAN

*In the tenth year of [Catholicos] Grigor's reign [r. 1443–1465], in the year 902 [AD 1453], [Ottoman] Sultan Muhamad [Mehmed II; r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481] seized Constantinople from the Greeks. From then on, the Muslims ruled over all the lands where the Greeks, Armenians, and Persians lived and Christian rule came to an end. Therefore, from then on, all officials were appointed from among the Muslims, and all affairs of the Christians, spiritual as well as secular, were decided by verbal or written orders of Muslims.*

—Simeon I of Yerevan, *Jambr*<sup>1</sup>

Simeon I of Yerevan served as Catholicos of All Armenians from 1763 to 1780. During his tenure as head of the Armenian Church based at Etchmiadzin, he founded the first printing press in Armenia in 1771, thereby firmly recommitting and extending the role of the Church beyond that of spiritual adviser to that of intellectual guide and community builder. This act was probably taken in order to compete with the Armenian printing presses that had been established outside of the ancestral Armenian homeland as early as 1512 and represents

Fig. 58. Detail of *Tabula Chorographica Armenica* (cat. 142)



an attempt to relocate Armenian intellectual and cultural life at Etchmiadzin. It is likely that Simeon wrote *Jambr (Archival Chamber)* as a reflection on the history of the Armenian Church to reinforce the notion of Armenian unity and to refocus Armenian identity around an Armenian homeland. As historian George Bournoutian has suggested, Simeon's work argues that the apparatus of the Armenian Church should be seen as a "theocratic Armenian government within a Muslim state."<sup>2</sup> At the same time, this particular fragment from *Jambr* betrays a peculiar interest in the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 as a turning point in the history of the region that led to the subjugation of Christians to Muslim rule. While much literature composed by Armenians living in the premodern and early modern periods is heavily tinged by a fear of—or disdain for—Islam coupled with a real dedication to Christianity, it is important to remember that most formalized education was religious both in nature and in context and left a heavy imprint on the ways in which people envisaged the world around them.<sup>3</sup>

During this era, individuals were generally grouped by religion in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires.<sup>4</sup> After he conquered Constantinople, Mehmed II set out to repopulate the capital with merchants and to diversify its inhabitants. This led him to establish an Armenian patriarchate in the city, chaired by Bishop Hovagim (r. 1461–1481), whom he had known at Bursa. The community of Armenians in Constantinople in the late fifteenth century was composed of populations that had been forcibly moved from Kayseri, Sivas, and Tokat, and those that had emigrated from Ankara, Bursa, and other Anatolian towns (see Ballian, p. 233).<sup>5</sup> While Armenians, along with other non-Muslim communities, were encouraged to settle in the capital and to participate in the local economy as artisans and merchants, most Armenians lived in the regions of the Ottoman Empire that were eventually plagued by the battles associated with the Ottoman-Safavid conflict from about 1514 to 1639. From the early sixteenth century, Armenians and others living in eastern Anatolia and the southern Caucasus found themselves lodged between two rival empires. In fact, the city of Yerevan

changed hands between the two powers fourteen times from 1513 to 1737.

The Topkapi Palace in Constantinople was the royal residence and location of the court of the Ottoman Empire from the late fifteenth through the seventeenth century. The fourth courtyard of the palace complex was considered the most private space at the palace and was reserved for the sultan and his family. Inside this courtyard, a handful of sultans built kiosks or pavilions either for a particular use (such as breaking fast during Ramadan) or to commemorate specific events. The Revan Köşkü, or the Yerevan Kiosk, stands next to the Baghdad Kiosk. Both were constructed in the 1630s under Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) after successful military campaigns against the Safavids led to the capture of Yerevan and Baghdad in 1635 and 1638, respectively.<sup>6</sup> The construction of these two kiosks in the most private section of the Topkapi Palace points to the significance of these conquests for the Ottomans and to the relative importance of Baghdad, former capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, and Yerevan, a city so central to an Armenian past, located in the Armenian homeland and twelve miles from the center of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin.

The rivalry between Ottomans and Persians was often staged in primarily Armenian urban centers, including the cities of Karin and Van, unsettling local populations. This violent rivalry, coupled with the Jelali rebellions (ca. 1519–1659) in lands with large Armenian populations, led to an increase in migration to Crimea, Russia, and Western Europe.<sup>7</sup> Yet, those Armenians who remained in Anatolia continued to engage in intellectual life as scriptoria and monasteries remained active, and Armenian authors developed new forms of poetry that were more secular in nature and suited to addressing daily life, including the offering up of complaints and lamentations about the various difficult situations in which they found themselves. While some scholars have considered the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Armenian homeland as a period of "doom and gloom," more recent scholarship has encouraged a reconsideration of this period as one of "transition and regrouping."<sup>8</sup> Still, the trials of this

era did not go unnoticed and many an Armenian author chose to hark back to the “glory days” of Armenian history or to blame the blight within their communities on the coming of Islam. Yovhannes of Mush (Yovhannes Mshets‘i), a sixteenth-century monk from the Mush plain, composed his “Poem on the Land of the Armenians” (“*t’agh vasn hayots‘ yer kri*”) in 1553 as a critique of the Ottoman advances into eastern Anatolia in the sixteenth century and the subsequent suffering it caused Armenians living there.

Dead are all our kings, our country’s princes gone; / And we, without a shepherd, are prey to the wolf-like throng. . . . Villages, towns, and cities are all in pain, / Cloisters and monasteries also bear the strain. . . . The whole land is enslaved by the cursed Suleyman, / Descended from the conquerors Omar and Osman; / Confiscating the holy churches, they turned them south, / Chanting “La ilah ill’Allah,” they supplanted the sacred truth.<sup>9</sup>

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Armenia seems to have existed primarily as an idea located in the minds of the Armenian authors who lamented the destruction and dispersion of their community and loss of the lands associated with the long Armenian past. A lack of political unity may have helped to reestablish the preeminence of the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin in 1441 and led to the rise of the Church as a significant organizing body and voice of advocacy for the rights of Armenians in several empires. Yet, competition continued between various hierarchies within the Armenian Church, including the catholicosates of Etchmiadzin, Aghuank at Gandzasar, Aght‘amar, and Sis, as well as the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem, complicating the management of Armenian religious communities across the Ottoman and Safavid Empires.<sup>10</sup> The rivalry between the Ottomans and Safavids was a competition for territory and influence that was frequently articulated as a religious conflict within which the orthodoxies of Shiism and Sunnism were able to confront each other. Armenians, living

in both empires, and often between them, were sometimes able to navigate this complex sociopolitical environment as transimperial individuals, although at other times they were physically caught in the violence that occasionally defined the rivalry. It should not go unnoticed that it is during this same time that the Armenian Church was scrambling to reassert its position of influence, suggesting that the notion of establishing religious orthodoxy permeated actions and discussions in the early modern world.<sup>11</sup>

Eremia Ch‘elepi K‘eomiwrchean (also known as Eremya Çelebi Kōmürçiyān; 1637–1695), one of the most prominent seventeenth-century Armenian authors, was an active member of the Armenian intelligentsia in Constantinople and composed over thirty works in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish, some of which are still extant. His family, originally from Kemakh, migrated west during the Jelali rebellions and settled in Gallipoli. There, Eremia’s father, Martiros (d. 1665), befriended a wealthy Armenian businessman, Ambakum Eginli, who employed Martiros, married him to his niece, and sent him to Jerusalem to be ordained. Martiros later served as a principal parish priest at Saint Sargis in Langa, a neighborhood in Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> Eremia was adopted by Ambakum, who provided him with an excellent education and opportunities to travel, even taking the boy on a trip to Jerusalem with the Armenian Catholicos Pilippos I, also known as Philip Aghbak-Albak (r. 1633–1655), in 1649.<sup>13</sup> Eremia wrote histories of the Ottomans, of the city of Constantinople, and of the Armenians, and he also established the second Armenian printing press in Constantinople in 1677. A relatively short-lived endeavor, the printing press speaks to Eremia’s appreciation for the written word and his realization of the kind of community that could be built around it. As much as he participated in Ottoman history and Turkish literary production, Eremia was also deeply involved in the global Armenian community. In 1691, after his return to Constantinople from a trip to Etchmiadzin to visit his son, who was a priest, Eremia, at the behest of the Bolognese nobleman Luigi Federico Marsili (1658–1730), drew a map of the Armenian churches and monasteries throughout much of the

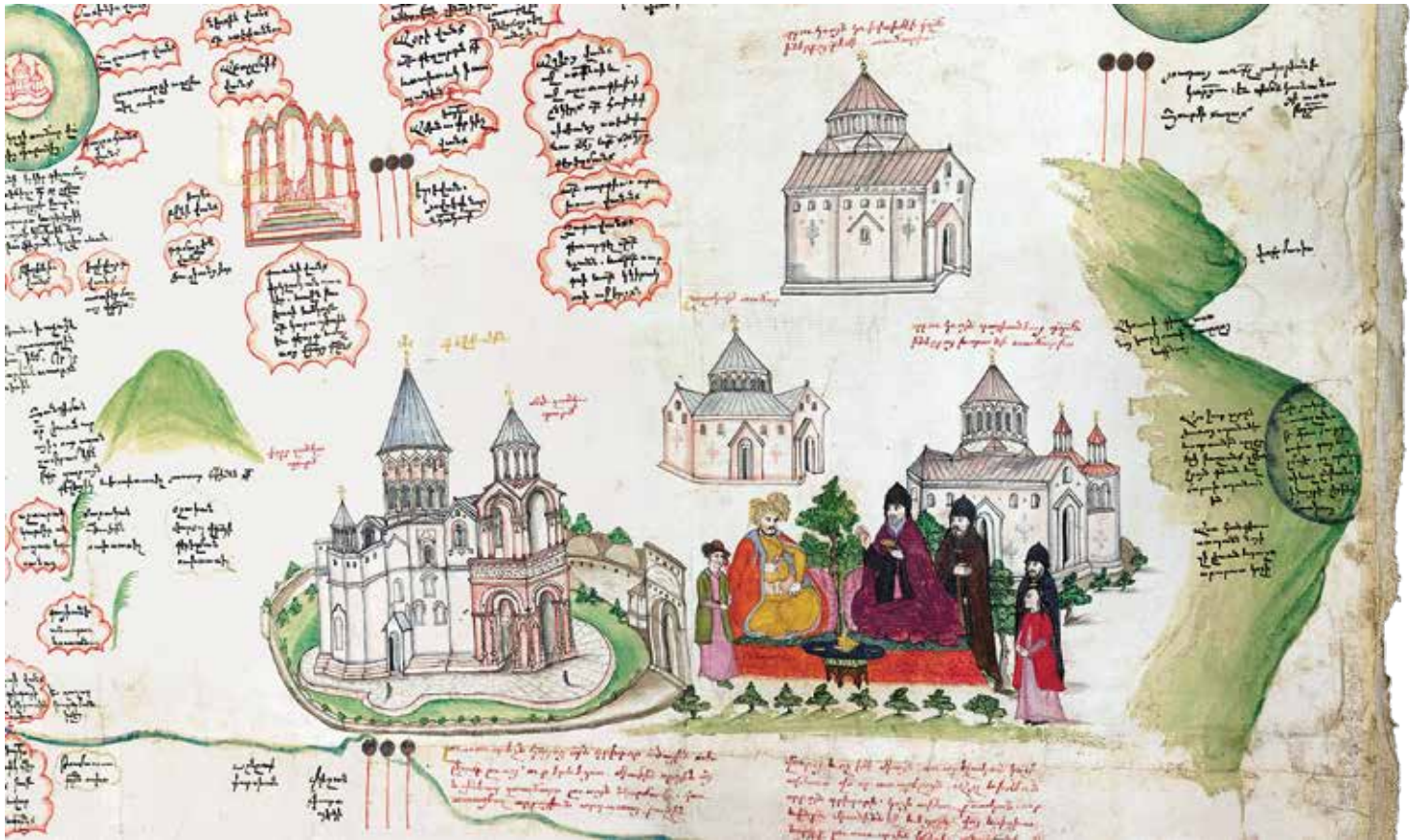


Fig. 59. Detail of *Tabula Chorographica Armenica* (cat. 142), showing Etchmiadzin Cathedral, lay and clerical figures meeting, and Mount Ararat

Ottoman Empire (cat. 142).<sup>14</sup> This work is considered the second-oldest extant Armenian-language map (the first one having been drawn in Kaffa in the fourteenth century; see fig. 25), and it depicts Armenian structures and monuments, with primary focus on Etchmiadzin, near to which a beautifully painted circle of clerics and laymen sit in conversation with one another (figs. 58, 59). As historian Jane Hathaway has noted, the map is also informative from an Ottoman perspective, as Eremia intentionally illustrated the perception of the comparative power of Ottoman cities by sketching *tugs* (literally, looking like sticks with pomegranates at their tops) next to each one of them, some with one next to their name and others with three or four (fig. 60).<sup>15</sup>

Eremia was very much a product of his city and his time. Like other relatively elite young men of his generation, he had access to travel and participated enthu-

siastically in the dissemination of knowledge about the past and the present. At the same time, as historian Polina Ivanova has posited, his “social connections not only breached linguistic and religious divides, but also ran across social strata.”<sup>16</sup> Constantinople, during Eremia’s lifetime, became a center of the coffeehouse craze that emanated out of the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire and shook the early modern world. As historian Cemal Kafadar has shown, the rise of the coffeehouse led to new levels of urbanization; an increased use of the evening for entertainment, labor, and socializing; and new forms of entertainment.<sup>17</sup> Simultaneously, these shifts in urban norms bred fear about the congregation of citizens in social settings that were outside the control of any recognized local leadership, for those social settings were often seen as the locus of urban uprisings.<sup>18</sup> It is helpful to frame



Fig. 6c. Detail of *Tabula Chorographica Armenica* (cat. 142), showing *tugs* next to Ottoman cities; three *tugs* by Erezum and two by Mush, where Saint Gregory the Illuminator is destroying its idols

Eremia's best-known work, the play *The Jewish Bride*, within this new urban social context, within which Armenians participated enthusiastically, in many respects far from the eyes of the authority of either the Armenian Church or the Ottoman administration.<sup>19</sup> Offering unique insights into the ways in which different faith and linguistic communities engaged with one another in seventeenth-century Constantinople, the play can be seen as linked to an Armenian genre of secular poetry that developed in the late medieval period. Scholar Avedis Sanjian describes the opening lines of *The Jewish Bride* as “an ode dedicated to the indomitable power of love.”<sup>20</sup> This trope became popular among Armenians living in a religiously diverse world, and the moral of Eremia's play is not only that love trumps faith but also that the Armenian faith trumps Islam.<sup>21</sup> *The Jewish Bride*, composed in Armeno-Turkish with a

smattering of words from Albanian, Armenian, Greek, and Ladino, was likely performed in Constantinople in the seventeenth century, perhaps in a coffeehouse. The existence of such a work that was meant for public performance reflects a trend in the capital toward fostering new public spaces that were less related to faith and more representative of intercommunal interaction and shared criticism of the political climate in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>22</sup>

Constantinople is an excellent example of a site of early modern cosmopolitanism or conviviality. Cosmopolitanism is the experience of a multiethnic society “in which the various groups are not forced to choose between ghettoisation and assimilation.”<sup>23</sup> Recent scholarship has questioned the efficacy of the term to describe the early modern Middle East and has criticized the Western-infused concept as potentially obfuscating the lived experiences of individuals in the Ottoman Empire. Some historians suggest that “conviviality” might be a more meaningful way of characterizing the ethnic, linguistic, and religious plurality in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>24</sup> Other scholars have argued that many port cities at this time witnessed an ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity that lent itself to a specific kind of “seaport cosmopolitanism,”<sup>25</sup> suggesting that many seaports calmly accepted difference because they were nodes of trade and travel and that this tendency shaped the ways in which these cities operated and interacted with one another.<sup>26</sup> The transformational work of historian Sebouh Aslanian has shown that the efforts of Armenians in port cities from Amsterdam to Madras were fundamental to the establishment of global circulation networks as well as to the Armenian experimentation with technologies, including the printing press.<sup>27</sup> Armenian “circulation societies”—in Aslanian's estimation, trade diasporas linked across an array of nodes through which merchants, goods, credit, and information were circulated—were grounded in the Armenian community at New Julfa. These circulation societies embraced a “transimperial cosmopolitanism” by means of which they “straddled and brokered” relationships across empires, ultimately prioritizing their own, linked, transimperial communities.<sup>28</sup> New Julfa,



Fig. 61. Interior of the Holy Savior Cathedral, Isfahan, 1664



the center of this invigorated set of communities, was established in the aftermath of the 1604 deportation of 300,000 Armenians from the Kars region to Iran under Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629). These Armenians, who had been targeted for their strong skills as merchants, were allowed to build their own neighborhood outside the Safavid capital of Isfahan (fig. 61). The New Julfan merchants were “the only Eurasian community of merchants to operate simultaneously and successfully . . . [in] Islamicate Eurasia (Mughal, Ottoman, and Safavid), Muscovite Russia, Qing China, and all the major European seaborne empires.”<sup>29</sup>

During this same period, the Armenian communities in Crimea continued to grow and those in Kaffa and L’vov became more embedded in the global trade economy. King Casimir III the Great of Poland (r. 1333–1370) allowed Armenians to have their own courts and follow their own traditions, and this included usage of the Armenian law code that had been composed by Mkhit’ar Gosh in the thirteenth century. By the seventeenth century there were some thirty Armenian settlements in western Ukraine and Poland. While this seems to be a moment when Armenians were mobile and engaged in global trade, it is also a period when Armenians were deeply involved in their local communities, whether in Constantinople, Isfahan, Tbilisi, or Van.

By the sixteenth century, Armenians in various centers on the trade routes began to develop books printed in Armenian. The Oskan Bible, printed in Amsterdam with input from Armenians in Constantinople, New Julfa, and elsewhere, represents their collaborative results (cat. 138). The combination of Western images with traditional Armenian ornamentation in this Bible reached Armenians around the globe, inspiring art in many media (cats. 111, 112). The innovation and diversity apparent in Armenian art produced during this period speaks to the complex global position of Armenian communities at the time. With strong roots planted in the Armenian “homeland,” other cities including Constantinople, Kaffa, and New Julfa also provided significant nodes for Armenian communities that engaged in the production of culture, goods, and knowledge, both locally and globally.

## GREATER ARMENIAN ART AND PATRONAGE

The geopolitical shifts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created new political and social conditions for Armenians, who increasingly participated in trade networks extending from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea. Fueled in part by merchant patronage, Armenian art produced from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century reflects the mobility of visual ideas, along with continuing innovation and sustained interest in tradition. After returning to its ancient seat at Etchmiadzin in 1441, the Armenian Church began to assume a powerful political, economic, and social role. Soon after, a monastic academy was established at the monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank') to train young ecclesiastics; the revival of activity at the monastery in turn inspired artistic patronage in the region, evident in the many works commissioned during this period, including a cruciform khachkar from 1448 (cat. 78).

To avoid the expropriation of properties and wealth by Muslim overlords, Armenian elites within the Ottoman sphere donated their lands to churches and monasteries, which, as religious foundations, were protected by a charter (*waqf*). A new class of feudal prelate, the lord-priest (*paron-ter*), administered such foundations; abbots of major monastic sites, including Haghpat and Gandzasar, assumed this role, collecting taxes from the populace and even controlling local militias.

About the same time, Armenian artistic centers arose in both Ottoman and Safavid cities. In 1461, Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) divided his empire into religious communities known as millets: a newly formed patriarchate in Constantinople represented and administered to its Armenian subjects, with additional catholicosates serving communities in Sis (in the former kingdom of Cilicia) and Aght'amar, and another patriarchate in Jerusalem.

The foundation of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate prompted many Armenians to migrate from the war-ravaged interior to the security of the capital, where Mehmed II also ordered the resettlement of Armenian merchants and craftsmen. By the end of the fifteenth century, Constantinople was home to one thousand Armenian families, while the Armenian presence in Ottoman cities such as Aleppo and Smyrna also increased. In Safavid Persia, the Armenians of New Julfa experienced religious toleration and some measure of self-rule under a local governor (*kalantar*). By 1620, New Julfa's population was thirty thousand, and the city boasted mansions and impressive churches. Armenian communities also flourished to the northwest of Isfahan, in Tabriz and Sultaniyyeh. The catholicosate at Etchmiadzin, then in the Safavid province of Erivan, also witnessed an efflorescence, as the construction of the cathedral's bell tower attests (see fig. 80)

In both the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, Armenian merchant families reenergized intellectual and spiritual life, financing major building projects. The early Christian basilican form was revived in churches built at Meghri, Yerevan, and Siwnik', while the traditional domed plan was used for churches such as that of Shoghakat' (Effusion of Light) at Etchmiadzin (fig. 63).<sup>1</sup> Monuments in New Julfa, on the other hand, are an opulent fusion of European, Persian, and traditional Armenian styles. A vivid sense



Fig. 62. Tiles from Kütahya, Etchmiadzin chapel, Cathedral of Saint James, Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem

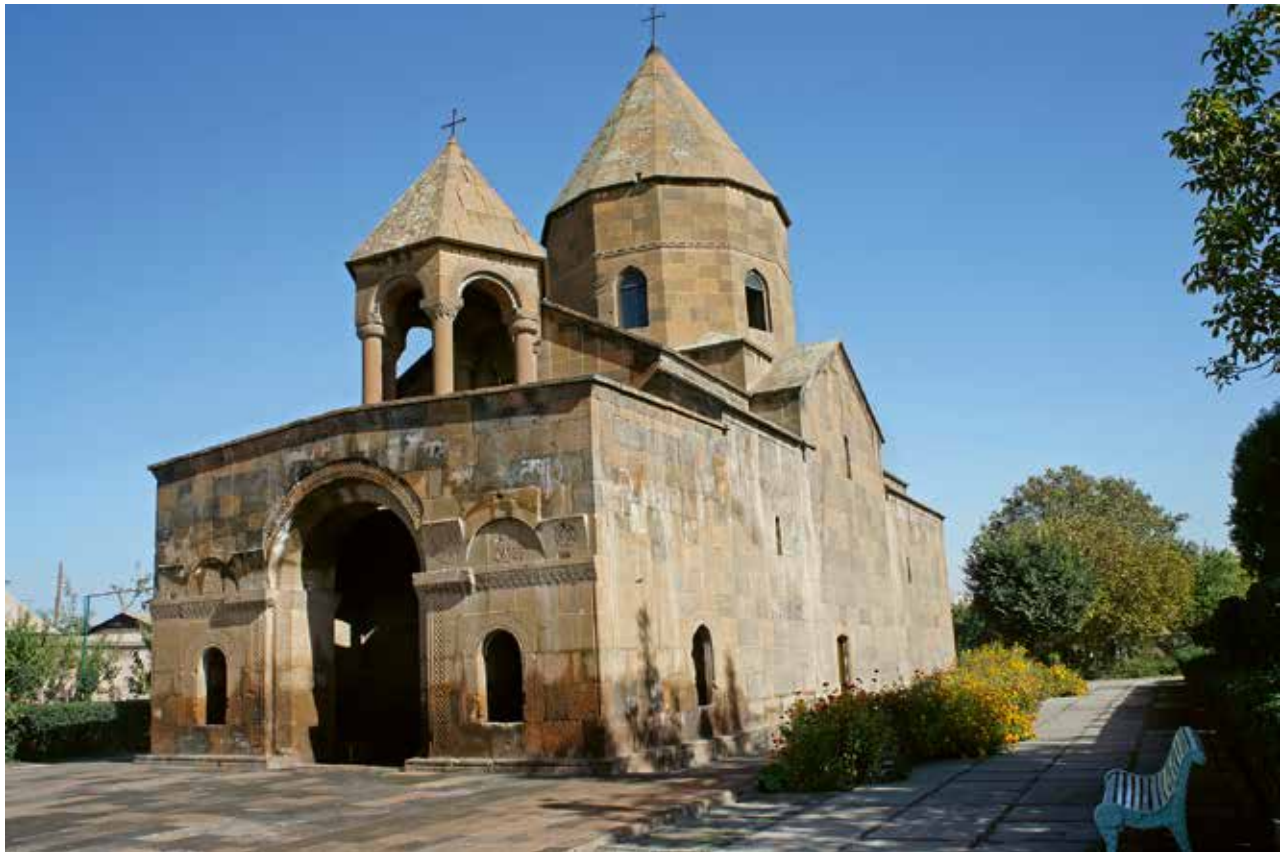


Fig. 63. Church of Shoghakat' (Effusion of Light), Etchmiadzin, 1694

of the connected and mobile character of this era is found in the Cathedral of Saint James in Jerusalem, in which tiles made in Kütahya pave the walls of the Etchmiadzin chapel and record in their inscriptions the destruction of Armenian churches in the fires of Constantinople (fig. 62).

Ottoman Kütahya, like Aleppo, Smyrna, and Kayseri, became a celebrated center for Armenian artisanal activity. By the eighteenth century, groups

of craftsmen formed guilds (*esnafs*). Prominent Armenians attained the title *amira* and served as court architects and masters of the arsenal and mint. The patriarchate in Constantinople also oversaw an intellectual revival of Armenian literature, theology, poetry, and history. European ideas increasingly entered Armenian culture through trade, travel, the presence of missionaries, and most of all, through the world-girdling technology of the printing press. cm





## CAT. 75 Gonfalon of Saint Gregory the Illuminator

Aght'amar, 1448 (?)

Gold, silver, and silk threads on silk

63 × 35<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (160 × 89 cm)

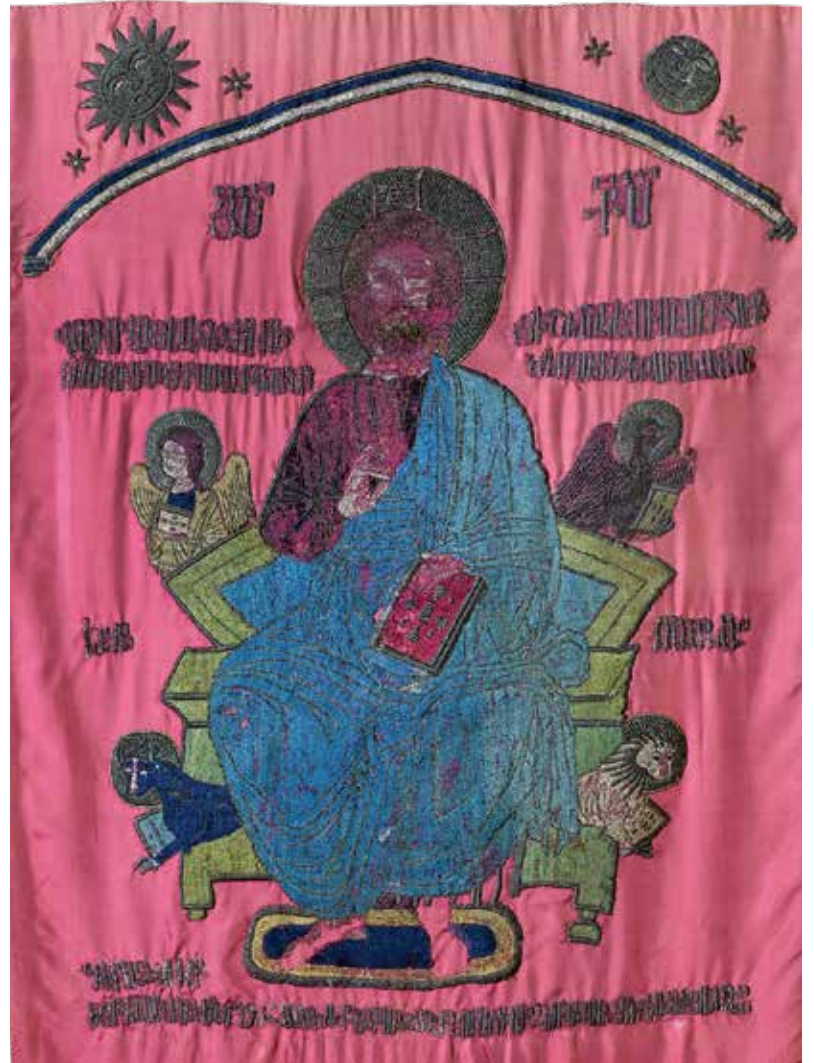
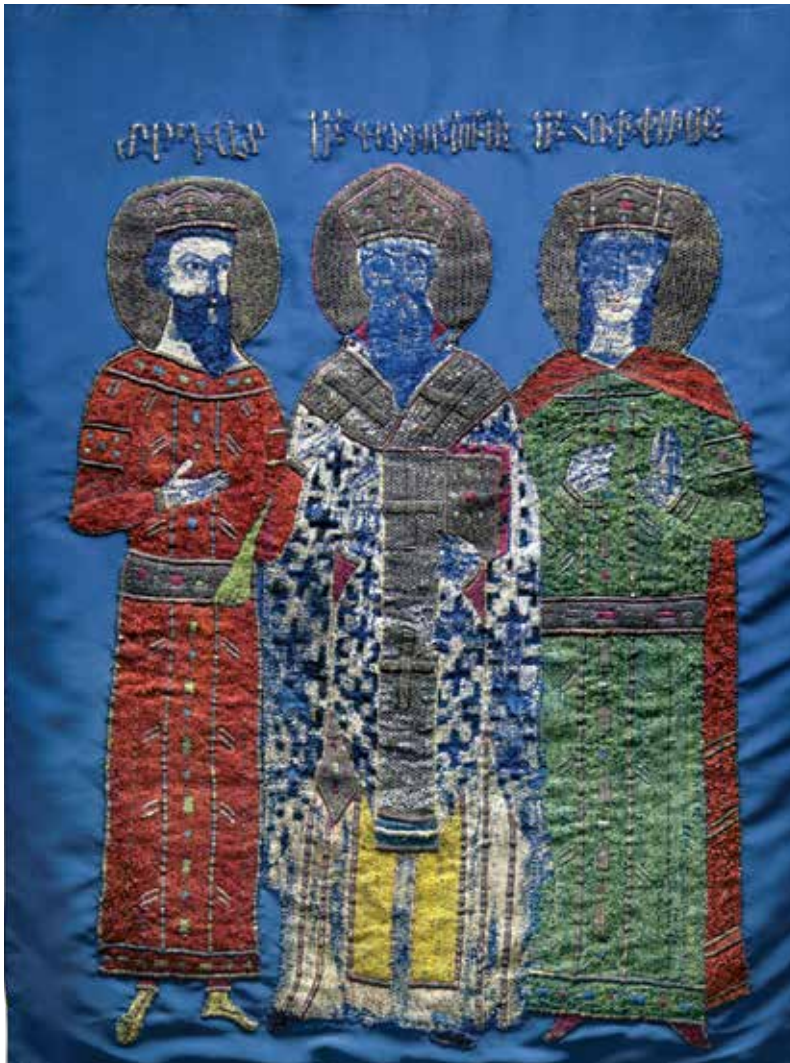
Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 115)

The gonfalon of Saint Gregory the Illuminator is the oldest surviving example of Armenian religious embroidery.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the discoloration and wear that come with centuries of use, studies have shown several repairs to the processional banner that have changed its shape and caused some parts of the dedication, including the date, to be lost, along with its carrying pole and the gold cross that once adorned the top. According to the oldest main catalogue of the holdings of the Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin, prepared in 1768 by order of Catholicos Simeon I of Yerevan (r. 1763–1780), the gonfalon was made in 1448. In our view, however, the banner was made earlier, at the time of the 1441 Church National Council when the catholicosate was returned to Etchmiadzin, and it was sent as a gift from Aght'amar to Holy Etchmiadzin in recognition of the event. This circumstance probably was the impetus years later, in 1461, for Zak'ariay III of Aght'amar (Zak'ariay Aght'amarts'i; 1441–1464) to steal the gonfalon and bring it back to Aght'amar along with the reliquary of the right hand of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. By this time, the gonfalon and reliquary were recognized as emblems of Holy Etchmiadzin. Zak'ariay III of Aght'amar, catholicos of that city, had subsequently been made catholicos of Holy Etchmiadzin but fled persecution there “and set out to return to his native See, to the beautiful and dome-covered Holy Cross of Aght'amar. Word spread about his arrival with the holy Right Hand and the gonfalon, carried high on its pole with the gold cross atop.”<sup>2</sup> The gonfalon was returned to Holy Etchmiadzin in 1476.<sup>3</sup>

On one side Christ in Majesty (Pantocrator) is embroidered on red silk. The dedicatory inscription fills the space around the Lord's head, throne, and below his feet, and reads, “This gonfalon [worthy of] Etchmiadzin is [in memory of] the priest Simeon and [his wife] dame [K'amak] Khat'un, [their] parents and

children. In the year . . . and [her] mother Gohar Melik'. [Wrote this with my hands . . . Khat'un]. Bearers of this with holy hands remember us in the nave.” Christ wears a royal purple robe and blue toga, and he sits on a throne framed by the four creatures symbolizing the evangelists. He makes a sign of blessing with his right hand and rests a Gospel book on his left knee. A nimbed halo crowns Christ's head, while the sun, moon, and stars shine above him.

On the other side of the gonfalon are three haloed figures embroidered on a blue silk ground. Inscriptions over their heads identify them as Saint Tiridates (King Tiridates III the Great), Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and Saint Hripsime. King Tiridates wears a red dalmatic and tight-necked yellow boots and holds his hands in a prayer pose, as he gazes toward Saint Gregory and the virgin Saint Hripsime. Saint Gregory the Illuminator is presented in a frontal pose making a sign of blessing with his right hand and holding a Gospel book in his left. He appears in patriarchal vestments, wearing a striped alb flowing down to his deep purple shoes and a yellow double-strip omophorion, with barely visible red tassels, over a white chasuble adorned with crosses. The *konk'er* hangs down by his thigh, the episcopal miter crowns his head, and red vambraces (liturgical cuffs) cover his forearms. Saint Hripsime is also presented in frontal view. She wears a crown, a green dalmatic, red shoes, and a red cape. Her right hand holds to her chest a twelve-pointed cross, symbolizing her martyrdom, while her left palm extends upward, ready to receive divine grace. The facial features, clothing, and gestures of the figures on this gonfalon recall those on the reliefs and murals in the church of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar, as well as those in the church of Saint Gregory the Illuminator by Tigran Honents' in Ani. AK



## CAT. 76 Hand Reliquary of Saint Abulmuse

Probably Kharpert, 18th century

Silver gilded, silver, and colored stones

9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (25.2 × 22 × 3.5 cm)

Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, Southfield, Michigan (L1988.63)

Abulmuse, also known as Abdelmseh or 'Abd al-Masîh (the servant of Christ), was an Eastern saint, whose cult was spread in Armenia by members of the Artsruni royal house of Vaspurakan.<sup>1</sup> The saint's martyrdom was written in Syriac probably by a Church of the East (Nestorian) Christian toward the end of the eighth century. The story is set in Sinjar, not far from Mosul, a center of Syrian Jacobite Christianity, but the young martyr was equally revered in centers of Nestorian Christianity such as Hira, where apparently his relic was taken by Eastern merchants. In 873, Gurgén Artsruni, prince of Taron and Andzevatsiq, had the Syriac text translated into Armenian and established an annual feast day for the saint in his lands. In the twelfth century the relic of the arm of Saint Abulmuse was kept in the church of the Holy

Cross on the island of Aght'amar, the royal chapel of the Artsrunis, then controlled by Prince Abdulmseh, who claimed descent from the saint and established the local catholicosate of Aght'amar with his son as the first catholicos (see fig. 7).<sup>2</sup> The relic was kept for some time by the Artsruni catholicoses of Aght'amar, but a part of it, the hand, was later found in Kharpert, where it had acquired a new reliquary.<sup>3</sup>

The cruciform reliquary has a hinged lid in the form of a hand, which opens to reveal the relic of the saint. The hand is cuffed and holds a flower and a palm, the



martyr's symbols, while a small snake, a reminder of human nature, slithers between its fingers. The dedicatory inscription appears on the wrist of the hand depicted on the back of the reliquary, and it reads: "These are the holy relics of Saint Abulmuse the [Plucker] by the hand of Ter Sahak."<sup>4</sup> On the inside, the relic is covered by a silver-gilded plaque decorated with twisted filigree, large stones, and a medallion that depicts the saint, purportedly a young shepherd, but shown as a bearded elder man like the evangelist Luke. AB

## LAKE SEVAN

Lake Sevan, one of the three largest lakes of the Armenian plateau, is also the deepest and highest at 6,243 feet above sea level. Evidence for occupation in the region dates from at least the Bronze Age; the medieval era also saw major construction in the region including cemeteries, fortresses, and monasteries, such as the twelfth-century monastery complex of Hayravank' on Sevan's southwest shores.<sup>1</sup> Better known, however, is the monastery complex of Sevan (Sevanavank'), constructed in 874 by the Bagratid princess Mariam (fig. 64). The monastery stands on what was once the lake's only island; this land is now a peninsula owing to the reduced water levels brought on by aggressive hydroelectric projects of the Soviet period.

The monastery complex of Sevan once comprised several churches, including one dedicated to the Resurrection, as well as *gavit's* (antechambers) and other monastic buildings. The two surviving churches are important examples of Armenian architecture from the very end of the Arab occupation (ca. 653–884) (fig. 65). The northwestern church, dedicated to the Holy Apostles, is a triconch approxi-



mately forty-three feet in length. The exterior has an irregular cruciform shape, from which rises a short drum and pyramidal cupola. The larger church, dedicated to the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), is also a domed triconch, but with the addition of a southeastern side chapel. This church was once preceded by a *gavit'* supported by wood columns and capitals (cat. 77).

The monastery of Sevan was an important center for learning and pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages, enjoying strong connections to the Holy See in Etchmiadzin. Long after its foundation, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the monastery witnessed a renewal of artistic patronage at the site, as attested to by a cruciform khachkar (cat. 78), a carved wood door (cat. 79), and a bronze flabellum of 1665 (cat. 80). CM



Fig. 65. Churches of the Holy Apostles (Surb Arak'elots') and the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), Monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), Lake Sevan

Fig. 64. Lake Sevan



## CAT. 77 Capital

Church of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), Monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), Lake Sevan, 874

Wood

16<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 57<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (43 × 147 × 36 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (227a)

The earliest Armenian sources mention the use of wood in building and crafts. The perishability of this material, however, has meant that little survives from the premodern era. The first corpus of material to study dates from the late ninth century and includes a figural cross and some architectural elements, such as this wood capital.<sup>1</sup> It is one of several surviving capitals (others are kept in the History Museum of Armenia and the Hermitage) that once rested on wood columns in the now destroyed antechamber of the church of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin) at the monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank').<sup>2</sup> From its narrow base, the capital extends in two semicircular curves on each side, rising into a reverse curve just under a flat abacus. Within a banded frame of chevrons and foliate forms, the

surface design is a symmetrical composition focused on a central pinecone framed by wing-like motifs. Feeding from curving pearlized bands are two large birds shown in profile, from whose tail feathers extend two additional bird heads. The entire plane has deeply and intricately carved vegetal decoration, and the consequent effect balances strong compositional symmetry and delicate surface pattern. Classical orders are faintly echoed: the vegetal designs, particularly the winged motifs, recall acanthus leaves. But such classical forms are distant prototypes, and scholars have found closer parallels for the general style and individual motifs in Byzantine stone capitals and ivories of the sixth century, in Sasanian metalwork, and in wood panels from Abbasid-era Egypt.<sup>3</sup> CM

CAT. 78 Cruciform Khachkar

Church of the Resurrection (Surb Harut'yun), Monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), Lake Sevan, 1448

Tuff

52 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 31 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 11 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (133 × 80 × 30 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1658)

This cruciform khachkar was brought to the History Museum of Armenia from Lake Sevan, where it formed part of the ruins of the church of the Resurrection (Surb Harut'yun).<sup>1</sup> It features a scene of the Crucifixion, with Christ shown nailed against the Cross, his feet resting on the skull of Adam, signifying the mound of Golgotha. Each arm of the cross terminates in short bands, the topmost incised with decoration. Above Christ's hands are small crosses, and at the left and right, respectively, are a sun and moon, referring to the noontime darkness that occurred at the time of Christ's death (Luke 23:44). Christ's body is treated schematically, with parallel incisions indicating the ribs. Not limp or suffering, he appears alert, even heroic, reflecting the Armenian Christological belief in his divinity even in death.

This theology is emphasized further by the inscription on the beveled edges of the khachkar, reading, "This is the Savior of the world and the hope of the faithful," thus presenting the Cross as a symbol of Christian triumph. The text also asks "those who prostrate themselves" to remember the priest Karapet. The Armenian term for "prostration," *erkir paganel* (literally translated as "to kiss the ground") makes clear the correct form of venerating the cross in the Armenian Church, as pronounced in the late seventh century by Catholicos John of Odzun (Yovhannes Odznets'i; ca. 650–728).<sup>2</sup>

Cross-shaped khachkars are rare, as are figured scenes of Christ on the Cross, aside from a type known as the Savior of All (*Amenap'rkich*), produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Combining the cruciform shape and the Crucifixion theme, the Lake Sevan khachkar presents an unusually powerful expression of Armenian theology. CM



CAT. 79 Carved Door

Church of the Holy Apostles (Surb Arak'elots'), Monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), Lake Sevan, 1486

Walnut

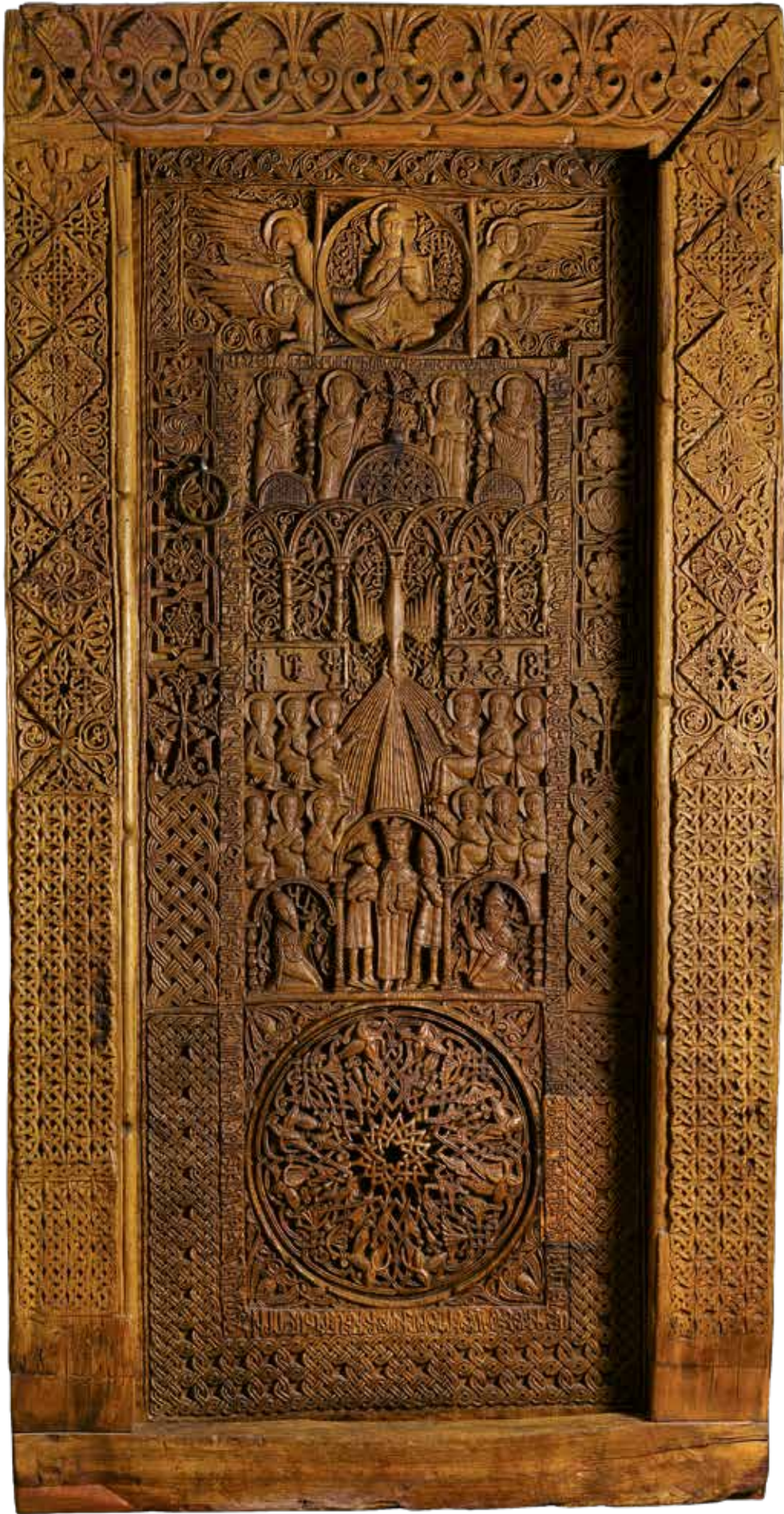
73¼ × 38⅞ × 7⅞ in. (186 × 98 × 20 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (86)

This wood door from the monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank') stands within a perhaps older post-and-lintel frame. Both door and frame are richly ornamented with geometric and vegetal decoration. Cut from a darker piece of walnut, the door also features an elaborate figural composition. The topmost register presents Christ in Glory, his knees splayed outward as if seated on a cushion, and his initials entangled in tendrils behind him. Around him are the four beasts of the Apocalypse, while below stand four figures identified by inscription: John the Baptist, the Mother of God, Stephen the Protomartyr, and Gregory the Illuminator.

The largest zone of the door depicts the Pentecost. From an elaborate sequence of intersecting arcades descends the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, who transmits God's message to the apostles assembled

below. A central arch at the bottom of this image frames an ensemble known from Cilician manuscripts: a crowned figure, representing the cosmos, a Parthian-capped figure, and a man with both human and dog faces.<sup>1</sup> To left and right are the patrons Daniel and Nerses. The medallion at the bottom of the panel, reminiscent of khachkar decoration, has an elaborate central star pattern extending into vine scrolls and bird forms. Surrounding this main area is a verse inscription recording the donation of the doors and their manufacture by a certain Abraham and Grigoris. The ornamentation on the door is a tour de force of surface decoration; the individual motifs and general aesthetic are comparable to those found on contemporary stone carvings and testify to the persistence of virtuoso craftsmanship during the tumultuous fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> CM







CAT. 80 One of a Pair of Flabella

Monastery of Sevan (Sevanavank'), Lake Sevan, 1665

Gilded copper

H. 13 in. (33 cm), diam. 8¼ in. (21 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2724)

Flabella (*kšoc'*), or liturgical fans, are symbols of the six-winged seraphim and the tetramorph cherubim, the heavenly creatures that sing the praises of God in Majesty and stand guard over Him. Originally used to keep insects away from the sacrament, flabella took on the ceremonial role of imperial standards and were carried on wood poles in front of Christ the King in the procession during services. Since the earliest known example, the sixth-century Riha flabellum from Syria, they have depicted six-winged seraphim on their disks.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions read: on the face, "And at the time when King Vozia died, I saw the Lord sitting in the high throne of the Sovereign, of the seraphim"; on the reverse, "around him were the wings of some [seraphim] and the wings of some [cherubim] and the snowstorm covered their faces"; and on the handle, "My flabellum is in memory of Tsithents of Solhan, Tsalin [Talin?] man from the hermitage [monastery] of Sevan 1114 [AD 1665]."<sup>2</sup> The materials, construction, and decoration of these flabella all closely follow examples produced in Constantinople but may have been made locally.<sup>3</sup> They are made of gilded copper or *tombak* which was used increasingly from the sixteenth century on in the Ottoman Empire, particularly to imitate gold objects and for parade weapons and horse trappings.<sup>4</sup> The large disks have an openwork design of a split-leaf arabesque in which the tips of the leaves curl back. An advantage of a pierced disk is that it weighs less and is more easily fixed and carried on a hollow handle. Flabella with pierced arabesque designs were very common in the Greek Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century and were made of silver, several of which were produced in Constantinopolitan workshops.<sup>5</sup> AB

## CAT. 81 Vakas

Greater Armenia, 1410

Silk embroidered with silver, silver-gilded, and colored silk threads; couching and satin stitch embroidery; and linen support  
4½ × 21⅞ in. (11.5 × 55 cm)

History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1886)

The vakas is a development of the amice, a piece of linen worn by the celebrant to cover his neck in the Catholic Church. The vakas was introduced into the Cilician Church sometime in the thirteenth century and is first mentioned in Greater Armenia by Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i) in the early fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It becomes common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in its rigid form as a collar, but this vakas clearly demonstrates that the rigid style was already in use by 1410. The earliest depiction of a vakas is probably on the processional banner of 1448 (cat. 75), on which Saint Gregory the Illuminator is shown wearing a shorter version of a rigid vakas.

The Great Deesis is embroidered on the vakas, with Christ in the center shown making a sign of blessing with one hand and carrying a Gospel book in the other, flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. To the left of the Virgin are the apostle Peter, holding a key, and two evangelists, Matthew and John; to the right of John the Baptist are the apostle Paul, grasping a sword, the apostle Andrew, and Thaddeus, apostle of the Armenians. The iconography of the Great Deesis was no doubt chosen because of its reference

to intercession; it has the same intercessory role in Byzantine churches, where typically it is depicted with either standing or half-length figures on the templon and on the liturgical vestments.<sup>2</sup> This is a fine piece of embroidery, showing expertise and knowledge of contemporaneous Greek and Serbian liturgical vestments, and it would have been expensive.

An inscription runs along the bottom of this vakas, reading, "This work is in remembrance of *paron* Nek'iar and his wife Hat'un Melik for the use of the monk Astuatsatur in the year 859 [AD 1410]."<sup>3</sup> Although the donors have not yet been identified, *paron* is a Cilician title used in this period in a broader sense for those feudal lords who had succeeded in keeping their estates, normally by donating them as a kind of Muslim charitable endowment (*waqf*) to a large monastery. While Timur's campaigns devastated the land in the early fifteenth century, pockets of self-governance survived, especially in the areas of Siwnik', Van, and Erznka, where cultural life prospered under the protection of the great monasteries.<sup>4</sup> It was the same monasteries that thirty years later, in 1441, caused the convocation of the Assembly in Vagharshapat and the restoration of the catholicosate to Etchmiadzin. The monk Astuatsatur must have been an important figure to have his novel vakas bordered with fleur-de-lis, an emblem originally associated with Cilician royalty (cat. 65) but subsequently widely used, often in association with authority and status.<sup>5</sup> AB



# SCRIPTORIA PRACTICES IN GREATER ARMENIA

Creating a manuscript was a complicated enterprise. The process required the collaboration of many different specialists: scribe, artist, binder, as well as numerous assistants who helped to prepare or produce the paper or parchment, ink, pigments, pens, brushes, and more. The necessary technical skills were passed down from master to student, sometimes within the same family, from father to son or from uncle to nephew. Students also learned iconography, style, and traditional Armenian binding techniques from

their teachers, and at times, they compiled designs or sketches in model books as memory aids (cat. 83). Occasionally, the scribe left instructions in the margins for the artist (cat. 84). Artists and scribes were usually priests or monks, but lay artists and scribes also existed, as well as a few female scribes and artists, such as Mariam of Julfa, who was active in the mid-fifteenth century (see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, p. 211). It should be noted that Armenian priests could marry and therefore pass their traditions down to members of



Fig. 66. “Luke writing on a hanging easel,” from a Gospel book. Probably Van, illuminated in 1391. Pigment on paper, 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (15.5 × 11.5 cm). “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 8772, fols. 101v–102r).

their own families,<sup>1</sup> which led to a number of artistic “dynasties.”<sup>2</sup> But nonfamilial artistic dynasties also developed, and scribes and artists often memorialized their teachers in their colophons, even calling the teacher their “spiritual” father. They also thanked their assistants, usually students but sometimes their wives, who helped with tedious tasks, such as polishing the paper (cat. 82).<sup>3</sup>

Information about the individuals who produced manuscripts is commonly gleaned from colophons, but evidence about scriptorial practices and tools used by scribes and artists can be obtained from the illuminations. Notwithstanding his professed modesty, on occasion the artist or scribe left his self-portrait in the manuscript. Evangelist portraits usually depict the evangelist as a scribe, writing or dictating his Gospel—John is often seen dictating to his assistant Prochoros (cat. 87)—and frequently include images of pens, inkpots, scissors, and knives (used for sharpening reed pens or quills). In a number of manuscripts from the Lake Van area (Vaspurakan), where there were many scriptoria, the evangelists write their Gospels with the aid of a kind of hanging “easel,” or what appears to be a board usually hanging from a spring and equipped with a horizontal strap to secure the sheet of paper or parchment.<sup>4</sup> Some artists’ self-portraits include a table or bench displaying

their writing equipment; in Vaspurakan manuscripts, artists sometimes depicted themselves with hanging easels, implying that these objects were actually utilized.<sup>5</sup> In a Gospel book, probably from Van and illustrated by Tserun, Luke the evangelist utilizes one such hanging easel (fig. 66).<sup>6</sup> Next to Luke’s ear is the word *yawzharets’in* (“they undertook”), which is the third word of his Gospel. He has already written down the first two words on the sheet attached to the board with the strap and is about to write the third one, making the divine inspiration entering his ear also present as a word.<sup>7</sup>

Manuscripts were normally commissioned by a sponsor or donor (*stats’ogh*) and were not commonly made on speculation, with the hope of a future buyer. The sponsor, usually a man but sometimes a woman (cat. 87), might commission a religious manuscript as a donation to a local church, for example, but he or she could also order one for his or her own personal use. Manuscripts could be privately owned, and many include later colophons indicating that they were bought and sold (some even indicate the price). They could also be passed down in both lay and priestly families. The sponsor was always highly praised in the colophon for the pious deed of commissioning a sacred manuscript and was occasionally memorialized with a portrait within one of the religious illuminations. SLM

## CAT. 82 Gospel Book

Monastery of Manuk Surb Nshan, K'ajberunik', 1386  
Scribe: Petros the monk (*abeghay*) (act. ca. 1380–1400)  
Ink and pigments on paper; 260 folios  
9¼ × 7 in. (24.7 × 17.7 cm)  
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (MS Ludwig II 6)

This Gospel book was copied by the scribe Petros the monk (*abeghay*), son of Vardan the priest and T'amt'ay, in 1386 at the monastery of Manuk Surb Nshan in Nvëndi Norshen village in the region of K'ajberunik', north of Lake Van.<sup>1</sup> The artist is not named in the colophon, and it is probable that it was the scribe himself. Petros used black ink and a very limited palette of colors for the illustrations. Although the artist was not highly trained in manuscript illumination, his work follows the style common in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan) and is quite charming in its naïveté. Custom dictates that the writer of a colophon must present himself as extremely humble and unworthy, and for this reason the scribe will usually denigrate himself while praising the sponsor or buyer of the manuscript, without whom the manuscript could not have been produced. Notwithstanding their professed modesty, many Armenian scribes and artists left self-portraits, as Petros did on folio 13 verso. He is depicted seated with one of his students, Mkrtych'; both are bearded and wear the black *veggar*, the headgear worn by celibate priests. Petros indicates his modesty in the inscriptions, written in minuscule *bolorgir* script, asking readers to remember him, the “false monk” (i.e., he does not deserve the title), as well as his student Mkrtych'. Petros the teacher is touchingly portrayed passing his inkpot and pen to his student, symbolically transmitting centuries of scribal arts and tradition on to the next generation.



Fig 67. Detail of a paper polisher, from the *Gulshan Album*. India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1600. Marginal figures attributed to Madhava (act. 1582–ca. 1624). Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Purchase (F1954.116)

In the lower register of folio 13 verso, the two figures are labeled “they are students of the sinful Petros.” These two beardless figures have halos and hold unusual rounded, flat-bottomed objects with long necks positioned over rectangular-shaped forms. What are they doing, and why do they appear with halos? The colophon on folio 258 verso provides the answer, imploring readers to remember the two young students, T'uma and Simeon, who worked to polish the paper. Burnishing or polishing paper was a task performed in Near Eastern bookmaking traditions for centuries (fig. 67). It resulted in smoother paper that was easier to write on and was usually done with a smooth stone, shell, or glass.<sup>2</sup> The paper used to make this manuscript is particularly fibrous and burnishing it would certainly have helped smooth it out. Petros wanted to acknowledge and remember his two students who toiled at this monotonous but important task—he must have considered them his “angels” for having undertaken this usually thankless job. On folio 14 recto, the portraits appropriately face the Pentecost, as copies of the Gospels were essential for spreading Christ’s word. SLM



CAT. 83 **Model Book**

Part 1: possibly from the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), late 15th century; part 2: possibly Constantinople, early 16th century  
Ink and some pigments on parchment and paper; 62 folios  
7<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (18 × 14 cm)  
Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 1434)

This manuscript seems to be a unique example of an Armenian model book: it contains drawings of figures and motifs copied from other exemplars and functions as a teaching tool or memory aid for manuscript illuminators. Its worn condition suggests that it was consulted frequently. The book is composed of two parts—the first of parchment (with the exception of three inserted paper folios), and the second part of paper; the sections may have been separate booklets that were bound together at a later date. The first part consists of a variety of traditional Armenian marginal designs, decorative initials, figures of saints, prophets, patriarchs, and apostles, as well as scenes of the life of Christ. The second part consists of drawings of religious iconography not usually found in Armenian manuscript illuminations, likely copied from Byzantine monumental paintings.<sup>1</sup> Although the manuscript is not securely dated, an inscription on folio 38 states that a man named Siruni was martyred for his faith on June 5, 1511, suggesting that the second part of the book was created before that date. Sirarpie Der Nersessian's stylistic analysis indicates that the first part was probably compiled in the late fifteenth century and the second part in the early sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Of particular interest is the fantastical composite creature on folio 12 recto in the first part of the book: this long-tailed, quadrupedal animal with an eagle's head is composed of intertwined creatures such as birds, oxen, lions, fish, human heads, and other indeterminate beasts, giving it a supernatural and frightening quality. The exact same creature is also found in an Armenian manuscript of the Alexander Romance dated to 1536 (cat. 84). Such composite animals occur frequently in Persian Safavid and Indian Mughal, Deccan, and Hindu art, particularly from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Their origin and meaning are unclear; Marianna Shreve Simpson postulates that they may be derived from animal motifs from Central Asia and the Near East in the first millennium BC, and they may have had magical or symbolic significance.<sup>4</sup> The earliest known instance of a composite animal in Armenian art is found in a canon table of a thirteenth-century Gospel book, probably from Cilicia. In that manuscript, two facing human-headed creatures in the headpiece are formed of intertwined animals, human heads, and nude human torsos.<sup>5</sup> SLM



fol. 11v-12r



## CAT. 84 Alexander Romance

Varag and Aght'amar, 1536

Illuminated by Grigoris, catholicos of Aght'amar (d. 1544)

Scribe: Markare Archishets'i (act. mid-16th century)

Ink and pigments on paper; 176 folios

8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (22.5 × 16 cm)

Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (MS 473)

The Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes exists in numerous recensions and was translated into dozens of languages. This story recounting the history of Alexander the Great was probably translated into Armenian directly from Greek around the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> Additional verses called *kafas* were added to the text by Khach'atur *vardapet* Kech'arets'i (1260–1330), giving the story a Christian interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

This manuscript of the Alexander Romance was copied in 1536 in Varag, east of Lake Van, by the scribe and monk (*abeghay*) Markare Archishets'i for his own use, and it was illuminated by Grigoris, catholicos of Aght'amar, an artist, musician, poet, and scribe.<sup>3</sup> It is a remarkable example of the collaboration between a scribe and artist who were not working under the same roof.<sup>4</sup> Grigoris added further revisions to the text of the Alexander Romance, and he sent his adapted text from the island of Aght'amar to Markare in Varag to be copied. After he completed copying the text, Markare sent back the exemplar and his copy to Grigoris, leaving blank spaces for Grigoris to paint the illuminations, with instructions in the margins for him. Some illustrations were never completed and are still blank.<sup>5</sup> Of



fols. 10v–11r

particular interest is the way Bucephalus, Alexander’s celebrated horse, was depicted. Bucephalus (ox or bull head in Greek; *ts’laglukh* or bull head in Armenian) was so named because he had an ox head branded on his haunch.<sup>6</sup> Young Alexander was the only person able to tame this powerful man-killing beast, and it became the steed he took with him on his legendary conquests. On the recto of folios 16, 19, and 33, the horse is portrayed as a regal but normal-looking horse, ridden by a youthful Alexander. However, on folio 10 verso, the horse is depicted as a fantastical, composite animal with an eagle’s head—an exact rendering of the composite horse found in the model book in catalogue entry 83.<sup>7</sup> It is not known if Grigoris copied the composite Bucephalus from the model book or if the creature from this manuscript formed the basis for the one in the undated model book. The *kafas* below the illustration praise the beast for its supernatural beauty and strength; the illustration was certainly meant to visually express the animal’s mystical power.<sup>8</sup> SLM

## CAT. 85 Alexander Romance

Sulu Manastir, Constantinople, 1544

Copied and illuminated by Zak’ariay of Gnunik’ (Zak’ariay Gnunets’i; d. 1576)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 189 folios

8.75 × 5.8 in. (22.2 × 14.8 cm)

John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, United Kingdom (MS Armenian 3)

This Alexander Romance manuscript was copied and illuminated by the “sinful, falsely named” bishop Zak’ariay of Gnunik’ (Zak’ariay Gnunets’i) for the patriarch of Constantinople, Astuatsatur, in 1544 at Sulu Manastir in Constantinople. In 1549, Zak’ariay became prelate of the monastery located on Lim island in Lake Van, where he remained until his death in 1576; he is therefore occasionally called Zak’ariay Limnets’i. He was the student of Yovsep’ Aght’amarts’i and Grigoris, catholicos of Aght’amar, both of whom died in 1544; Zak’ariay records the death of Yovsep’ in this

manuscript as causing him immense grief.<sup>1</sup> Since he does not do the same for Grigoris, perhaps he died the same year but after this manuscript was completed. Zak’ariay also produced another Alexander Romance between 1538 and 1544 in Rome, with the assistance of his student Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets’i) (cat. 95).<sup>2</sup>

Catholicos Grigoris illustrated the Alexander Romance of 1536 (cat. 84), and his influence is evident in his student Zak’ariay’s illustration of Alexander the Great’s supernatural horse Bucephalus on folio 42 verso, on which the creature is again shown as a strange composite animal formed of birds, snakes, fish, and all types of four-legged animals. However, it is not an exact copy of the Bucephalus in Grigoris’s 1536 manuscript or of the composite animal in the model book in catalogue entry 83; Zak’ariay was inspired by the type of composite animal used by his teacher Grigoris, but modified it, varying the animals and creatures forming the powerful Bucephalus.<sup>3</sup> SLM



fol. 42v

CAT. 86 Gospel Book

Ts'ipnavank', 1419

Scribe: Gregory of Khlat' (Grigor Khlat'ets'i; 1349–1425)

Ink and pigments on parchment; 265 folios

9¼ × 6⅞ in. (23.5 × 16 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 3714)

Commissioned by Yohanes the priest, this Gospel book was copied and illustrated in 1419 by the scribe Grigor *vardapet*. Grigor is none other than the famous artist, editor, musician, poet, scribe, and teacher Gregory of Khlat' (Grigor Khlat'ets'i), son of Tser and Khoyand.<sup>1</sup> Born in Khlat' on the northwest shore of Lake Van in 1349, he began his education at a young age in Ts'ipnavank', a renowned monastery near Artske, not far from Khlat'. He also attended other monasteries and universities, including Orotnavank', Aprakunik', Ayrivank', and Kharabavank'. Gregory's studies were frequently interrupted because of Timur's invasions, forcing him to flee to safer areas. He eventually directed the Ts'ipnavank' school, where this manuscript was copied, but because of the unstable political situation he was forced to close it and send his students to Tat'ev. He later joined the eminent theologian Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i) at Metsop'avank'. Gregory of Khlat' was martyred at Ts'ipnavank' in 1425.<sup>2</sup>

This Gospel book is particularly remarkable for its illuminations of a teacher with his students and for one of the sponsor. Although Gregory does not specifically name himself as the artist in his colophon, stylistic comparisons with other signed manuscripts indicate that this was clearly painted by him.<sup>3</sup> The image on folio 14 verso depicts what is presumably a self-portrait, a teacher instructing two students. Seated, the teacher holds in his right hand a board on which is written “Blessed is the man who . . .,” the first words of Psalm 1:1. His left hand grasps either a pointer or perhaps a rod, ready to discipline the student who stands before him



fol. 14v–15r

with crossed arms. A second small figure sits cross-legged clutching three switches, presumably to be used for further chastisement if needed. But Gregory would have been seventy years old in 1419, and this teacher has a dark brown beard. On the facing page, folio 15 recto, is the commissioner of the manuscript, Yohanes the priest, who is identified by name on the left, carrying the Gospel book as he faces an open-armed, white-bearded priest. We learn from the colophon that Yohanes has just been elevated to the priesthood; this depicts Yohanes receiving the completed manuscript in commemoration of this event from his now elderly teacher, Gregory of Khlat'. The image on folio 14 verso of the young teacher with two students is surely the young Gregory teaching his much younger student, Yohanes.

The front cover of this manuscript was embellished in later times with eye-shaped metal amulets, crosses (some jeweled), and a crucifix, all votive offerings or amulets with a twofold purpose: as gifts from grateful pilgrims in thanks for prayers answered or in anticipation of them being answered, and also to protect the manuscript—and perhaps the donor—against the evil eye.<sup>4</sup> SLM

## CAT. 87 Gospel Book

Probably Erzrnka, 1454

Copied and illuminated by Grigor the priest  
(act. mid-15th century)

Ink and pigments on paper; 255 folios

7¼ × 5¾ in. (18.3 × 13.2 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 34)

This Gospel book was copied and illuminated by the scribe and artist Grigor the priest. It was commissioned by a woman, Annay, and paid for through her “honestly earned assets,” as a memorial to herself, her mother T’aguhi, and her father Melik’shay, for the enjoyment of Yovhannes the deacon (*sarkawag*) (fol. 254v). Many other members of Annay’s family are memorialized in the colophon, but she seems to have been especially close to her mother as the mother’s name appears three times.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that a woman sponsored the making of this manuscript, which specifically mentions that she paid for it herself. This suggests that, at least in some echelons of fifteenth-century Armenian society, women had the means as well as the autonomy to spend their money as they wished.

The location of this manuscript’s production is not included in the colophon; based on stylistic similarities with a 1449 Gospel book made in Erzrnka, in Yekeghiats’ province, it seems likely that this artist Grigor the priest was also trained in that region.<sup>2</sup> Yekeghiats’ had been conquered in 1394 by Timur, whose lasting presence is particularly visible in the slanted Mongol-type eyes typical of his people that are found in both manuscripts. Saint John the Evangelist is depicted standing as he receives divine inspiration from the hand of

God in the upper right. John points and dictates to his young seated assistant and scribe Prochoros, who writes down his words on a sheet of parchment. The composition of John with Prochoros, illustrating the master-student relationship, was introduced at the patriarchate at Hromkla in 1166 and used in Cilician Armenian manuscripts by 1198 and in Greater Armenia by at least 1224.<sup>3</sup>

By the eighteenth century, this manuscript was at the Monastery of Saint Makarios (Makaravank’) in Cyprus, where it had been brought by Armenians who immigrated there at an unknown date.<sup>4</sup> Armenians have been documented in Cyprus since at least the sixth century, and many migrated there during Ottoman control of Cyprus between 1570/71 and 1878. In the seventeenth century Persian-Armenian silk traders settled in Cyprus, and many more Ottoman Armenians arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript was removed from the Monastery of Saint Makarios by *vardapet* Yovhannes of Julfa (presumably New Julfa) and returned to the monastery in 1715 by *vardapet* Yarut’iwn.<sup>6</sup> SLM



fols. 196r–197v

## CAT. 88 Presentation of Christ in the Temple

From a hymnal

Berkri, Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1488

Illuminated by Karapet of Berkri (Karapet Berkrets'i;

act. 1462–1501)

Tempera on paper; 322 folios

4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (12 × 10 × 6.5 cm)

Armenian Museum of America, Watertown, Massachusetts (RB 16.2)

This small hymnal, or *sharaknots'*, contains hymns to be chanted and performed on prescribed feast days.<sup>1</sup> As its contents evolved, the canonized *sharaknots'* came to form a unique genre of Armenian ritual literature, which included the sacred songs and spiritual poems penned by various late antique, medieval, and early modern authors.<sup>2</sup> The composers drew inspiration not only from the Old and New Testaments, but also from the earliest recorded Armenian histories, contributing to the diversity of themes bound within each hymnal.

Accompanying this illumination are the first lines of a hymnal written in the fifth century by Movses Khorenats'i. The inscription at the end of folio 28 recto reads, "Canon of Candlemas / Penthesis [Presentation of Christ]. Blessing: Incarnate from the Virgin, word before all eternity, today you came to the temple [continues on folio 28 verso] to fulfill the law for the salvation of the gentiles." The canon celebrates the reception of the infant Christ in the Temple by Simeon. Rising vaults and arches, sumptuously adorned in gold, elegantly articulate the interior of the temple. Mary extends her arms across the altar, handing Christ to Simeon. Joseph holds a pair of doves tightly to his chest; they are an offering to be given during the purification rite. Absent from the hymn, but illustrated here, as is typical, is Anna the Prophetess, gesturing toward the sky with one hand and holding an unfurled scroll in the other.

Recently attributed to the prolific Vaspurakan artist and scribe Karapet of Berkri (Karapet Berkrets'i), this manuscript is a vibrant addition to his rich oeuvre.<sup>3</sup> While the majority of the images in this hymnal are



fol. 28r

drawn from New Testament narratives, in a later opening Karapet of Berkri painted a scene of the Armenian Battle of Avarayr, which he executed on various occasions (cat. 93). His unmatched interest in and affinity for illuminating hymnals marks an important moment in Armenian illumination, during which the iconographic schema was extended to include national, historical, and secular scenes, often painted within liturgical manuscripts. EP

# ARMENIAN GOSPEL BOOKS WITH SIDEWAYS-ORIENTED ILLUMINATIONS

Gospel books with sideways-oriented illustrations are unusual in the history of Christian art and the vast majority of them, at least twenty-five such manuscripts, are from Armenia. They date from between the ninth and sixteenth centuries. Examples noted mostly from the eleventh century have been traditionally labeled as the “Melitene Group,” after the multiethnic regional center Malat’ya (Melitene), near the Upper Euphrates in the Taurus Mountains, in and around which Armenian communities from the Artsruni kingdom settled between 1022 and 1066.<sup>1</sup>

Without exception, these books are vertical codices, bound along their taller side. Their textual components, written in Armenian from left to right and top to bottom, are in harmony with this design. In contrast, the pictorial components are oriented horizontally. On each page, the figures’ heads are toward the outer margin, while their feet are toward the inner margin, so that their alignment mirrors one another on the facing pages. Such an arrangement does not lend itself to a comfortable viewing experience as the book must be turned 90 degrees clockwise to view the images on the left, and then turned again 180 degrees counterclockwise to view the facing image on the right.<sup>2</sup>

The illustrations are grouped together as frontispieces in the vast majority of these manuscripts, an organization followed in some of the earliest illustrated Gospels known from sixth-century Greek (Rossano Gospels) and Syriac (Rabbula Gospels) contexts.<sup>3</sup> In these books, the unillustrated texts of the four Gospels are preceded by prefatory matter including, in order, Eusebius’s letter to Carpianus, ten canon tables that concern correlating the contents of the Gospels, depictions of Christ’s life on a varying number of pages, and a combined portrait of the four evangelists.<sup>4</sup> While the contents of these Armenian Gospel books follow earlier models, the sideways orientation of their frontispieces sets them apart.

Overall, an abbreviated style of representation characterizes the paintings in these Gospel books.<sup>5</sup> Arranged against blank backgrounds and within thick frames, the art is to the point, deliberate, fulfilling its function without refinements, expensive pigments, or skilled pictorial techniques, such as shading. Occasionally, the scribe doubles as the book illuminator.<sup>6</sup> Thus, these pictorial frontispieces seem to be more functional than aesthetic, for reasons yet to be explored.

Significantly, these images depict the life of Christ without visually narrating any *one* of the four Gospels. Instead, they give a “visual gospel harmony,” that is, a single popular account on anywhere from eight to twenty-five pages, including the liturgically most significant events such as the Birth and Baptism of Christ from the Theophany cycle, celebrated on January 6; or the Crucifixion and Resurrection from the Passion cycle commemorated during the Easter week (fig. 68). Moreover, some scenes contain nonbiblical elements that differ from what is featured in the Gospels, Christian art of the Mediterranean region, or Byzantine art, such as the Annunciation at a well instead of in Mary’s house,<sup>7</sup> four Magi instead of three in the Adoration,<sup>8</sup> and a tower-like tomb instead of a cave or a Roman sepulchre in the Raising of Lazarus.<sup>9</sup> This independent iconography, harmonized story, and nonbiblical motifs and narrative elements, combined with the grouping of the scenes as frontispieces with sideways orientation, together lend strong support to the theory that depictions of the life of Christ in Gospel books did not originate as illustrations within the texts of ancient manuscripts, but first developed in various other solely pictorial media independent from the biblical texts.<sup>10</sup>

Sideways-oriented illustrations are found in other contemporaneous book cultures of West Asia. A similar practice is attested in Syriac Christian context, where at least fourteen such Gospel books from between the eighth and fourteenth centuries survive.<sup>11</sup> Most



Fig. 68. "Empty Tomb," recto (?) of a loose folio from a Gospel book (cat. 90)

of them, however, only contain portraits of the individual evangelists at the starts of their otherwise unillustrated Gospels. One twelfth-century example has prefatory illustrations, but in mixed orientations.<sup>12</sup> Two examples have narrative illustrations in the body of the Gospel text.<sup>13</sup> Also similar to the Armenian case are illustrated Iranian service books produced by the Manichaeans, all examples of which date from between the eighth and eleventh centuries and systematically feature their images sideways. Although the extant remains are from Central Asia, they attest distinctly West Asian practices of bookmaking. Manichaeans and Armenian Christians simultaneously introduced sideways-oriented illustrations, including scenes from Jesus's life, into vertical codices.<sup>14</sup>

A tantalizing clue that the prototypes of these paintings belonged to codices with a horizontal format is found on the sole surviving folio of a prefatory matter that was cropped and sewn into a ninth- or tenth-century Gospel book, with the last canon table on its recto and the Annunciation as the first narrative scene on its verso.<sup>15</sup> The painting on the verso depicts Mary being approached by the archangel Gabriel while filling up a pitcher at a well. Unlike any other Armenian narrative scenes known today, this painting is framed in a distinct chain-link border that culminates

in a palmette to the right of the figures along the narrow margin of the page. Analogous chain-link borders and palmettes along the side margins are employed in illuminated ninth- and tenth-century Kufic Qur'ans of horizontal codex format, in which they frame entire carpet-pages in the frontis- and finishpieces and highlight the headers for the suras.<sup>16</sup>

The horizontal codex format with solely pictorial content is so far attested only from among the Manichaeans, whose picture book tradition across Mesopotamia is thoroughly documented in textual sources in Coptic, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Syriac languages produced from the mid-third to the late fifth century and preserved in Central Asian examples from the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> Although the Manichaeans had missions in Armenia, there is no evidence of their impact on the formation of Armenian art. Rather than prove direct influence from Manichaean to Armenian Christian book art, the evidence points to shared regional practices of horizontal codex and picture book production, of which the surviving clues are scattered among different religious communities. Conservative preservation of the horizontal layout of scenes originally painted in the format of a horizontal book (handscroll or codex) would explain the sideways orientation of the narrative frontispieces of Armenian Gospel books. zsc

## CAT. 89 Gospel Book

Malat'ya (Melitene) or Sebastia, mid-11th century

Tempera and ink on parchment

15 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 4 in. (40.4 × 32 × 10.2 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 974)

Three parchment folios with sideways-oriented images are preserved within this large Gospel book.<sup>1</sup> At least six folios are lost from the beginning of this codex: they contained Eusebius’s letter and ten canon tables, as well as the first scene from the pictorial cycle of the life of Christ, most likely the Nativity with the Adoration. The scene surviving on what is today folio 1 recto features the Presentation and the Baptism of Christ, which concludes the Theophany cycle, while the verso shows the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus. The illumination on folio 2 recto depicts the Kiss of Judas and the Arrest of Christ, Peter, and Malchus. Between folios 1 and 2, one folio seems to be lost with events from the early Passion. Nothing seems to be missing from between folios 2 and 3, since the Crucifixion on folio 2 verso is naturally followed by the combined events of the Burial of Christ and the Harrowing of Hell on folio 3 recto. The latter page concludes what was most likely an eight-page narrative. The combined portrait of the four evangelists, on folio 3 verso, originally faced the start of the Gospel texts, written in rounded *erkat’agir* script in two columns, from which the first pages of Matthew are now lost. zsc



fols. 1v–2r



## CAT. 90 Folio from a Gospel Book

Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1290–1330

Tempera and ink on paper

13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9 in. (33.5 × 22.8 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Dr.

J. C. Burnett, 1957 (57.185.3)

Two loose parchment folios with sideways-oriented illustrations are preserved in New York from the prefatory matter of an Armenian Gospel book. Their shared painting style and frame design, the quality and measurements of their folia, and the cursive handwriting that identifies the figures in the *bolorgir* script confirms the folios are related.<sup>1</sup> The Metropolitan Museum folio contains the combined portrait of the four evangelists on one side, confirming it as a verso, and the Empty Tomb and Resurrection on the recto as the last scene from the life of Christ depicted in this cycle (see fig. 68).<sup>2</sup> The Morgan Library and Museum

owns another folio from the prefatory matter of the same Gospel book, depicting the Nativity and the Visitation on its recto and the Baptism of Christ on its verso.<sup>3</sup> Based on the book-making practice of matching the hair- and flesh-sides on the facing pages while nesting the folded sheets of bifolia within the quire, these two were separated by at least three folios, now lost, that contained illustrations of events from the Theophany and the Passion, and arguably at least one episode from Christ's ministry. Moreover, the Nativity scene was most certainly preceded by an Annunciation scene on the verso of another lost folio with the last canon table on its recto, as is often the case in this corpus. The original Gospel book would have also contained Eusebius's letter and ten canon tables, as well as a twelve-page narrative cycle and a one-page combined portrait of the four evangelists preceding the texts of the four Gospels. zsc



## CAT. 91 Gospel Book

Berkri, Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1338

Illuminated by Melk'isedek (act. ca. 1338)

Tempera and ink on paper; 188 folios

12 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (31.5 × 24 × 9.6 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 4813)

Originally, two quires held the preparatory matter in this paper codex. The first quire is lost.<sup>1</sup> The original second quire now begins this Gospel book.<sup>2</sup> The last page of this quire contains a sideways-oriented combined portrait of the four evangelists (fol. 5v), which faces the first page of the next intact quire, on which the Gospel of Matthew begins. In contrast to the unadorned text of the four Gospels neatly written in the cursive *bolorgir* script, the first page of each Gospel is decoratively lettered in the capital *erkat'agir* script in alternating red- and black-ink lines and supplemented with a calligraphic initial beneath a prominent headpiece of geometric and vegetal motifs defined against a red background that culminates in an arch along its lower center. The first four pages of this quire are unfinished: two are blank (unnumbered folio) and two contain incomplete canon tables (fol. 1), to which a non-sideways Annunciation scene was added later on the verso. The quire then preserves an intact bifolium in its center with four successive narrative scenes: the Nativity with the Adoration (fol. 2r), the Presentation (fol. 2v), the Baptism (fol. 3r), and the Entry into Jerusalem (fol. 3v). There was once



fols. 5v–6r

another bifolium enclosing these four scenes. The folio before these scenes would have had on the recto the last canon table and on the verso a sideways-oriented Annunciation. The one at the end of the missing bifolium would have been between the surviving folios 3 and 4 and would have featured two scenes from the Passion on its recto and verso (such as the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Betrayal, and/or the Arrest of Jesus) that typically come before the Crucifixion (fol. 4r), the Empty Tomb and Resurrection (fol. 4v), and the Ascension (fol. 5r). ZSG

## KHIZAN STYLE

Active from the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the scriptoria of the monasteries of the Holy Cross, the Mother of God, and Saint Gamaliel Apostle in Khizan, as well as those at the monasteries of Saint George the General at Mokk' (cat. 92) and the Holy Sign of Hosrov (Hosrovavank'), hold a special place within the Vaspurakan school of miniatures. Like most of what was produced in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), the Khizan manuscripts are mostly copied on paper, and in their Gospel books, thematic miniatures are typically found in the beginning of the works, and an image of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac precedes the Gospel cycle (fig. 69). The Khizan manuscripts stand out first and foremost due to the style of their miniatures, which is naive and ornate thanks to its very bright color palette, its bare and rhythmic compositions, and its captivating but rather rigid and static characters, depicted with large heads and generally round faces, wide eyes, and red cheekbones.

Several scribe and miniaturist families contributed to the development of this peculiar, pure, and tenderly endearing style, which was practiced for several centuries within the region and beyond its borders. One of the first was Yovhannes Khizants'i's family, starting with the work of Grigor K'ahanay in the middle of the fourteenth century, and continued by Yovhannes Khizants'i, his brother Zakare Khizants'i, his nephew Mkrtych' II Khizants'i, and Mkrtych' II Khizants'i's nephew Yovhannes II Khizants'i, along with their descendants.<sup>1</sup> The Khizan style can also be found in works produced in New Julfa, where the last generation of scribes and miniaturists descended from these Khizan families, such as Khach'atur Kahanay Khizants'i and Mesrop of Khizan (Mesrop Khizants'i; cat. 125), relocated after they were forced to leave their country of origin and settle in Isfahan under the orders of Shah 'Abbas I.<sup>2</sup> AL-Y

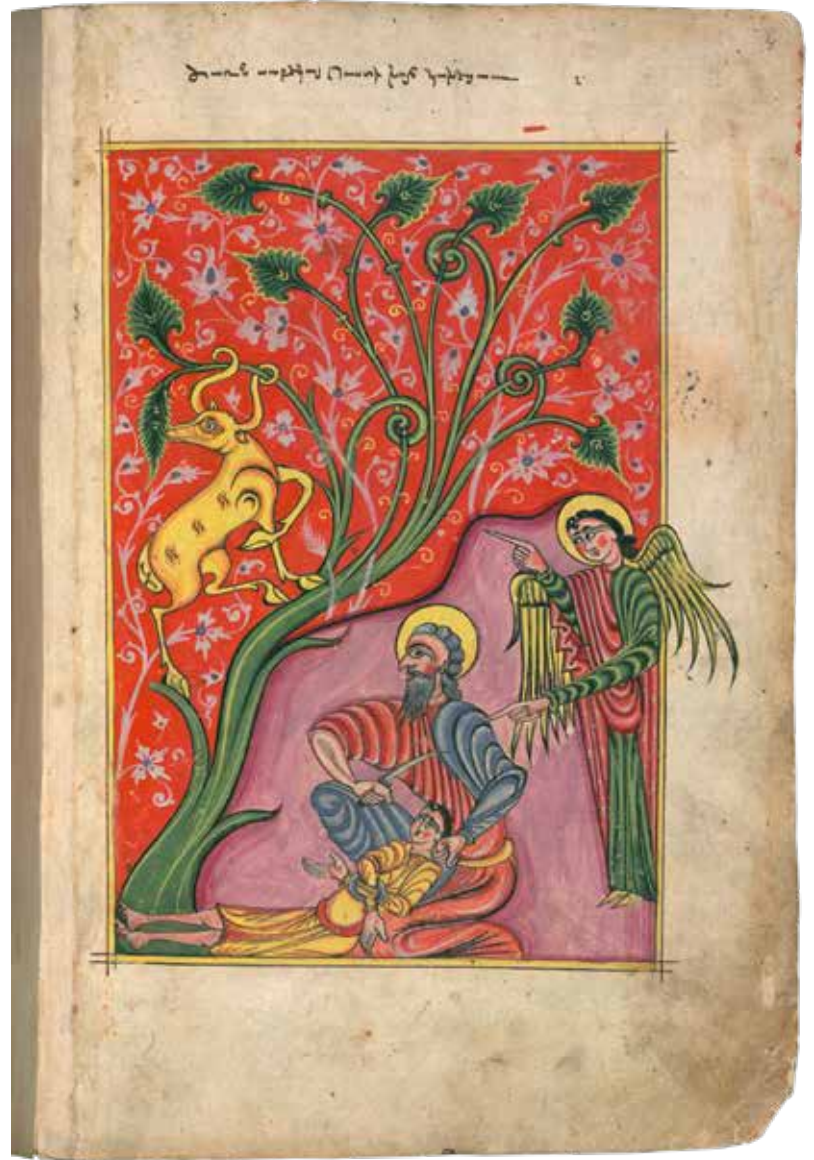


Fig. 69. Khach'atur Kahanay Khizants'i (act. mid-15th century). "The Sacrifice of Isaac," from a Gospel book. Monastery of Saint Gamaliel Apostle, Khizan, 1455. Tempera and ink on paper, 10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.5 × 18 cm). Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (MS W.543, fol. 4r)

## CAT. 92 Gospel Book

Monastery of Saint George the General at Mokk',  
Khizan, 1434/35

Illuminated by Khach'atur (act. 1430s) and an  
anonymous artist

Scribe: Margare (act. 1430s)

Ink, tempera, and gold on paper; stamped  
leather binding

11 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (28.1 × 19.4 × 8.5 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,  
Purchase, Fletcher Fund, Hagop Kevorkian Fund  
Gift, in memory of Hagop Kevorkian, Tianaderrah  
Foundation, B.H. Breslauer Foundation, Aso O.  
Tavitian, Karen Bedrosian Richardson, Elizabeth  
Mugar Eveillard and Arax Simsarian Gifts and  
funds from various donors, 2010 (2010.108)

This Gospel book, copied by the scribe Margare, son of Yovhannes and Oski, is an excellent example of fifteenth-century book arts from Khizan.<sup>1</sup> According to the colophon, “this holy Gospel was finished in the royal country of Mokk', in the monastery of Saint George the General, in the Armenian year 884 [AD 1435].”<sup>2</sup> In line with the tradition of the Vaspurakan school, the miniatures are grouped at the beginning of the manuscript, although out of chronological order, probably due to the fact that they were rebound at a later date.

It is clear two different artists worked on the miniatures in this book. The first group, which includes the Nativity (fol. 5v), the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple (fol. 6r), the portraits of the evangelists Matthew (fol. 15v) and Luke (fol. 175v), the title pages (fols. 16r and 176r), Eusebius's letter to Carpianus (fols. 7v–8r), the Eusebian canon tables (fols. 9v–14r), and almost all of the marginal illuminations, is recognizable as the meticulous work of Khach'atur, the miniaturist responsible for four other Gospel books, all four of which were copied by the scribe Yovhannes at Saint Gamaliel Apostle in Khizan.<sup>3</sup> The second, anonymous miniaturist, who executed the Ascension (fol. 2r), the Pentecost (fol. 2v), the Transfiguration



fols. 5v–6r

(fol. 3r), the Wedding at Cana (fol. 3v), Christ's arrest and Peter's denial (fol. 4r), and Pontius Pilate washing his hands and Judas throwing away his pieces of silver (fol. 4v), has a much plainer and naive style, similar to that of Yovhannes Khizants'i's family.<sup>4</sup>

The Nativity miniature is one of the most beautiful images in this book. It is organized into several horizontal levels. Against a blue sky, four gesticulating angels guide the shepherd toward the manger and the baby Jesus, placed beneath an arch representing the dark cave illuminated by the raised star of Bethlehem. Three animals—an ox, a donkey, and another horned creature—watch over the infant, swaddled in blue cloth and placed in a red manger. Below, the Virgin Mary is depicted reclining, wearing a blue gown and wrapped in a *maphorion*. She dominates the image, because of her size and position in the composition. In the lower level, Joseph is seated to the left and points to the Mother and Child in the cave while facing the three Magi, who are shown kneeling and handing over their gifts. Their heads are covered with hats reminiscent

of different types of Mongol head coverings, no doubt known from contact with these people through warfare and trade, which indicate the Eastern origin of the Magi. The first Magi is a young and beardless Caspar, who holds up a chest of frankincense swaddled in blue cloth to indicate the recognition of the Child's divinity. Balthazar, a middle-aged man with a black beard, is the second, while Melchior, an old man with a long white beard bringing gold, a sign of the recognition of Jesus's royal lineage, is third. Surprisingly, Balthazar is not shown with myrrh, which is a symbol of the Child's human nature, and therefore his mortality.<sup>5</sup> This is not an oversight, but rather an iconographic interpretation by Khach'atur, influenced by Christological debates

on the nature of Jesus: the newborn Savior is seen as man, but worshipped as God, the Sovereign Master of all things.

On the facing page, which depicts the Presentation in the Temple, Simeon holds the Christ Child over the altar with Joseph behind him. Facing them are Mary with a gilded halo and Anna the Prophetess. Several iconographic particularities are to be noted, such as the pair of birds for the sacrifice in a basket on the altar and Joseph and Anna the Prophetess each lighting the scene with a large candle. The most original depiction, however, is that of the Child, whose left hand is carefully intertwined into Simeon's beard in a complex symbol of Simeon's divinely inspired words. AL-Y

## REVIVAL OF EARLY NARRATIVES IN MANUSCRIPTS

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scribes working within monasteries in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan) were critical intermediaries in the preservation of Armenia's earliest texts, notably shifting their copying objectives to include secular national literature. Despite a severe decline in manuscript production during the first half of the sixteenth century, a number of manuscripts reflect a shift in textual content alongside an inventive expansion of the iconographic schema.<sup>1</sup> Beginning in the fifteenth century, hymnals, miscellanies, synaxaria, and rituals came to include illustrations of histories such as Yeghishe's *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* and Agat'angeghos's *History of the Armenians*.

Textually anchored in the fifth century but produced a millennium later, these manuscripts extend the work of Armenia's earliest historians and hagiographers into a prolific era of manuscript illumination, characterized by expressive and individualized style and composition. The illustration of foundational texts such as the conversion narrative or the defense of religious autonomy should be considered introspective studies on the basic tenets of Armenian cultural identity, bearing the vestiges of Armenia's nascent stages of nationhood. Plagued by political turmoil caused by wars between opposing empires, Vaspurakan artists sought to maintain and emphasize their unique identity through these new iconographic traditions. EP

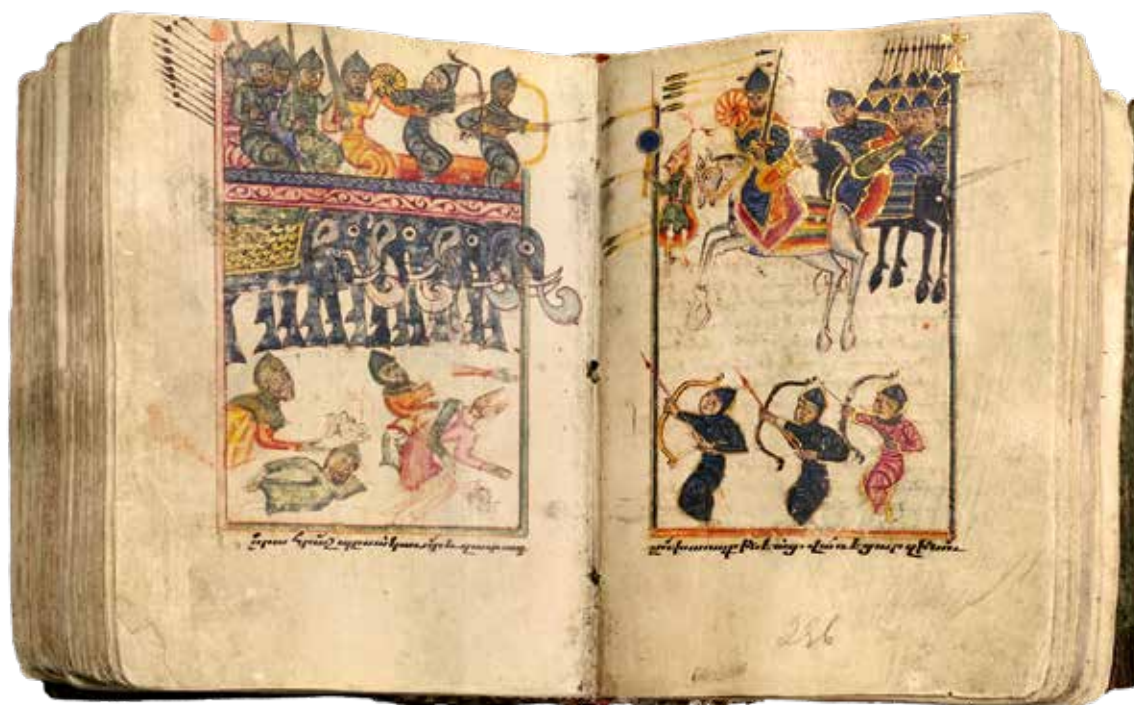
## CAT. 93 Hymnal Depicting the Battle of Avarayr

K'ajberunik', Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1482  
Illuminated by Karapet of Berkri (Karapet Berkrets'i;  
act. 1462–1501)  
Tempera and ink on paper; 404 folios  
5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4 × 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.9 × 10.1 × 6.8 cm)  
“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient  
Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1620)

Following the Romano-Persian split of 387, Armenia was made a vassal state of Iran. After rejecting the Persian king Yazdigerd II's (r. 439–457) edict to practice Zoroastrianism, an Armenian army revolted against the Sasanians and poised itself to sacrifice life and limb at the Battle of Avarayr in 450/51. Here, in a double-page composition he executed on multiple occasions, Karapet of Berkri (Karapet Berkrets'i) illustrates both armies caught in the throes of battle.<sup>1</sup> On the left, the army of Immortals led by the Persian commander Mushkan Nisalavurt approaches the centerfold mounted on the backs of elephants. On the right, the elite Armenian general, or *sparapet*, Vardan Mamikonian gallops forward on a white horse, followed by his huddled

cavalry. Despite transparency in Ghazar P'arpets'i and Yeghishe's respective fifth-century texts, which record the Armenians' crushing defeat at Avarayr, this illumination—along with its accompanying text—quite literally sings the praises of Mamikonian and his slain soldiers. Armenian bodies and their armor are selectively outlined in gold—material evidence not of victory, but of imminent martyrdom. Inscribed below the field of fallen soldiers and severed limbs are the opening two lines of a hymnal adapted from a twelfth-century poem by Saint Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali); they read, “Wondrous crown-bearing general of virtuous men, armed himself with the holy weapon valiantly against death.” Paired with a celebratory hymnal, this illustration crystallizes Mamikonian and his militia as spiritual victors by way of military martyrdom.

While scenes of the Battle of Avarayr are often found within hymnals, less than a century later and on the other side of Lake Van, artist Vardan Baghishets'i illustrated a scene similar in composition and iconography as an introduction to Yeghishe's *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (cat. 94). EP



fols. 295v–296r

## CAT. 94 Anthology of Texts Related to the Histories of the Armenian Church

Baghesh, Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1569–70  
 Illuminated by Vardan of Baghesh (Vardan Baghishets'i; act. 1569–1578)  
 Scribe: Hakob the deacon (*sarkawag*) (act. second half 16th century)  
 Tempera and ink on paper; 353 folios  
 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.2 × 19.3 × 8.1 cm)  
 “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 1920)

The first half of this compendium of early church histories is dedicated to Agat'angeghos's *History of the Armenians*. His story of Armenia's Christianization begins with the pagan king Tiridates, whose mind and body are struck by divine intervention after he martyrs a cohort of Christian nuns. The boldly painted illuminations focus primarily on Tiridates's physical transformation from human to wild boar to human, and more abstractly, from pagan through crisis to Christian.<sup>1</sup>

In the opening illumination, Tiridates—seeking to return to his human body—leads a crowd of future converts, who attentively listen to Saint Gregory the Illuminator's sermon. Capitalizing on the human-animal and Christian-pagan dichotomies that dominate Agat'angeghos's narrative, artist Vardan of Baghesh (Vardan Baghishets'i) employed a strategy of visual othering in his depiction of Tiridates's body as it reacquaints itself with humanity. Created during the Ottoman-Safavid Wars, the contents of this manuscript aptly comment on the current sociopolitical atmosphere of the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan). So devastating were the woes of the Armenians that the scribe laments he cannot bear to record them, but he attributes the unbearable conditions to Ottoman sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574) in the manuscript's colophon, which reads, “And during the patriarchate of lord Mikael [Catholicos Mikayel I Sebastats'i; r. 1567–1576], during the reign of the conqueror-king Sultan Selim, emperor, in this year this book was written in a bitter and wicked time, on all fronts bitterness and pain surrounded the miserable nation of Armenians, so that



fol. 55v

every year distinct punishments came onto the Armenian nation: famine, sword, slavery, death, deportation, and ruin, plague, locust, caterpillars, grubs, jaundice, flood, [so] immense and innumerable, that I cannot commit it to writing.”

Vardan of Baghesh's treatment of the Armenian king as he teeters between animal and human, pagan and Christian, remains the only complete, surviving illuminated sequence of this episode of Agat'angeghos's *History*. Elsewhere Vardan of Baghesh painted Armenia's Christianization on a single folio within manuscripts of different types such as synaxaria and rituals. EP

## JULFA STYLE

The oldest extant manuscripts from the scriptoria of Julfa and the surrounding area were produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Scribes mention Julfa as an important city and praise the monastery of the Holy Savior as an important center of book production, along with the scriptoria at the churches of Saint Sargis (Surb Sargis), the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), Saint George (Surb Georg), and Saint John (Surb Yovhannes). Despite considerable losses, due in part to the city having been ravaged by Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) and its population deported to Isfahan, several surviving manuscripts bear witness to the glory and wealth of this commercial city and its denizens. It is important to note that one of the rare female scribes and miniaturists, Mariam, lived in Julfa. In 1456, she copied and richly illuminated a copy of the *Book of Sermons* by Gregory of Tat‘ev (Grigor Tat‘evats‘i; 1346–1409/10), which remains an excellent example of the book arts practiced at that time.<sup>2</sup> Mariam’s illuminations are clearly linked aesthetically with art from Julfa, including khachkar ornamentation, which points to the existence of a common local style.

There are few studies focusing on sixteenth-century manuscripts from Julfa, and much about the period remains unknown. Among the scribes and artists known to be active there just before 1604 are Barsegh *vardapet*, Ter Mkrtich‘, Yohan Dark‘amark‘ets‘i, Yovanes, and Rstakes the monk (*abeghay*), as well as the miniaturists Step‘anos of Julfa (Step‘anos Jughayets‘i) and Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets‘i; ca. 1550–1613); their work points to a revival in the region at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.<sup>3</sup> While not all of these artists hailed from Julfa originally, they all

worked in the city and contributed to a very decorative miniature style. In 1604 most of them were forcibly relocated to Isfahan.

Between 1605 and 1607, in a neighborhood on the south bank of the Zayaneh Rud river in Isfahan, an Armenian district known as New Julfa was formed, named after the city from which most of the refugees had come. This district quickly became a center of Armenian culture; scribes and miniaturists from Julfa, along with others, contributed to a new stylistic school born from the intermixing of a variety of Armenian miniature traditions. In its first decade, this new style displayed a certain conservatism, due to the artists’ desire to preserve their unique traditions. As a result, different trends arose, as is evident from the work of Hakob of Julfa (cats. 96, 97) and Mesrop of Khizan (Mesrop Khizants‘i; ca. 1560–1652), and their respective students.<sup>4</sup>

The renowned Armenian merchants of New Julfa acted as intermediaries between Asian and European markets. International trade provided the artists of New Julfa with greater exposure to European and Asian art, as well as printed books, which influenced their own work and led to a more modern style, found in the miniatures produced by New Julfan artists, including Hakob of Julfa, Mesrop of Khizan, Zak‘ariay of Awan (Zak‘ariay Awants‘i), Astuatsatur of Julfa (Astuatsatur Jughayets‘i), Grigor Naghash of Julfa (Grigor Naghash Jughayets‘i), Hayrapet of Julfa (Hayrapet Jughayets‘i), Step‘anos of Julfa, Gaspar Erets‘, and Hakob II of Julfa (Hakob II Jughayets‘i).<sup>5</sup> Drawing from many different influences, these artists worked at the intersection of traditional Armenian culture and modern painting, creating a strikingly peculiar and eclectic style. AL-Y



## CAT. 95 Alexander Romance

Rome, 1538–44, and unknown location, 16th century  
Illuminated by Zak'ariay of Gnunik' (Zak'ariay Gnunets'i; d. 1576)  
and Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i; ca. 1550–1613)  
Scribe: Zak'ariay of Gnunik' (Zak'ariay Gnunets'i; d. 1576)  
Tempera and ink on parchment; 136 folios  
9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7 in. (24 × 17.8 cm)  
“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient  
Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 5472)

This manuscript was copied and illuminated by Bishop Zak'ariay of Gnunik' (Zak'ariay Gnunets'i) during a trip to Rome between 1538 and 1544.<sup>1</sup> It is an Armenian version of the Alexander Romance, the third-century text written by Pseudo-Callisthenes, which enjoyed a wide distribution and first reached Armenia in the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> According to the colophon on folio 34 verso, Khach'atur Kesarats'i added text to the *kafa* (additional verse) and Zak'ariay of Gnunik' contributed commentary.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript's one hundred miniatures illustrating Alexander's life are clearly the work of two different artists.<sup>4</sup> The first is Zak'ariay of Gnunik' and the other is Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i), who is mentioned in the colophon on folio 1 verso.<sup>5</sup> The miniatures by Zak'ariay of Gnunik' have a blank background, whereas the images by Hakob of Julfa are more detailed and appear within well-decorated frames with colorful backgrounds as seen in some of his other works (cats. 96, 97).<sup>6</sup>

The miniatures on folios 90 verso and 91 recto are clearly the work of Zak'ariay of Gnunik'. On folio 90 verso, the miniature shows Alexander's ship in the middle of the sea with its anchor raised being swallowed by a giant crab. The inscription, written in cursive, reads: “The sea in this place, the ship filled with Alexander's men, a giant crab swallows the ship.” The narrative continues on folio 91 recto, which depicts

the rest of the events outlined in Alexander's letter to his mother, Olympias, in which he recounts his arrival to the land of the happy few and his adventures there. Before setting out on a journey in a place without light, Alexander decided to bring female donkeys with him and to leave their foals in his army's camp. After twenty-two days of travel, the men were given the order to return to camp, and the sound of the foals answering their mothers' calls helped them find their way back. Alexander, accompanied by one of his soldiers, is on the left side of the image, and a foal chained to a corkscrew-shaped post and a female donkey, farther away behind a hill, are on the right. Another cursive inscription in the lower margin reads, “Alexander, with a female donkey in front, and a tied-up foal.” Unlike the other cursive inscriptions on these two folios, this text is written in red by a different hand and seems to reproduce the almost illegible inscription placed in the margin by the right claws of the giant crab on folio 90 verso. It is possible that this is an addition by Ter Grigor, the manuscript's corrector, who is mentioned by Hakob of Julfa in the colophon on folio 1 verso, as similar writing in red ink is often found on the miniatures attributed to Hakob of Julfa in this manuscript. Facing Alexander are two birds flying at eye level;<sup>7</sup> according to legend, these birds spoke to him in Greek, warning him to turn back without treading upon this land that belongs only to God, so as to avoid hardships.<sup>8</sup> AL-Y



fol. 90v-91r

## CAT. 96 Bible

Keghi, 1586

Copied and illuminated by Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i; ca. 1550–1613)

Tempera and ink on paper; 407 folios

7¾ × 5¼ in. (19.7 × 14.4 cm)

Private collection

This manuscript is one of several by the scribe and miniaturist Hakob; originally from Julfa, he was the son of Khoja Vali and Oghlanp'asha and a student of the illustrious teacher Zak'ariay, bishop of Gnunik'. The colophon states that he finished the work in 1586 at the home of Maghak'ia in the city of Keghi, southwest of the city of Karin, and under the protection of the churches of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), of Saint Hakob (Surb Hakob), of Saint Sargis (Surb Sargis), and of the Holy Sign (Surb Nshan).

The Bible is richly ornamented with forty-nine full-page miniatures and forty-three marginal illustrations and contains a notably broad range of themes drawn from the Old and New Testaments.<sup>1</sup> The scenes from Genesis appear before the Gospel cycle (now fols. 2v–41r), and together they make up a coherent and complete whole.<sup>2</sup> The iconography in the miniatures is unique, especially in the illustrations of the seven days of Creation. Surprisingly, the Creator is not portrayed using a symbolic image, as is traditionally the case; instead, his presence is made manifest through the depiction of his head encircled by a golden halo with a red outer edge. He has large eyes and is often surrounded by angels. The first six Creation compositions are organized in the same way: the Creator's head, which grows in size with each image, is the main

element at the top, with his work of each day shown below. In the image of the seventh day, the Creator's head is portrayed in three-quarter view with his right hand raised in benediction toward the heads of the four apocalyptic beasts facing him, which appear at the right edge of the blue, star-filled background. The miniature on the opposite page closes this Creation cycle; a caption explains that "it is the heavenly gate that God opened when he took pity upon us." The head of the Creator appears between the gates, which are each decorated with a tall cross.

Surprisingly, two full-page miniatures with matching layouts appear before each Gospel, depicting Christ and the Virgin Mary.<sup>3</sup> Christ with a nimbed halo is shown in the image of the Creator with his right hand in a pose of benediction. Mary, the Mother of God, is flanked by rectangles suggesting the true heavenly gate, making her an intercessory to her son on behalf of humanity for access to salvation. This original interpretation attests to the theological complexity of the miniatures in this manuscript as well as the distinct style of the artist. While several manuscripts are attributed to Hakob of Julfa, his individual artistic identity remains undefined; a comparative study of the miniatures in his manuscripts suggests that several different artists worked on these manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> AL-Y



fols. 8v-9r

## CAT. 97 Gospel Book

Julfa, 1587

Illuminated by Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i; ca. 1550–1613) and other illuminators

Tempera, ink, and gold on paper

7½ × 10⅜ × 2⅜ in. (19 × 27.7 × 5.6 cm); 339 folios

John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, United Kingdom (MS Armenian 20 [R 55629])

This manuscript is also signed by *sarkawag* (deacon) Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i), son of Khoja Vali and Oghlanp'asha, and a student of the illustrious master Zak'ariay, bishop of Gnunik.<sup>1</sup> The colophon states that Hakob finished working in the year 1587 in the city of Julfa, under the protection of the churches of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin), of Saint Archangel (Surb Hreshtakapet), of the Holy Savior of All (Surb Amenap'rkich), of Saint Hakob (Surb Hakob), and of other saints. This manuscript's style and iconography suggest it is closely linked to the Gospel book copied in Kegh in 1586 (cat. 96).

In the bottom left corner of the folio 35 verso, the scribe and miniaturist Hakob of Julfa is depicted kneeling barefoot with his hands raised in prayer toward a prophetic vision. The inscription placed below his feet states, "Remember me Lord, blameworthy Hakob, during your glorious coming so that you judge [me], a sinner." The artist is portrayed in middle age, bearded, and wearing a large blue-and-white turban and a black coat with a red trim over a green gown. His clothes and turban confirm his status as a wealthy layman. In two other miniatures credited to Hakob of Julfa, his portrait appears at the bottom left margin of the miniature.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly, the three portraits are dissimilar in their typology and style.

The artist looks at the depiction of the Great Cross seen by Ezekiel during his prophetic vision, as well as the scene of the Second Coming of Christ, which appears over an image of the Last Judgment on the facing page. By Hakob of Julfa's portrait, a large circle encloses a cross with a medallion containing a bust of Jesus Christ at its center. Repeated between the arms of the cross



fol. 35v

are the four heads (man, lion, cherub, and eagle) of the tetramorphs (multi-winged guardians of heaven). Their wings extend beyond the circle and even the frame of the miniature. A second cross, rising out of this circle, also has a medallion with a bust of Christ at the intersection of its arms. Four angels with outspread wings blow their trumpets between the arms of this cross. The image is edged by an ornately decorated frame on which is written in *erkat'agir* script at the bottom, "The four trumpets of Gabriel." Above the frame, a small golden cross caps the composition. An inscription on the bottom margin of the page, just below the miniature, refers to the Gospel of Matthew (24:30–31) and reads, "The cross was shining, the sun rose; there is lightning: the four trumpets of Gabriel are blowing." AL-Y

## CAT. 98 Psalter

T'vanch, near Erzerum, 1596

Illuminator and scribe: Arak'el of Geghama (Arak'el Geghamets'i; act. late 16th–early 17th century)

Ink, tempera, and gold on parchment; 228 folios  
4¾ × 3⅜ in. (12 × 8.6 cm)

Collection of Robert McCarthy

This psalter was copied and illuminated by Arak'el of Geghama (Arak'el Geghamets'i).<sup>1</sup> Originally from the village of Varzele in the foothills of the Geghama Mountains, near Lake Sevan, he learned the art of copying and manuscript illumination at the monastery of Kech'aris, in P'ilipos *vardapet's* workshop. He later settled in Erzerum, where he produced the majority of his manuscripts. The artist is known for his unique use of colors, which are sometimes muted, and for his unusual interpretations of a wide range of themes. The text of this richly illustrated book follows the psalter revision established by Yovhannes Garnets'i (1180–1245) from an ancient model he found at the monastery of Haghpats.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript opens on a miniature of King David sitting cross-legged on a low stand with his feet resting on a pillow atop a red, orange, and yellow carpet (fol. 3v). Notably, he does not hold a harp but a short-necked *saz* with four strings,<sup>3</sup> a more usual instrument for his time and region. His clothes are probably representative of the sartorial traditions of the time: he wears black pointed shoes, blue wide trousers, a green long tunic with a red belt around the waist, and an



fols. 3v–4r

orange shirt. The artist creatively represents David's crown as a red turban topped with a small cross. The gold background with simple decorative elements and the multicolored decorative frame show him as if in a room.

Folio 4 recto contains a rectangular, half-page frontispiece, with a poly-lobed arch at its center surrounded by ornamental motifs. The frontispiece is surmounted by a pair of birds flanking a cup or fountain. Below the headpiece, the first five of ten lines of text are written in red, the rest in black. The first letter contains a human head and arm, a reference to the text of the psalm: "Blessed is the man that walks not in the counsel of the ungodly." In the margin, a large ornamental motif completes the composition. AL-Y

## ARMENIANS IN JERUSALEM

Home to the holiest places of Christendom, Jerusalem was an early destination for Armenians. Written sources attest to the presence of Armenian monks there as early as the fifth century, and the following centuries saw continued and increased pilgrimage to and settlement in the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> The seventh-century *Geography* attributed to Anania Shirakats'i refers to Jerusalem as "the center of all"; another seventh-century Armenian source offers detailed descriptions of the monuments and topography of the holy sites.<sup>2</sup> Ten Armenian-inscribed mosaic pavements, dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, are preserved in Jerusalem and its vicinity. By their design and iconography, they form part of a rich tradition of mosaic floor production known from the ancient Mediterranean. At the same time, they present invaluable historical information regarding the specific locations, nature, and extent of the Armenian communities in Jerusalem and the vicinity.<sup>3</sup>

The development of the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem, which remains active today, occurred over a long period, with major construction dating from the twelfth century, including the Cathedral of Saint James.<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth century important renovations were undertaken on the church, including its embellishment with ceramics made in the city of Küta-hya.<sup>5</sup> Among these are colorful, egg-shaped ornaments hanging from the ceiling (fig. 70), and a set of inscribed pictorial tiles adorning the Etchmiadzin chapel, south of the main church (see fig. 62). These tiles were originally intended for repairs to the Holy Sepulchre in 1719; why they were brought instead to Saint James is unknown. Yet they are important for their many inscriptions, which offer not only names of artists and donors, but also contemporary notices regarding the troubled state of the patriarchate and the damaging fires in Constantinople. CM



Fig. 70. Interior view of the Cathedral of Saint James, Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, largely 12th century and later



## CAT. 99 Liturgical Curtain

Tokat (Eudokia), 1689

Printed pigment on cloth

11 ft. × 11 ft., 7 in. (335 × 353 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (211)

This is the oldest liturgical curtain listed in the collection of the Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin.<sup>1</sup> Since the early Middle Ages, the Armenian Church has used curtains to cover the altar, tabernacle, and the baptismal font. The application of these curtains as

liturgical objects is inspired by the curtains employed in the Old Covenant temple. This curtain was printed in an Armenian workshop in Tokat (Eudokia). As stated in the dedication, which appears on the yellow band beneath the figures at the top, it was a gift to the monastery of Saint Thaddeus, in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan). The first two words of the dedication are illegible because the ink has eroded, but the surviving portion reads: “Papik, son of P’olat. For the parents and the brothers Vardan and Khach’atur and the parent of



Gharip at the doors of the Apostle Thaddeus. May they be remembered in blessing. In the year 1138 [AD 1689].”

Above the dedication on a red band is the text identifying the images across the top of the curtain: “This is the tomb of James the apostle,” “This is the prison,” “This is the garden,” “Mary,” “Lord God Jesus Christ,” “This is the Resurrection,” “I, [Jerusalem] pilgrim Ignatius of Eudokia,” “This is the [Holy] Unction,” and “This is Golgotha.” The images are holy places in Jerusalem that are important to the Armenians. From the left is the Armenian patriarchate’s Monastery of Saint James, where the apostle is thought to be buried, and the church of Archangels in the Armenian quarter, which contains the chapel said to be the First Jail of the Lord, built according to tradition on the site of the house of Annas the High Priest. Next is the garden of this church, known as the Armenian park. Separating the Armenian Quarter and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that follows is a large picture of the Blessed Virgin with Child set in an arch adorned with crosses. A depiction of the Crucifixion is set in a larger arch, again adorned with crosses, and appears between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the holy sites of the Crucifixion: the Holy Unction slab on which Christ was laid to be prepared for burial and Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, with the skull of Adam beneath the cross

representing the traditional belief that the Crucifixion occurred on Adam’s burial site.

Four decorative bands of differing widths surround the two iconographic sections of the curtain. Below the inscriptions is a large section portraying liturgical worship inside the church, particularly the Holy Mass. A celebrant priest and two deacons (a thurifer and a flabellum carrier) stand under three domed apses, surrounded outside by choirs and faithful pilgrims. These three domed spaces are altars that could be interpreted as representing the Divine Liturgy being offered in the holy places depicted in the upper band. Liturgical implements are illustrated in both the upper and lower bands; these include chalices, crosses, Gospel books, oil lamps, and veils, as well as the ubiquitous oblong decorative tiles made by the Armenian ceramic workers of Kütahya and hung in the Armenian holy sites of Jerusalem. Large and small angels appear across the curtain; they defend the holy sites and take part in the offering of the Divine Liturgy. The partridges near the bottom of the curtain are symbols of sin and sinful thoughts and serve to remind the viewer that only after being cleansed through sincere repentance and absolution may the Christian participate in the Divine Liturgy and partake in the Body and Blood of the Lord. AK

## ARMENIANS AND KÜTAHYA CERAMICS

The town of Kütahya lies in a fertile plain of wheat fields and vineyards on the Anatolian plateau some seventy miles south of Bursa. The soil in the region is abundant with clay, and Kütahya was long a major center of ceramic production, especially under the Ottomans. As early as the fourteenth century, Armenian ceramists are mentioned in church donations among a mixed population of Greeks and Muslims. Their later presence is attested to in the blue-and-white ewer from the British Museum; the Armenian inscription inside the base ring reads, “This vessel is in commemoration of Abraham, servant of God, of K’ot’ay. In this year 959 [AD 1510], March 11th” (fig. 71). Details such as the floret decoration recall those on large Iznik dishes of that time. The dragon-shaped handle points to a direct Chinese influence. Tiles found at Kütahya have similar Chinese patterns, indicating the contribution of the town’s ceramists to the production of the major ceramic center at Iznik, from which tiles were much in demand for the new buildings of Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The square tiles with biblical scenes added to the Armenian Cathedral of Saint James in Jerusalem in 1718 are further evidence of the continuity of this production at Kütahya.<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of how to make porcelain in Saxony in 1710, the recent European craze for tea and coffee, and the collapse of Iznik kilns are all facts that led to a demand for a new type of ceramic ware that was more colorful and cheaper than porcelain. Kütahya ceramists, possibly with the help of Armenian potters from Persia, responded with new shapes and ornaments in polychrome and blue and white. The decoration on these objects is indebted to designs found on early Qing period porcelain as well as those on Indian-inspired



Fig. 71. Ewer. Kütahya, 1510. Blue-and-white ceramic, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 4 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (17.5 × 11 cm). British Museum, London (G.1.1983.1)

printed cottons used for the curtains that are drawn across the apse during Armenian church services (cat. 99).<sup>2</sup> These cottons or chintz were also popular for clothing and upholstery. Specific dishes and votive egg-shaped ornaments often were made to order and signed. Kütahya ceramists’ response to the demands of a new European fashion can be explained by the wide-ranging contacts Armenian merchants had established over the centuries across Eurasia. Կ

## CAT. 100 Conical Vessel

Kütahya, 1778

Glazed ceramic ware with silver fittings

9¼ × 7¼ in. (23.5 × 18.5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (4/1)



Armenian ceramic ware from Kütahya is singular in its originality and creativity. This conical vessel is one of the few artifacts bearing a dedicatory inscription in Armenian and Turkish written in Armenian script with Arabic numbers.<sup>1</sup> It reads, “May God have mercy on Pilgrim P’anos, who made this decoration, may he be remembered in glory. Let the pilgrim drink from this. In the year January 1, 1778.” The flask was made by Master P’anos, likely as a New Year’s present to a pilgrim, who either was about to leave his homeland or had settled in Kütahya away from his homeland.

The body of the vessel is decorated with Chinese-inspired plant motifs contoured in black, which is rare for Kütahya work. After the colored decoration was applied, the entire vessel was coated with a transparent glaze, giving it its shine. The dedication in black script at the vessel’s widest point and the ornamental band at the base of the neck interrupt the decorative composition. The circle of fading color at the base of the vessel may suggest deliberate erasure; however, the glaze is very hard and impervious. The fading may also have been caused by uneven temperature during firing. The narrowing neck of the flask is fastened with a silver band topped with a conical stopper. AK

## CAT. 101 Egg-Shaped Ornament

Kütahya, early to mid-18th century  
Fritware with underglaze painting and metal fittings  
5¼ × 3⅞ in. (13.3 × 8 cm)  
Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, Southfield, Michigan  
(L.1990.14)

## CAT. 102 Egg-Shaped Ornament

Kütahya, mid-18th century  
Fritware with underglaze painting  
3⅞ × 3⅞ in. (9.8 × 9.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Norma E. and  
Ralph D. Minasian, 2008 (2008.545)

The meaning of these egg-shaped hangings is difficult to define: Do they symbolize fertility, the creation of the world, or Easter and the Resurrection? Were they used as an obstacle to protect hanging oil lamps against greedy rodents? Or were they simply ex-votos, as the inscription on the Manoogian egg suggests: “A memorial of Abraham of Kütahya is this sphere. [It] is the Holy Mother of God.”<sup>1</sup> Several of these hangings survive, and some still bear metal loops at both ends; their size varies from three inches to five and a half. The decoration, usually in green and yellow, consists of two or three six-winged seraphim. According to the description in the Old Testament (Isaiah 6:2), the top-most wings cover the seraphim’s face, the two lateral wings are for flying, and the bottom pair hide the feet, although on most hangings the pair of top wings do not cover the face. Crosses often are used as dividers between the seraphim; the ends of their horizontal cross arms are frequently simplified into vertical lines.

On the Manoogian hanging a lateral and a lower wing of each seraph act as a frame for an unexpected scene: the Virgin Mary cradling the baby Jesus in her right arm. This composition is unusual because the infant is, as a rule, on the left side of the Virgin. Similar depictions, however, are found on an ornament in the Gulbenkian Library in Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> as well as on an embroidered miter dated to 1653;<sup>3</sup> this composition



cat. 101



cat. 102

could echo an engraving by Cornelius Bloemaert II (1603–ca. 1684).<sup>4</sup> A closer parallel exists on an undated dish in the Benaki Museum, Athens, on which the two tips of the Virgin’s gown end in flowery finials rather than in a cross and a single seraph head floats in midair as opposed to above the joining wing tips.<sup>5</sup> This type of single head is also found on a plaque that decorated a book cover or a vakas, on which it is placed over the right shoulder of a Virgin and Child.<sup>6</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum hanging is smaller and no metal loops survive. The outline of the seraphim is sketchier with the focus on their large round faces. Pairs of overlapping wings arranged above and below frame the faces. The two lateral wings have a more animated shape as if beating to take flight. The turquoise color of the wings tends to run and their vertical parts are brownish yellow. The artist used a broad brush to outline the multiple equal-armed crosses with cross-bars at the end of each arm. Similar crosses are often called Jerusalem crosses and associated with the Holy City. Many of those crosses have secondary crosses within the interstices of the larger cross. Կ

## CAT. 103 Hexagonal Tile with Architectural Scene

Kütahya, 18th century

Fritware with underglaze painting

7½ × 7⅝ in. (19 × 19.4 cm)

Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, Southfield, Michigan

(L.1990.II)



Kütahya tiles have played a great part both in Ottoman architecture and in Armenian Church history. Polychrome, seven-inch-square tiles illustrated with biblical scenes, once meant for the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, now decorate walls in the Armenian Cathedral of Saint James in that city (see fig. 62).<sup>1</sup> This tile's surprising hexagonal shape, crackled glaze, and almost central glazed hole are unusual, and its use is difficult to explain. Only one other tile with this hexagonal shape is known, in the Sadberk Hanim Museum in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup> It is a reverse copy of the Manoogian tile, with a few differences in the arches, floral sprays, and other small details. It is possible to date the work from the brownish red color that was added to the blue, green, and yellow underglaze; this hue first appears in 1744 on a basin now in the Armenian abbey of San Lazzaro in Venice.<sup>3</sup>

An architectural scene is depicted on this tile. Brownish red colors emphasize the structure of a religious building with a high central dome; seven smaller domes with arched colonnades suggest the different levels of the structure. A stone wall is set on columns between a small open door on the left and a main door, slightly off center, with a large knocker and checking window. The tips of five cypress trees hint at the presence of a garden. A floral spray fills the top left of the tile and a garland of leaves and buds underlines the base of the composition. These vegetal motifs recall patterns on contemporary Kütahya ceramics.<sup>4</sup>

As with many works, it is difficult to establish the location of the architectural scene. The domed roofs may depict Etchmiadzin, but similar sketchy buildings also appear on tiles from Jerusalem. A solid flagged structure with a dome on the side fills the center of a Kütahya bowl dated to the 1720s and now at the Benaki Museum.<sup>5</sup> On the outer wall of another Kütahya bowl from the 1720s, now at the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, there is an image of an undetermined fortified church complex.<sup>6</sup> On a map dated to 1691 (cat. 142) there are a number of small vignettes representing religious monuments with either domes or pitched roofs regardless of their accuracy, so it remains difficult to know if the tile is dealing with Etchmiadzin, Jerusalem, or another major religious site, as many were surrounded with walls and gardens.<sup>7</sup> ԿԵ

## ARMENIANS IN SIS

After the abolition of the Armenian kingdom by the Mamluks in the late fourteenth century and the Ottoman conquest in the early sixteenth century, Sis and the catholicosate of Cilicia went into decline (see Evans, p. 129, and Ballian, p. 151). The region was ravaged by the oppressive rule of the local tribal leaders, or *derebays*, and the general climate of insecurity was exacerbated by the ecclesiastical conflict between Sis and Etchmiadzin over the primacy of the see. Lack of funds led the catholicosates of Cilicia to take temporary refuge in their wealthiest province, the see of Aleppo (see Ballian, p. 230). The situation stabilized only when the church came under the leadership of the Adjapahian catholicosates, from 1733 to 1865, an era marked by the weakening of the central Ottoman authority and the subsequent revival of the Christian communities.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the precious relics preserved from the treasury of the monastery of Sis were made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the period of the Adjapahian catholicosates (fig. 72). The close relationship between the Armenian and the Greek Churches that had existed from the medieval period continued and was reinforced once the two largest Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire found themselves living under the same Ottoman administrative and judicial rule. Liturgical objects and vestments common to both churches, such as the censer (cat. 104a, b) and the omophorion (cat. 106), have similar shapes and decoration and are often indistinguishable except for inscriptions or, in some cases, the choice of figurative decoration.<sup>2</sup>

Two processional crosses from the Sis treasury, one dated to 1659 and signed by the goldsmith Ovsep' Pale from Sis (fig. 73), and the other dated to 1685 or 1690, follow closely the style and manufacture of Italian, especially Venetian, works and demonstrate the continuous links between Armenian and European religious art.<sup>3</sup> The impact of Western art, from the earlier late Gothic period or the more recent rococo,

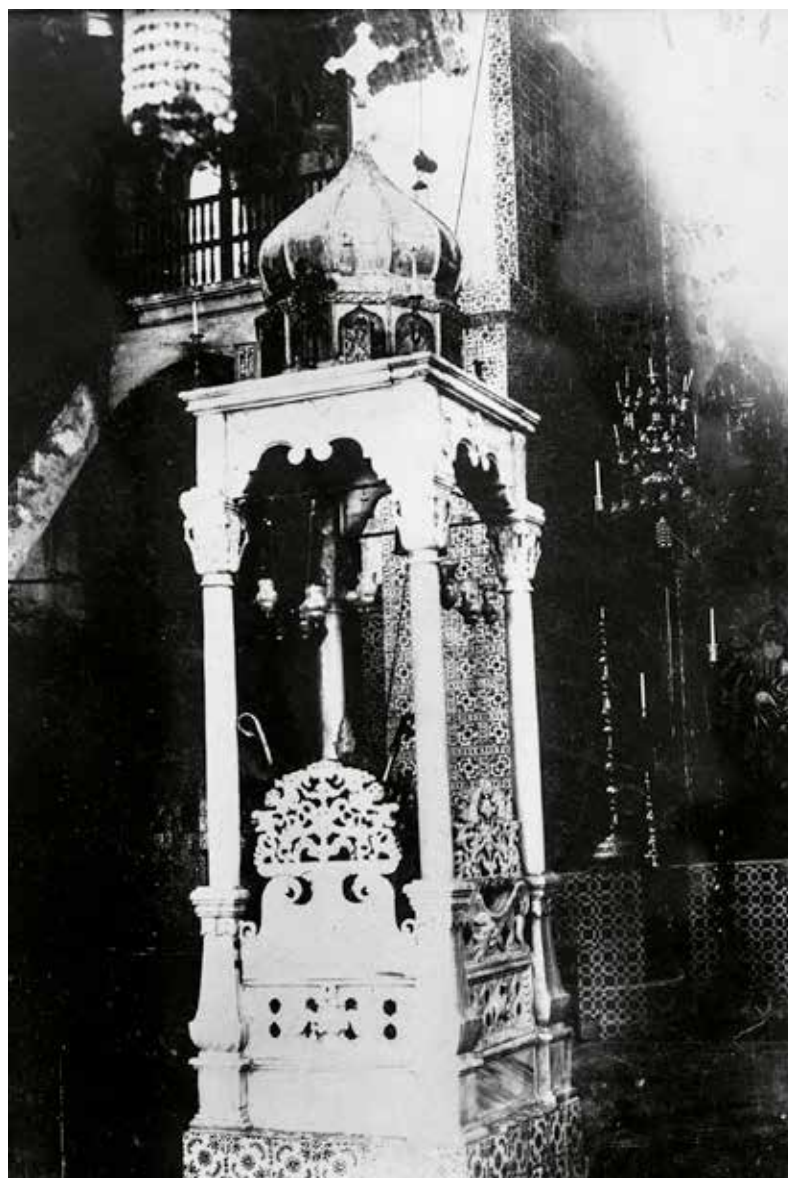


Fig. 72. Interior of the cathedral at Sis with the catholikos's throne (now lost). Archives of San Lazzaro, Venice

is also evident in such objects as the hand reliquary from Kharpert (cat. 76).

The dedicatory inscriptions on the various liturgical offerings to the catholicosate of Sis reveal that they come from all the important Armenian



Fig. 73. Processional cross. Sis, 1659. Made by goldsmith Ovsep' Pale. Brass, nickeled, engraved trimmings studded on turquoise, and agate,  $17\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. ( $45 \times 20$  cm). Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (Number Datasheet 77)

centers of the time, from the southeastern regions of present-day Turkey and central Anatolia to the great cities of Smyrna and Constantinople. The Armenians in Sis had close ties with Constantinople, especially with the ruling class of the *amiras*, three of whom donated the silver cauldron for the preparation of the Holy Chrism in 1817 (fig. 74).<sup>4</sup> Similarly donor inscriptions emphasize their close contact with neighboring regional centers such as Aleppo, Adana, and Antioch, where at least three of the most important works of the period were made or restored: the cover of the *Mother Ritual Book* dated to 1765 (cat. 105), the reliquary chest dated to 1775, and most probably the 1772 restoration of the arm reliquary of Saint Silvester.<sup>5</sup> AB



Fig. 74. Vessel for the Blessing of the Holy Chrism. Constantinople, July 1, 1817. Gilded silver and copper alloy.  $49\frac{1}{8} \times 65\frac{1}{4} \times 20\frac{7}{8}$  in. ( $126.5 \times 167 \times 53$  cm). Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (237)

CAT. 104A, B Pair of Hanging Censers (*Burvars*)

Cilicia or Constantinople, 1676

Silver gilded, cast, and hammered, with silver chains and bells

11<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (30 × 13 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (240)

Each censer has an architectural lid, which fits onto the hexagonal rim of the footed bowl, and five chains with bells hanging from a disk. The lid takes the shape of an elaborate three-tiered cupola with turret-like extensions and a hemispherical dome, pierced with high windows and decorated with Ottoman arabesques, cherubs' heads, and rosettes. The fragmentary inscriptions on the disk holding the chains read, "This is a memorial . . ."; at the bottom: ". . . in the year 1125 [AD 1676] . . . saint . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The construction is typical of Italian censers, but the cast and openwork decoration of the lid is in the Ottoman Gothic style. Church silver in the late Gothic style was produced throughout the Renaissance and experienced a revival during the Counter-Reformation spearheaded by the Catholic Church and its missions throughout the world. In the eastern Mediterranean this style was disseminated through Italian and Hungarian or Transylvanian silver; its earliest local variant in Ottoman lands is in Balkan religious silver from the late fifteenth into the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Silver censers, chalices, oil lamps, caskets for incense or holy oil, and other liturgical implements continued to be produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a mixed Ottoman and Western European style with details reminiscent of late Gothic art.<sup>3</sup> This pair of censers is probably among the earliest dated examples inscribed in Armenian and with such elaborate lids.<sup>4</sup> AB





CAT. 105 Silver Cover for *Mother Ritual Book* (*Mayr Mashtots'*)

Cover: Antioch, 1765; manuscript: Sis, 1307–11

Cover: silver, parcel gilded; manuscript: tempera and ink on parchment

Cover: 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25 × 18.5 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 9)

This liturgical manuscript contains the prayers for the ordination of the clergy of various ranks and is dated by its colophon to between 1307 and 1311. The later silver cover and the records of catholicoses going up to 1797 are evidence of its continuous use and importance for the Cilician Armenian tradition.

The iconography of the silver cover clearly declares the newly acquired confidence of the catholicos of Cilicia in relation to the catholicos of Etchmiadzin and the local tribal leaders (*derebeys*); this confidence was based on an edict issued by the sultan, recognizing the Cilician see as the Adjapahian's hereditary possession, which they had secured by paying the appropriate fee. The two sides depict the main consecration rites performed by the Cilician catholicos. On the front is the consecration and anointment of a catholicos with the Holy Chrism (also called myrrh or myron), while on the back is the consecration of the Holy Chrism by a catholicos. On the front, the enthroned man, holding the reliquary containing Saint Gregory the Illuminator's right arm, is Gabriel Adjapahian (r. 1758–1770). Between 1733 and 1865 the see of Cilicia was the exclusive preserve of catholicoses from the Adjapahian family, who had been the hereditary keepers of the dexter of Saint Gregory since medieval times.<sup>1</sup> This most important relic in the Armenian Church confers legitimacy on its catholicos keeper, who has the unique privilege of stirring the holy oil with it.

The catholicos Gabriel is dressed in full regalia with the rhomboid *konk'er* hanging from his waist, as the Holy Chrism is carefully poured over his bare head from a dove-shaped vessel held by one of the four officiating archbishops. Facing him is a kneeling priest

and a standing *vardapet*, identifiable by his staff ending in snakes and his hood. The *vardapet* is probably Ep'rem, Gabriel's nephew and successor as catholicos. In 1765, on a trip to Antioch, Ep'rem was charged by his uncle to commission the goldsmith *mahtesi* (pilgrim) Yarut'iwn Lalemkiar (Yarutium Ghalemkiar) to make this silver cover, a bishop's staff, and a chest to hold four important relics, symbols of the authority of the see of Cilicia: the right-arm relics of Saint Gregory, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Silvester, and the right hand of Saint Barsauma.<sup>2</sup>

On the back, Gabriel is sitting on a throne under a canopy holding his staff and Saint Gregory's right-arm reliquary; he is accompanied by two standing hierarchs, probably his two predecessors and brothers, who clasp the other two important arm reliquaries of Saint Nicholas and Saint Silvester. The presence of the Holy Chrism vessel (see fig. 74) and a kneeling attendant priest in the foreground indicate that this is a scene from the consecration ceremony of the Holy Chrism during which the catholicos stirs the holy oil with the right arm reliquary of Saint Gregory (see fig. 93). Every seven years this forty-day ritual is performed with daily prayers, culminating in the blessing of the Holy Chrism. The holy oil is mixed with more than forty-five other ingredients, aromatic herbs, plants, and flowers symbolizing the graces/virtues of the Holy Spirit. When the new batch of chrism is blessed, a few drops of the old are added to it, so that it always contains a small amount of the original oil blessed by Moses, Jesus Christ, and Saint Gregory. It is then distributed to all the Armenian churches and used for baptisms, ordinations, and consecration rites in the liturgy. AB



front



back

## ARMENIANS IN ALEPPO

In the early seventeenth century on his way to Jerusalem, the Polish Armenian traveler Simeon visited Aleppo, which he much admired, but he was taken aback at the size of its Armenian community and the number of wealthy Armenian merchants, most of whom came from Julfa.<sup>1</sup> After the Ottoman conquest of 1516, Aleppo was gradually transformed into one of the most important international trading centers dealing in the raw silk that arrived by caravan from Iran. Dutch, English, French, and Venetian merchants competed in the markets to buy the silk imported to Aleppo by the Armenians of Julfa—and later of New Julfa—who managed to create a vast commercial network extending from India to Amsterdam.

The affluent Armenian merchants of Aleppo lived in palatial villas, traversed the city with large entourages of bodyguards in attendance, and channeled their wealth into cultural projects for the Armenian community. Aleppo was prosperous, and it is telling that the seat of the catholicosate of Cilicia was transferred from Sis to Aleppo under Catholicos Azaria (r. 1581–1601),

who came from Julfa, and that subsequent catholicoses chose to stay in the city for extended periods. The Armenian intellectual activity was centered around the Dasatun, a center of learning with a scriptorium that flourished in the seventeenth century under the aegis of the high-ranking clergy and with the financial support of the Armenian magnates.<sup>2</sup>

Hakob the Good *rabunapet*, who commissioned the omophorion in catalogue entry 106, probably taught at the Dasatun, where noted Armenian and European artists were invited to train young painters in copying, illustrating, and binding manuscripts. Arakel of Tabriz, the seventeenth-century historian, speaks of a certain Minas, who had studied with a “Frankish” (i.e., European) painter in Aleppo and returned to his hometown, New Julfa, where he decorated the houses of many notables with wall paintings. He also has been identified as the painter responsible for the wall paintings of the church of Holy Bethlehem, one of the early instances of Westernized painting in the Safavid capital.<sup>3</sup> AB

## CAT. 106 Omophorion

Aleppo, 1634

Satin with silk, silver, and silver-gilded threads and pearls

14 ft., 2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. × 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (434 × 26.5 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (228)

The omophorion (*emip'oron*) is the distinctive vestment of a bishop and a sign of his authority; it is first mentioned in an Armenian context by Saint Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali) in the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> The Greek word means “[something] worn on the shoulders,” and the garment is draped around the shoulders and folded in a triangle over the chest, with one end falling in front and the other at the back.

The main part of the decoration consists of cross-shaped appliqué panels embroidered with the busts of Christ, the Virgin, Saint John, angels, Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and several other saints. If the French historian Victor Langlois, who saw the omophorion in 1852 and described the crosses as embroidered on a textile, is to be believed, then the background silk with the cross-and-chess design is a later repair, probably using fabric intended for copes (see cat. 133), which could have been made locally or in Bursa or Chios.<sup>2</sup>

Although the inscription on one end is difficult to read, it is possible to make out a date: 1634.<sup>3</sup> The inscription on the other end reads, “This omophorion was decorated in Aleppo in memory of us by order of Hakob the Good *rabunapet*.” A *rabunapet* is a learned master in a college of high theological and philosophical learning; the term is often used interchangeably with *vardapet*, literally the “head teacher,” the highest rank in the college hierarchy.<sup>4</sup> This omophorion was undoubtedly intended for a bishop, perhaps the bishop of Aleppo or the catholicos of Cilicia, who often resided in his wealthiest see in that period. AB



## CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND NEW JULFA

By the seventeenth century, the most important centers for the Armenians were the Ottoman capital Constantinople, called Bolis by the Armenians, and New Julfa, the Armenian section of Isfahan, the Safavid capital in Iran. The Armenians living in these foreign capitals were united by their roots in the Armenian homeland (fig. 75). Both preserved their language and culture during the long-lasting wars between the Ottomans and the Safavid Persians from 1514 to 1639, during which historical Armenia was a frequent battleground between the two states.<sup>1</sup> Even though they were in competing empires, the Armenians in these two cities were in constant dialogue through trade and manuscript production, yet the crucial commercial exchanges and intellectual contacts between these two powerful centers of Armenian life in the early modern period needs further study.<sup>2</sup>

Information about the population of Constantinople is vague for this period; many travelers give vastly different figures. According to the Capuchins, in the year 1700, the Armenians had forty churches in the city of Constantinople with about 40,000 attendees.<sup>3</sup> The historian Robert Mantran calculates a figure of 250,000 to 300,000 non-Muslim inhabitants in the Ottoman capital.<sup>4</sup> Traveler accounts that mention the population of New Julfa also give widely different figures, making it difficult to estimate the number of inhabitants in the city. Unlike in Iran, where distinction of dress was not imposed, in the Ottoman Empire the Armenian merchants wore white turbans tinged with blue and purple as they were forbidden the white turbans of the Turks.<sup>5</sup>

The silk trade to Europe, in which the Armenians were key, was a source of tremendous wealth for the Ottomans and the Safavids. European consumption

of silk was around 220 to 275 tons per year. Eighty-six percent of this silk came from Safavid Iran, while much of the rest came from Syria. The fall of Tabriz to the Ottomans in 1514 marked the beginning of nearly a century of Ottoman control of the silk markets and the silk-producing regions in Iran before the Safavid Iranians regained dominance (see Ballian, p. 260).<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt there must have been collaboration in the silk trade to Europe between Armenian silk merchants in the Ottoman Empire and those in New Julfa, whose

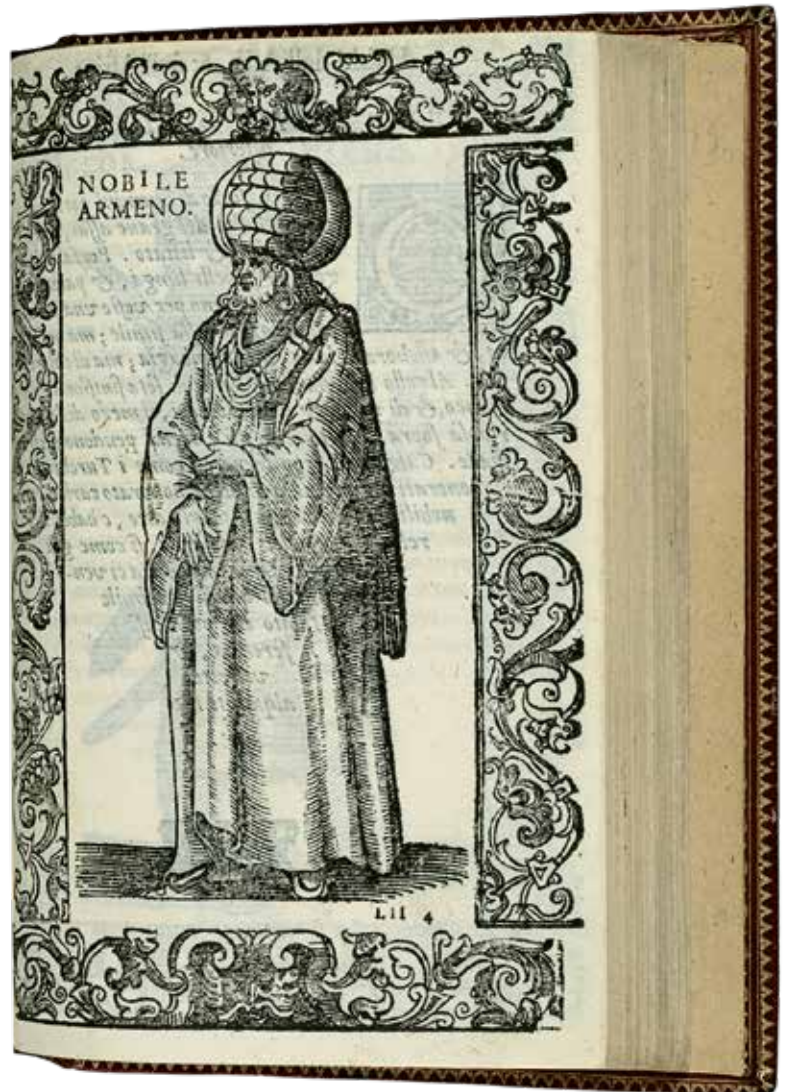


Fig. 75. "Armenian Nobleman," from Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habitis antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo* (cat. 136), p. 444

inhabitants had been forced to move to Iran from Julfa, where they had long been under Ottoman rule. Yet, we know little about this collaboration.

During the seventeenth century, wealthy merchants in Constantinople supported a renaissance of manuscript illumination there as well as in the Crimea and New Julfa (see Merian, p. 235).<sup>7</sup> While there are a few known manuscripts copied in New Julfa before the 1620s, no scriptoria had been established in the city by this date.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, manuscripts, such as the 1623 Gulbenkian Bible (cat. 109), were commissioned

from the well-known Armenian scriptoria in Constantinople and then exported to New Julfa. The arts and scriptoria of Constantinople served as a model not only for the Armenians of New Julfa<sup>9</sup> but also for the Safavids as they planned their new capital of Isfahan.<sup>10</sup> Exchanges were not limited to the major capitals, and there were also many skilled artisans among the Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire who may have come from Armenian communities to the East, especially in Kütahya and Kayseri (see Crowe, p. 221, and Merian, p. 241).<sup>11</sup> IBM

## ARMENIANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE METALWORK TRADE

**K**ritovoulos, the historian of Sultan Mehmed II, writing about the resettlement of Constantinople, mentions that the Armenians transferred by the conqueror were exceptional in terms of their wealth and technical knowledge and that they were of the merchant class.<sup>1</sup> Armenians continued to relocate to the city voluntarily in successive waves over subsequent centuries. Armenian tradition has the Armenian patriarchate in Constantinople being established by Mehmed II in 1461 after the model of the Greek patriarchate, but this seems to be a later historical construction, and in reality the allegiance of the Armenians remained to the catholicos of Etchmiadzin or to the catholicos of Sis and on a local level to the catholicos of Aght'amar and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Initially the Armenian community in Constantinople was small and not very powerful, and the same was true of the authority of their religious leader, who was little more than a local bishop. As the Armenians prospered and acquired influence, the status of the patriarch was gradually enhanced and the honorific title of patriarch was used more frequently from the early seventeenth century onward.<sup>2</sup>

The Armenians were accomplished goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewelers, and they were particularly

distinguished at the sultan's court during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the powerful *amira* family of the Duzian, who originated in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), held monopoly over the prominent position of chief jeweler (*kuyumcu başı*) as a more or less dynastic privilege.<sup>3</sup> In the early Ottoman period, foreign visitors to Constantinople referred to Armenian goldsmiths in their writing, and we know of an Armenian jeweler working in the bazaar in 1591 whose apprentice was accused of theft and hanged in the sultan's presence. In 1638, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi described the procession of the guilds before Sultan Murad IV and mentions various categories of artisans, singling out for special mention the famed Armenian master craftsmen, engravers, enamellers, and goldsmiths.<sup>4</sup> Most of the goldsmiths in Constantinople seem to have come from Lake Van, a region known for its expertise in this craft, as a rare silver book cover from the monastery of Varag attests (fig. 76). In the sixteenth century the region was caught up in the fierce competition between Ottomans and Safavids, causing many local Armenian goldsmiths to relocate to Constantinople at that time for safety.<sup>5</sup>

Armenian goldsmith workshops in Constantinople supplied provincial churches with liturgical silver, such as the processional cross of 1575 from Julfa, which has the characteristic shape of the Italian crosses produced in Constantinople for Armenians and Greeks.<sup>6</sup> It is likely that a workshop specialized in the production of these crosses, much like the late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century workshop of the celebrated embroideress Despoineta, which supplied liturgical textiles for both Christian communities.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest known provincial Armenian silver-smith workshop is attested in Ottoman Cappadocia, in Kayseri (cats. 111, 112).<sup>8</sup> Its debt to European iconographic models may derive from its contact with the Armenians of New Julfa. Its use of enamel,

particularly filigree enamel, points to the influences of artists from the Balkans and Constantinople. Filigree enamel was introduced to the decoration of church silver originating from the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, and by the early eighteenth century it had gained prevalence in Constantinople and throughout the Ottoman Empire.<sup>9</sup> Several seventeenth-century Balkan workshops have been identified, but the one in Plovdiv stands out because of the city's thriving Armenian community and reputation as a hub for interregional trade with Anatolia and long-distance trade with New Julfa in Iran, as well as with Arabia and India.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that the Armenian goldsmiths in Kayseri learned about filigree enamel either through direct contact with Plovdiv or indirectly through trade with Constantinople. AB



Fig. 76. Part of a silver book cover with gilded silver and niello donated to the monastery of Varag. Van, 16th–17th century.  $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$  in. (17.5 × 13.5 cm). Courtesy Kalfayan collection

## ARMENIAN SCRIPTORIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE

By the seventeenth century a large Armenian community was present in Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Manuscript colophons indicate that numerous scriptoria in the capital were producing high-quality, luxury manuscripts on parchment and paper at this time. Three churches or monasteries are named frequently in the colophons as being places of manuscript production: Saint Nicholas (Surb Nikoghayos), Saint Sargis the General (Surb Sargis Zoravar), and Saint George (Surb Georg or Gevorg), which was commonly known by its Turkish nickname “Sulu Manastir” (Watery Monastery); however, there may have been more than just these three scriptoria.<sup>2</sup> In Christian, Muslim, and Jewish traditions of the Near East, manuscripts continued to be copied until the early nineteenth century, which is surprisingly late. Armenian scribes, artists, and bookbinders employed traditional methods and skills passed on to them by their masters to paint the illuminations and bind the books, and they continued to use parchment and copy the manuscripts by hand.

An Armenian printing press was established in Constantinople as early as 1567 by Abgar T‘okhat‘ts‘i, who moved his press from Venice. The press, however, functioned for only two years.<sup>3</sup> Another Armenian press was not established in the city until 1677, when Eremia Ch‘elepi K‘eomiwrchean, with the help of T‘adeos Hamazaspean, opened their business. Unfortunately, they only printed two books, and the operation closed in 1678.<sup>4</sup> The demand for Armenian books was very high. Armenian books printed in Europe were

imported, but these alone could not meet the needs of the community. It is therefore not surprising that scriptoria were still busily producing superb medieval-style manuscripts well into the seventeenth century and later.

Armenian artists in Constantinopolitan scriptoria worked in two distinguishable styles. One employed a more classical mode, constituting a kind of Cilician revival mixed with elements drawn from Western European and Byzantine art. The second style was characterized by figures outlined in strong black lines and flat planes of color. This style was appropriated by some Armenian woodcut artists in Constantinople for illustrating eighteenth-century printed books. Both styles use traditional iconography and are influenced by Cilician manuscripts, especially in their distinctive decorative elements, such as elaborate headpieces, marginal ornaments, and decorative capital letters, including bird-letters. These motifs are also evident in early Armenian printed books. But the artists of Constantinople were not immune to developments derived from imported Western European printed books; new iconography and the use of perspective are apparent in manuscript illuminations.<sup>5</sup>

The Constantinopolitan scriptoria were renowned and received commissions for luxury manuscripts from distant regions, including one for a synaxarion for use in a monastery in Nicosia, Cyprus (cat. 110), and another for a luxury Bible for the wealthy *khojas* (elite merchants) in New Julfa (cat. 109). SLM



## CAT. 107 Gospel Book

Cilicia, 1298; evangelist portraits:  
probably Constantinople, mid-17th  
century

Scribe: Yohanes (act. late 13th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment  
and paper; 157 folios

8 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 5 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (22 × 15 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon  
(MS 156)

The “miserable” scribe Yohanes, son of Kostandin the priest, has written a short colophon at the end of this manuscript, in which he implores Christ God to have pity on the honorable bishop Ter Simeon, who died in 1298, as well as on him and his father; 1298 is probably the date Yohanes finished copying the text.

Although he did not indicate where he copied it, the elegant *bolorgir* script and decorations suggest it must have been produced in Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was conceived without any evangelist portraits; therefore no space was reserved for these illuminations. The volume includes the canon tables but only one large decorative headpiece at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, with the subsequent Gospel texts running continuously. The Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John have only small, one-column-wide headpieces to mark the start of their texts; a full-page decorative incipit page with a large headpiece was more common.<sup>2</sup>

At some point in the seventeenth century a pious donor decided to enhance this manuscript, commissioning an artist to paint four evangelist portraits generously embellished with gold on fine parchment



fol. 13v–14r

that were subsequently bound into the volume. The Cilician-style portraits have Renaissance-style architecture in the background shown in perspective; they were painted by a highly skilled artist whose style and technique are similar to those found in mid-seventeenth-century manuscripts from Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> At this time or during a subsequent rebinding, the placement of the portraits of Matthew and Mark were reversed (Matthew is usually depicted as an old man with white hair, and Mark as a younger man). The portrait beside the text for Matthew is actually a portrait of Mark and depicts him as a scribe, writing his Gospel with pen in hand and his inkpot and extra pen on the table. A later owner, the priest Gurgen Hachat‘ean, inscribed folio 13 verso with his name and the date and labeled each of the portraits with the evangelist’s name using purple ink.<sup>4</sup> SLM

CAT. 108 Gospel Book

Kaffa, 1684  
 Scribe: Nikoghos (1640s–1690s)  
 Text: tempera, ink, and gold on parchment; binding:  
 silver-gilt (?), 10 porcelain medallions; 278 folios  
 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28.4 × 23.4 cm)  
 “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum  
 of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 6341)

Baron (Paron) Safar ordered this copy of a richly illuminated Cilician manuscript, known as the Eight Painters Gospels (fig. 77), approximately three hundred and fifty years after the original was created and had his copy bound in an ornate cover decorated with porcelain medallions fashionable in his time.<sup>1</sup> Scribes working in the elegant baroque mode of Sis (cats. 52, 66) began the original manuscript in the late thirteenth century and Sargis Pidzak completed it in 1320 in his more rigid style (cats. 68, 69). Nikoghos, the most famous Armenian illuminator active in the Crimea, copied the original images in a somewhat formal style similar to that of Pidzak.<sup>2</sup> One of the earlier Cilician scribes created the evocative depiction of the Crucifixion, which appears across folios 79 verso and 80 recto in the original, and across 83 verso and 84 recto in the nearly faithful copy. The Cilician scribe may have painted himself at the base of Christ’s cross at the left with the two thieves.<sup>3</sup> Following the text of Matthew



fol. 83v–84r

(27:33–55), the centurion, Saint John the Evangelist, and the swooning Virgin appear to the right in the dark that encompassed the world. To the far right, the temple veil is rent at Christ’s death; beside it, dead saints rise from their graves. In the right margin, the dead Christ as the Man of Sorrows ascends to the Trinity, who are below the medallion depicting the buildings of “Heavenly Jerusalem.” Although many of the original illuminations in the Cilician manuscript were copied from a twelfth-century Byzantine Gospel book densely illuminated with rows of small narrative images between the lines of text, the depiction of the Crucifixion on these pages is an innovative Armenian creation.<sup>4</sup> Western details from the time the original manuscript was produced appear in the crowns worn by Christ and the good thief and in the pose of the swooning Virgin; the Man of Sorrows, originally a Byzantine image, became widely popular in the West in the same era.<sup>5</sup> HCE



Fig. 77. Sargis Pidzak (act. 1307–1354) and unknown artists. “The Crucifixion,” from the Eight Painters Gospels. Sis, late 13th century and 1320. Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment, 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 6<sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (22.6 × 16.7 cm). “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 7651, fols. 79v–80r)

## CAT. 109 Bible

Constantinople, 1623

Scribe: Hakob the clerk (*dpir*) (act. early 17th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment

8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (22.4 × 16.5 cm); 1212 pages

Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, Portugal (L.A. 152)

This luxurious manuscript of a complete Bible,<sup>1</sup> generously embellished with gold, was commissioned in 1607 from Constantinople by the powerful and wealthy leader of New Julfa, “prince of princes” Khoja Nazar, son of Khoja Khach’ik, for himself and his three sons.<sup>2</sup> A family Bible, it also records the births of nine of Khoja Nazar’s descendants between 1653 and 1691.<sup>3</sup> Khoja Nazar commissioned it only three years after the Armenians had been deported to New Julfa; perhaps at that time there was no locally based scribe or artist capable of producing the type of lavish Bible that he desired. The scribe Hakob finished copying the manuscript in Constantinople in 1623, but it was not delivered to New Julfa until 1629 (the artist is not named).

The artist’s approach for the Genesis illuminations on page 13 is unusual for Armenian art: the six days of Creation appear in six roundels, and three registers in the center illustrate the creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation, and the Expulsion from Paradise.<sup>4</sup> Facing this illumination on page 14 is an elaborate headpiece referring to the Apocalypse.<sup>5</sup> The exact sources of inspiration for these compositions have not yet been determined, but from the ninth to the fifteenth century such roundels and registers were used in Western European manuscripts to represent the

events in Genesis. For example, Carolingian Bibles of the mid-ninth century portrayed the creation of Adam and Eve and subsequent events in three registers.<sup>6</sup> An early thirteenth-century Book of Hours, possibly from Bamberg, includes an illumination in three registers in which the creation of Adam and Eve up to the Expulsion are depicted in the second and third registers (fol. 9r).<sup>7</sup> Moralized Bibles produced from the thirteenth to fifteenth century made use of roundels to depict the six days of creation.<sup>8</sup> But it is highly unlikely that Armenian artists in early seventeenth-century Constantinople would have had direct access to any such objects. At least one Byzantine church, the thirteenth-century Hagia Sophia of Trebizond, includes an unusual sculptural frieze on the south porch, which begins on the right with the creation of Eve and ends with the murder of Abel on the left.<sup>9</sup> A number of Byzantine ivory and bone caskets also depict similar Genesis scenes.<sup>10</sup>

Thus far ten Armenian manuscript Bibles with Creation scenes in roundels and three central registers with Adam and Eve, with similar decorated headpieces on the facing page, have been identified, ranging in date from 1620 to 1663. The first three examples, including the Gulbenkian Bible, were made in Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> The Gulbenkian Bible was probably the model for at least three or four manuscripts produced in New Julfa.<sup>12</sup> Two other similar manuscripts are dated to 1635 and 1640, respectively, but lack information on their place of production, and a third has no colophon at all—these could have been made in either Constantinople or New Julfa.<sup>13</sup> SLM



CAT. 110 Synaxarion (*Yaysmawurk'*)

Constantinople, 1678  
 Scribe: Yovanes the priest (*erets'*) (act. late 17th century)  
 Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 576 folios  
 14 7/8 × 10 1/4 in. (37.2 × 26 cm)  
 Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (MS 213)

The text of this illuminated synaxarion is based on the fifteenth-century edition of the saints' lives revised by Gregory of Khlat' (Grigor Khlat'ets'i; cat. 86).<sup>1</sup> This fine parchment manuscript was specially commissioned from Constantinople by Sargis *vardapet*, head of the monastery of Saint Makarios (Makaravank') in Nicosia, Cyprus, as a donation for the monastery. A second man, *mahtesi* Margar, also contributed to the cost of its production.

The scribe, Yovanes the priest (*erets'*), informs readers through his colophon that the manuscript was completed on June 1, 1678, in Byzantium (Constantinople), and he repeatedly invokes the names of the donors and all their family members, asking that they be remembered with prayers for the pious deed of commissioning this sacred manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Yovanes never names the artist, although he does memorialize his teacher, Khach'atur Kesarats'i the priest (*erets'*).<sup>3</sup>

The style of the illuminations, with their ornate headpieces, marginal designs, and anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and ornithomorphic letters inspired by traditional Armenian manuscripts, is clearly similar to that found in other manuscripts produced in Constantinople in the mid- to late seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> The elaborate headpiece on folio 356 recto marks the special reading for Easter. The incipit letters and other



fol. 210r-211v

marginal figures repeated throughout the book are outlined with black lines.

Although printed books in the Armenian language were becoming more available by the end of the seventeenth century, the first printed synaxarion in Armenian was not published until 1706.<sup>5</sup> Thus it is not surprising that Sargis *vardapet* commissioned a manuscript from Constantinople, whose scriptoria were justifiably renowned at this time. Perhaps there was no scriptorium in Nicosia with scribes or artists capable of producing such a sumptuous manuscript, or no exemplar available there from which to copy. SLM

## ARMENIAN METALWORK IN KAYSERI

Attaching metal plaques to the exteriors of sacred Christian manuscripts is an ancient tradition with a long history throughout Europe and the Christian Near East. Donating such a precious object was considered a symbol of the donor's piety as well as his wealth and power, and many commissioned them for much older manuscripts. The artisans who produced these covers usually remain anonymous, but some craftsmen did identify themselves in the inscriptions on their works. Such is the case with a number of remarkable Armenian silversmiths active from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century at a workshop in the town of Kayseri in Cappadocia. Located on a major trade route, Kayseri (ancient Caesarea) is particularly important for Armenians because Saint Gregory the Illuminator was from this region and converted to Christianity there. The Armenian silversmith workshop in Kayseri specialized in liturgical objects, but they also produced luxury household items. The artisans used repoussé and occasionally cloisonné techniques, and sometimes further embellished the objects with jewels and colorful enamels. Thus far over twenty technically and stylistically similar objects originating from this workshop have been found with Armenian inscriptions that note the date and place of production, as well as the name of the silversmith who made it. Comparisons of these inscribed objects with uninscribed ones indicate that they were all made in the same workshop; almost fifty objects have now been identified. Three family names occur repeatedly over the nine decades of the workshop's existence: Malkhas, Shahpaz, and Shahmir (or Shahamir). These families were probably all related by marriage, and the names seem to have Persian origins, perhaps indicating that the craftsmen were originally Armenians from Iran.<sup>1</sup>

For the iconography and compositions of these objects, the Kayseri silversmiths were inspired not only by Armenian manuscript illumination but also by woodcuts published in Western European printed religious books, especially those by Christoffel van Sichem (fig. 78). He was a member of a Dutch family of artists whose woodcuts were printed in numerous Dutch religious publica-



Fig. 78. Gold pyx (cat. 111)

tions, including the first Bible printed in the Armenian language in Amsterdam in 1666 (cat. 138). Because of Kayseri's location on a major trade route, it is not surprising that the silversmiths had access to Western European merchandise.

Armenians were renowned for their work as silversmiths, goldsmiths, and jewelers in the Ottoman Empire, and they had many workshops throughout the Near East. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to ascertain the dates or locales of other workshops, as most of the objects from them were not inscribed. Armenian silversmiths produced full silver plaques, as well as smaller, and less expensive, crosses and/or corner pieces for manuscript covers. Decorative crosses were sometimes inscribed with the date and name of the donor but usually not the silversmith. Another interesting phenomenon is the addition of votive offerings of crosses and/or protective evil eye amulets to the covers of sacred manuscripts by pious (or superstitious) believers.<sup>2</sup> SLM

## CAT. 111 Gold Pyx

Kayseri, 1687

Silversmith: Sedrak (act. ca. 1675–1700)

Gold repoussé, pearls, and one gem (garnet?)

4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (10.6 × 9.9 cm)

Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, Portugal (2920)

This octagonal gold box, probably a pyx, a container used to hold the Holy Eucharist, was produced by an artisan named Sedrak, according to the inscription in Armenian encircling the hinged cover, which reads: “This vessel was made in the year 1136 of the Armenians [AD 1687] / by the unworthy hands of Sedrak in the town of KSRA [Kesaria or Kayseri] / when Sultan Suleiman / came to the throne on the day of Saturday / which is the feast of Baragham / bishop of Antioch / and during this our patriarchate / of Lord Eghiazar Catholicos.”<sup>1</sup> The front panel of the container illustrates the Last Supper, an appropriate image for a pyx. The composition was inspired directly by a woodcut of the same scene by Christoffel van Sichem printed in the *Oskan Bible* of 1666 (cat. 138) as well as in other Dutch publications. The inscription at the bottom of the front panel states, “Take, and eat; this is my body and [my] blood.” On the opposite side, below the hinge, is a scene of the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity, also inspired by a Western European image (see fig. 78). The Virgin stands in the center on a crescent moon, which symbolizes her chastity; God the Father with a triangular halo is on the right and Christ with a cross on the left. These figures seem to hold her halo rather than her crown, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above them. The inscription below proclaims, “Glory to God in the highest and



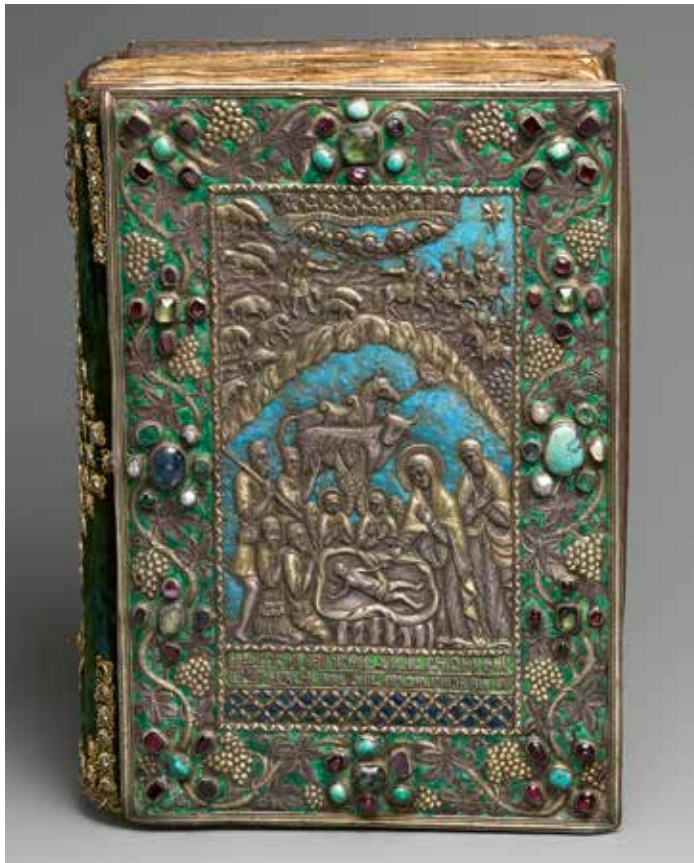
on earth peace.” Each of the remaining six sides of the pyx depict two apostles with the instruments of their martyrdom and their names below. Attached to the lid is a circular, engraved bust of the praying Virgin surrounded by small pearls, most of which are now missing. The lid has an engraved, misspelled abbreviation in Greek for “Mother of God.” This piece is stylistically and technically different from the rest of the pyx (the image and inscription are engraved, not executed in repoussé) and is probably a later addition.<sup>2</sup> Similar containers are sometimes made with a protruding knob or cross on top of the lid; perhaps this pyx had one that broke off. It is not clear why an additional piece with a Greek inscription was attached to this Armenian pyx, but it might have been an attempt at a repair. Perhaps it was damaged in a region where there were only Greek craftsmen available to restore the container? SLM

CAT. 112A, B Gospel Book with Enameled and Jeweled Silver Plaques

Manuscript: probably Cilicia, 13th century; plaques: Kayseri, 1691  
Scribe: Grigor the priest (*k'ahanay*) (act. 13th century)  
Silversmith: Astuatsatur Shahamir (act. late 17th century)  
Manuscript: ink and pigment on parchment; 301 folios; plaques:  
gilded silver repoussé, with colored enamels, jewels, and  
imitation gems  
Plaques: 10¼ × 7⅞ in. (26 × 19.2 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of  
Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, 1916 (16.99)

This Gospel manuscript was copied by the scribe Grigor the priest (*k'ahanay*), probably in Cilicia in the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century, the manuscript was further embellished with silver repoussé plaques produced by the silversmith Astuatsatur Shahamir in a workshop in Kayseri, as indicated by the inscriptions, which read: on the front, top, “Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace”; on the front,

bottom, “This Gospel was made through his honestly earned assets to pray and praise our Savior, Jesus Christ”; and on the back, bottom, “And I, unworthy Astuatsatur Shahamir, decorated this with silver in the year of the Armenians 1140 [AD 1691] in the city of Kayseri, with God’s help.” These objects are particularly luxurious examples of silverwork from this workshop; they are adorned with colored enamels and precious and semiprecious jewels, such as garnets, emeralds, pearls, and turquoise, as well as some imitation jewels. The front plaque depicts the Nativity with the Adoration of the Shepherds surrounded by a jeweled grapevine border with a green enamel background. The same Nativity scene also appears on other plaques made in this workshop.<sup>2</sup> The back cover utilizes the same border as the front, but the central scene is the Resurrection, directly inspired by Christoffel van Sichem’s woodcut



front



back





printed in the Oskan Bible, the first complete Bible printed in the Armenian language in 1666 (fig. 79; see cat. 138). Hundreds of Van Sichem's woodcuts were reproduced in other Dutch-language printed books, such as the Dutch Bible from Antwerp produced in 1646 (New Testament) and 1657 (Old Testament) (cat. 139). By the mid-seventeenth century, the

Fig. 79. Christoffel van Sichem, "Resurrection," from the Oskan Bible (cat. 138), p. 470, second pagination

Dutch publisher probably felt he had already saturated the market with these images and sold the woodblocks to the Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press in Amsterdam, which printed the Oskan Bible.<sup>3</sup> These woodblocks were used for decades by the press and its successors. The silversmiths clearly had acquired a copy of a printed book with Van Sichem's woodcut, most likely a copy of the Oskan Bible. At least twelve biblical scenes or decorative motifs found on their book covers were inspired by Van Sichem's woodcuts.<sup>4</sup> These woodcuts and other prints helped to disseminate Western European iconography in the Near East in many different types of media, including silverwork, manuscript illumination, and wall paintings, as far as Iran. SLM

## CAT. 113A, B Gospel Book with Gilded-Silver Covers and Embroidered Pouch

Manuscript: probably Constantinople, mid-17th century; cover: 17th or 18th century; pouch: late 19th century (?)  
 Manuscript: ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 284 folios, including 2 Greek flyleaves at front and 2 at back; covers: gilded-silver with gilded-silver flap; pouch: cotton or linen embroidered with silk threads  
 Cover: 5½ × 4¼ in. (14 × 10.8 cm)  
 Morgan Library and Museum, New York, purchased by J. P. Morgan (1867–1943) in 1917 (book and cover: MS M.621; pouch: M.621a)

This luxury Gospel book on fine parchment is missing the end of the Gospel of John as well as the colophon, which would have followed.<sup>1</sup> The painting style of the illuminations and other factors strongly suggest that it was produced in Constantinople in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> It was bound with flyleaves from a discarded eleventh-century Greek manuscript of John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew (this fragment has a portion of Homily 22), which were sewn into the beginning and end of the manuscript as protective leaves. Remarkably, leaves from the same eleventh-century manuscript of Chrysostom's Homilies were used as flyleaves in

another Armenian luxury Gospel book, copied in Constantinople in 1643, according to its colophon.<sup>3</sup> The two Armenian Gospel books have many stylistic, iconographic, and compositional similarities. The use of flyleaves from the same discarded Greek manuscript is further evidence indicating strong connections between them; the manuscripts were certainly bound in the same workshop or scriptorium at around the same time. They may even have both been copied and illuminated there.

The silver covers were added later, placed on top of the leather-covered wood boards of the original binding, and attached to the board edges by silver turn-ins with a silver spine formed of continuous hinges, also called piano hinges. These covers are quite different from Kayseri-made silverwork, discussed in catalogue entries III and II2: they were not made using repoussé or cloisonné techniques, nor adorned with jewels, enamel work, or inscriptions. Instead, raised figures are attached to the smooth gilded silver; the front crucifixion is nailed onto the plaque through the hands and feet of Christ, while the two figures on either side, their gestures mirror images of each other, are soldered



on. These two figures are presumably the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, but they both stand on a crescent moon, which is usually associated only with the Virgin. The back cover includes Christ holding an orb as the Savior of the World in the center, with the symbols of the four evangelists nailed into each corner. The silversmith designed the plaques with raised areas at the head and tail to cover the traditional Armenian raised endbands and also included a gilded-silver fore-edge flap to cover the original leather flap.<sup>4</sup> The decorative borders are formed of elegant silver S-shaped curves. Although these silver covers are not inscribed, it is quite possible that they were produced in Constantinople in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The silver-covered manuscript was stored in a red cotton or linen pouch with fine multicolored silk embroidery typical of the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan). It could have been made as recently as the late nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The pouch may have been a gift or even perhaps a votive offering from someone from Lake Van. It was considered a pious deed to embellish a sacred manuscript with silver covers and/or a beautifully embroidered protective pouch. SLM



## MOTHER SEE OF HOLY ETCHMIADZIN

Etchmiadzin, ancient Vagharshapat, is the location of the Mother See of the Armenian Church. As recorded in the fifth-century *History of the Armenians* by Agat'angeghos, it was the site of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, its name referring to the Descent of Christ the "Only-Begotten," whom Saint Gregory the Illuminator beheld in a vision (cat. 114).<sup>1</sup> The same text records the construction of holy places at Etchmiadzin

by Gregory and the newly converted King Tiridates, but these were rebuilt in subsequent eras, particularly in the early medieval and early modern periods. The cathedral, a domed quatrefoil structure with four freestanding piers, underwent several phases of reconstruction, the chronology and nature of which remain a matter of scholarly debate (fig. 80).<sup>2</sup> The churches built over the tombs of Saints Hripsime and Gayane, however,



retain their early medieval disposition: they are domed centralized churches with drums and conical roofs.

Etchmiadzin followed the fate of surrounding regions of Greater Armenia: it was controlled briefly by the Bagratids, until the arrival of the Byzantines and then Seljuks in the late eleventh century. New constructions do not survive from this period, nor from the subsequent eras of Georgian and Mongol rule. The transfer in 1441 of the catholicosate from Sis to Etchmiadzin, however, launched a new period of political and cultural ascendancy in the city and formed a crucial step in consolidating Armenian institutional power. The Armenian nobility played an important role in financing the reestablishment of the catholicosate from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, as they had in earlier centuries.

Major works at Etchmiadzin began in the 1620s, reflecting its rising power and the new wealth of Armenian merchants. Substantial projects occurred during the reigns of the catholicoses Moses (r. 1629–1632) and Philip (r. 1633–1655) and included the renovation of the cathedral superstructure. During the seventeenth century, the church of Gayane (fig. 81) acquired a barrel-vaulted narthex, and, in 1790, a bell tower arose at the west facade of the church of Hripsime. The church of Shoghakat', a domed hall, also dates from this late period (see fig. 63). The bell tower of Etchmiadzin was completed in 1658 by Catholicos Hakob IV Jughayets'i (r. 1655–1680).

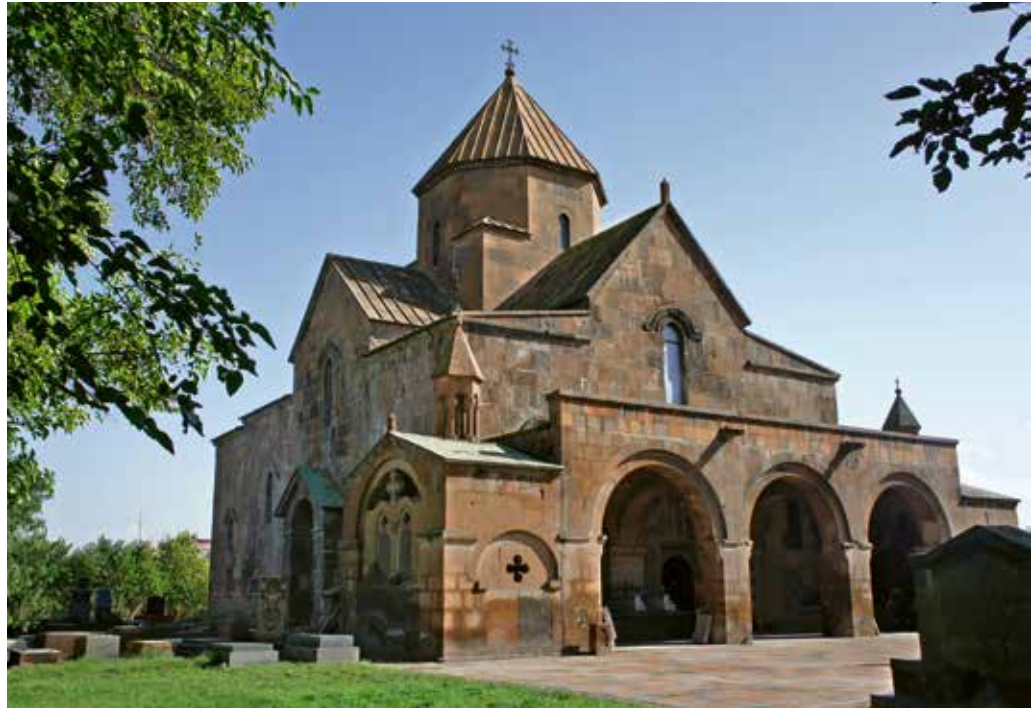


Fig. 81. Church of Gayane, Etchmiadzin, 630–41

Etchmiadzin is home not only to the holiest places of Armenia but also to the patriarchal treasury, an important repository of sacred objects, including khachkars, liturgical implements, manuscripts, reliquaries, and textiles.<sup>3</sup> The treasury is recorded as early as the tenth century by Bishop Ukhtanes, who describes its altar curtains, the vakas of the catholicos “made of silk and ornamented with precious stones and pearls,” and “bright garments [. . .], gold stuffs, fabrics, colorful purples in different shades and tints, all of which were adorned and brocaded beautifully with patterns of colorful flowers [. . . and additionally] there was the precious vestment of our pious King Tiridates which was presented to the house of the Lord as a gift for sacred use.”<sup>4</sup> Ukhtanes’s text outlines a veritable museum of textiles, not only luxurious in material and workmanship, but themselves sacred relics, including the very clothing worn by the first Christian king of Armenia. ԸՄ

Fig. 80. Etchmiadzin Cathedral

CAT. 114 Altar Frontal

New Julfa, 1741

Gold, silver, and silk threads on silk

26<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 38<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (67.5 × 97.5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (626)

Embroidered textiles like this one are used in the Armenian Church to decorate the front of the altar.<sup>1</sup> The dedicatory inscription reads, “This curtain [altar frontal] [of Yas] I, Be‘zhani son of Sharoban, daughter of the father Be‘zhani and the mother Yakondi, donated to the Holy Descent place. In the year 1190 [AD 1741].” The names mentioned in the dedication and the decorative elements suggest that the textile originated in the Armenian community of Persia, in particular in New Julfa. The iconography represented on this frontal is based on the dream of Saint Gregory the Illuminator about the foundation of the cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin. In his *History of the Armenians*, Agat‘angeghos relates that Saint Gregory had a vision late one night during a prayer vigil in Vagharshapat, the capital of Armenia: “I truly saw the firmament of the heavens opened, and light pouring from above reaching down to earth; and in the light I saw innumerable fiery winged hosts in human form; I saw a human appearance, tall and majestic, who was leading them, carrying in his hand a golden sledgehammer, and all were following him.”<sup>2</sup> Religious thought of the Armenian Church interprets this human appearance to be Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, who came down to the city of Vagharshapat to break ground for the cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin. In that exact place, continues Agat‘angeghos, was built the temple of God, the house of prayers and requests for all the faithful

that became the pontifical see. Based on this vision, the catholicosate of Vagharshapat, Mother of all Armenian churches, has been called “Etchmiadzin,” which means “The Only Begotten came down.” Catholicos Sahak III of Dzorap‘or (r. 677–703) wrote the hymn “The Only Begotten of the Father came down,” which summarizes the history and meaning of the first Christian cathedral built there.

The blue background of the frontal symbolizes the darkness of night. Descending to the plane of Ararat from bright clouds are God the Father presented as an old man with a triangular halo, the Holy Spirit in the form of a radiant dove, and the Incarnate Only Begotten Son, holding the golden hammer aloft. Across from the Most Holy Trinity is the cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin, with the baldachin and Altar of the Descent marking the exact location of the descent of Jesus Christ. The hovering angels to the right and left of the main dome symbolize the heavenly hosts of the vision. Saint Gregory in pontifical vestments can be seen to the left; he is listening reverently to an angel. To his right is King Tiridates the Great, who declared Christianity as the religion of his kingdom in the year 301, crowned but in the form of a boar, as related in the story of the great conversion of Armenia. The four evangelists and their symbols appear in medallions at the four corners of the frontal. Floral decorations fill both the main scene and the band encircling the composition. AK



## LITURGICAL OBJECTS FROM HOLY ETCHMIADZIN

Since 1441, the catholicosate of Etchmiadzin has been the great spiritual center for all Armenians and the connecting link between them. The liturgical objects preserved in the cathedral treasury and the museums there come from the many regions in which Armenians lived, from Armenia proper to the mercantile outposts of India and Europe. Although there is no comprehensive record of these objects, most of them were donated by the Christian faithful either directly to the Holy See of Etchmiadzin or to other religious institutions from where they were later transferred to the treasury for preservation. The historical vicissitudes that led to the Armenians' survival and accommodation with the foreign political power of the day are reflected in these works. There are very few extant objects from the sixteenth century, the time

of the Ottoman and Safavid military conflicts, and a greater majority from the seventeenth century, a more peaceful period during which Armenia was permanently split along geopolitical lines. Western Armenia became part of the Ottoman Empire, while Eastern Armenia and Etchmiadzin remained in the area of Iranian influence and control. In this century, the catholicosate's buildings were restored, the cathedral decorated with Iranian-inspired wall paintings, and the pious offerings proliferated.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the Iranian style is not particularly noticeable in the published metalwork objects from Etchmiadzin, unlike in neighboring Georgia, where many Safavid-style liturgical objects have survived. There are exceptions, such as a triptych from New Julfa and the reliquary of the Holy Lance (cat. 117),



Fig. 82. Liturgical cuff. Sinope, 1679. Silk with silk and silver gilded embroidery threads, and pearls, 11¼ × 7⅞ in. (28.7 × 18.7 cm). Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos

which is decorated with a row of inlaid turquoises, a typically Iranian ornament.<sup>2</sup> By contrast the Ottoman style prevails in Armenian works, perhaps because most of the objects published to date come from Western Armenia and are greatly indebted to Constantinople and its art (see Ballian, p. 233). While unique local styles are recognizable in works from as late as the seventeenth century, in the following centuries the prevailing influence of Constantinople led to a general stylistic uniformity.

The vestments of Catholicos Philip Aghbak-Albak (r. 1633–1655), who was a prime instigator in the Etchmiadzin restoration program and who traveled to Constantinople and Jerusalem, show an original combination of local and novel features. The *konk'er* (cat. 119) is characterized by the flat treatment of the gold-thread embroidery and the prolific use of pearls, while the iconography of the oval floral medallion around the Virgin is typical of works from the Sinope embroidery workshop (fig. 82).<sup>3</sup> The omophorion, with its stiff figures hovering in midair and geometric folds in relief, is in a different style and evidently the work of another craftsman (cat. 120). Its austere style is counterbalanced by the raised floral decoration, which is characteristic of works made in Constantinople at this time. The iconography of the catholicoses who wear crowns rather than miters is rare; one of them even has strange protruding ears that look like little knobs. These figures directly recall the abstract style found in manuscripts (cats. 82, 90, 91).<sup>4</sup>

The filigree decoration on the arm reliquary (cat. 116) and the cross (cat. 118) exemplifies the stylistic uniformity that prevailed from the early eighteenth century onward. It is found on objects coming from the Balkans to Nakhchivan, and people of varied origin were often involved in their manufacture.<sup>5</sup> A good example is a casket with filigree enamel designed to store incense that was made by a goldsmith originating in Hromkla and presented to the Holy See of Etchmiadzin by two Christians, one from Akn and the other from nearby Gümüşhane, the well-known mining and silverwork center in the Pontos (fig. 83).<sup>6</sup> AB



Fig. 83. Casket. Hromkla, mid-18th century. Silver gilded with filigree enamel and colored stones, 12¼ × 6½ in. (32.5 × 16.5 cm). Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (339)



## CAT. 115 Liturgy of the Divine Eucharist

Constantinople, 1711

Scribe: Eghia the Humble of Morsovan (Eghia Marsvani; act. 1711)

Tempera and ink on parchment

11 × 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28 × 20.8 cm)

Armenian Museum of America, Watertown, Massachusetts  
(R.B. 1711 MAN [1990.108])

This Armenian manuscript of the Liturgy of the Eucharist (*Patarag*), produced in 1711 in Constantinople, features an elaborate full-page image as its frontispiece. In the upper scene, Christ administers the Eucharist to the apostles within a canopied structure that evokes both a church sanctuary and the “upper room” of the Last Supper. To the left and right is a cityscape of pointed towers, the form and decoration of which find parallels in illuminations in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Armenian manuscripts made in Constantinople. Below and to each side, two large

clerical figures appear in full length and framed within arches, wearing miters and omophoria. The left-hand figure’s staff, with its *tau* shape, may signify the status of catholicos, abbot, or *vardapet*. In the lower center, within an arch, is an outdoor scene showing a deacon, dressed in an alb (*shapik*) and holding an omophorion and pointed crown, and a celebrant, elevated on a pedestal and making a gesture of benediction. This scene most likely represents the ritual of vesting, an element of the preparatory rites of the Armenian Eucharist service.<sup>1</sup> Similar scenes appear in two other liturgical manuscripts from the seventeenth century, one from Constantinople and another probably from New Julfa.<sup>2</sup> This image, however, is remarkable for its layering of biblical and ritual iconography, its juxtapositions of scale and setting, and its detailed evocation of actual textiles, as known from Armenian church treasuries (cats. 62, 81, 119, 120, 131–33).<sup>3</sup> CM



fol. IV–2r

CAT. 116 **Arm Reliquary of Saint Sahak Partev**

Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), late 17th–early 18th century  
Silver and silver gilded with colored gemstones and filigree work  
16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 2<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (41 × 7.5 cm)  
Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N267)

This right-arm reliquary houses a relic of Saint Sahak Partev, catholicos of Armenia (r. 387–439), and the last male descendant of the line of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>1</sup> Saint Sahak received superb education first in Vagharshapat, then in Caesarea in Cappadocia, and finally in Constantinople. He had thorough knowledge of Greek, Syriac, and Persian languages. He unreservedly supported the creation of the Armenian alphabet by Saint Mesrop Mashtots'. Immediately following the invention of the Armenian alphabet, Saint Sahak began translating the Bible into Armenian, which became the “first fruit of the Golden Age Armenian literature, and the first and permanent textbook.”<sup>2</sup> He labored to preserve the crown for the Arshakuni (Arsacid) House in Persian Armenia, promulgated laws governing the Armenian Church, established the sacramentary, and authored prayers and hymns. Saint Sahak intervened in the Christological discussions of his time through interchurch correspondence, accepted the decrees of the Council of Ephesus, and stated the orthodoxy and faithfulness of the Armenian Church in support of the dogmatic formulations of the first three Ecumenical Councils.

This right-arm reliquary is the work of Armenian silversmith masters from Van, and it was preeminent among sacred objects of the monastery on the island of Lim. The rhythmic course of decorative tracery and the balanced placement of the gemstones are elegant. The relic of the saint is visible at the bottom of the arm, under glass. Evidence of later poorly executed renovations can be seen on the arm.

The thumb of the reliquary hand touches the ring finger in a gesture of blessing customary to the Armenian Church, with the three remaining fingers straight. Traditionally, the three straight fingers are understood to symbolize the Most Holy Trinity, and





Fig. 84. Arm Reliquary of Saint Sahak Partev, with identification in three languages. Photographed at the monastery of Lim, ca. 1900

the middle finger with those touching each other as the salvific economy of the Only Begotten Son of God: the Word, consubstantial with the Father, humbled himself from his divine transcendence for the salvation of mankind and became flesh, became man. The divine and the human are inseparably united in the one Lord Jesus Christ in person, in nature, in will, and in action.

Until 2015, this reliquary was identified in publications as that of Saint Thaddeus, and

it was identified as such in the new museum catalogue of the Mother See. The *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia* states that the reliquary of Saint Sahak Partev, once kept in the monastery of Lim, perished during the Armenian Genocide.<sup>3</sup> Our research in museum publications and documents clarified, however, that the reliquary of Saint Sahak did not perish, and that the one identified as that of Saint Thaddeus was indeed that of Saint Sahak. Yovhannes Vardapet Hyusyan, prior of the monastery of Lim, saved this reliquary and brought it together with several manuscripts and sacred vessels to the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin in the summer of 1915. Our research uncovered a photo of the reliquary taken in the 1900s at the monastery of Lim with a caption in Armenian, French, and Russian reading: “Lim. The Right [arm] of Saint Sahak” (fig. 84).<sup>4</sup> AK

## CAT. 117 Reliquary of the Holy Lance

Kanaker (?), 1687

Silver and silver leaf on a wood frame with gems

Reliquary:  $21\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$  in. (55 × 26 × 6 cm); replica of the Holy

Lance:  $16\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{15}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$  in. (41 × 12.5 × 3.5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 730)

The lance used by the Roman centurion Longinus to pierce the side of Christ on the cross is one of the implements of the Passion of Jesus Christ: “But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. Instead, one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once blood and water came out” (John 19:33–34). Although there can only be one such lance, today there are five objects that claim to be it: they are kept in the Vatican, Vienna, Kraków, Izmir, and Holy Etchmiadzin. According to the revered tradition of the Armenian Church, Saint Thaddeus the apostle brought the Holy Lance to Armenia.<sup>1</sup> This event is recounted in the martyrology

of Saint Thaddeus, originally written in Syriac and translated into Armenian by a Bishop Samuel shortly after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> Although all subsequent citations in Armenian literature restate this tradition, an account from the tenth or eleventh century states that the centurion Longinus brought the Holy Lance to Armenia, where it was deposited first in Armenia Minor and later transferred to Armenia Major.<sup>3</sup> Since ancient times it was known to the Christian world that this pan-Christian artifact was kept in Armenia and preserved in the Armenian Church. It is noteworthy that in his twelfth-century *Chronicles*, the Syriac patriarch Michael mentions a pilgrimage by a pope of Rome to Jerusalem, and from there to Antioch, where he was shown a lance said to have pierced Christ, to which the pope declared, “I know that the true lance of Christ was taken to Armenia by the Apostle Thaddeus; whose is this one?”<sup>4</sup>



From the thirteenth century, the Holy Lance was preserved in Ayrivank'. As recorded in an inscription on the reliquary, it was donated by the Proshian family to that monastery: "In the year 1269, I, prince Prosh, son of Vasak, inheritor of this divinely prepared holy spear, embellished it with a precious repository to have it intercede for me in the awesome judgment of Christ, and with great hope I donated it to the monastery of Ayrivank', the treasured place of my burial, in perpetual memory of me and my children Papak', Amir Hasan, and Vasak, and of my consort Dame Khutlu, who passed away in Christ, and of Mkde'm and Dame Gohar, who left this world prematurely." In honor of this dominical relic, Ayrivank' came to be known as the monastery of Geghard, or the "Monastery of the Lance."<sup>5</sup> Although there is no written record as to where the Holy Lance was kept until the thirteenth century, a lost manuscript of the history of the Holy Lance is mentioned in the 1842 Holy Etchmiadzin collection catalogue: "Because of frequent wars in this plain of Ararat, important manuscripts, among which the history of the Holy Lance, were destroyed both from this library and from other places thought to be safe for careful keeping."<sup>6</sup> The Holy Lance is listed in the 1768 Holy Etchmiadzin catalogue and was brought to the Mother See between the years 1766 and 1767. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Holy Lance was taken to numerous Armenian cities with the blessing of various catholicoses to alleviate outbreaks of plagues and epidemics; upon request of Heraclius II and George XII, kings of Georgia and of succeeding Russian imperial governors, it also was sent to Tbilisi.<sup>7</sup> Foreign travelers in Armenia, such as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, James Morier, and Moritz von Kotzebue and others, mention in their travel reports that they saw the Holy Lance in the monastery of Geghard and then in Holy Etchmiadzin. The lance displayed in the reliquary in the exhibition is a reproduction of the original and was prepared in the second half of the eighteenth century,

when it was blessed and anointed with holy oil as a revered object of faith.

In 1268, Prince Prosh Khaghbakean commissioned a silver repository for the Holy Lance. A devastating earthquake in 1679 not only ruined the monastery of Geghard but also gravely damaged the Holy Lance reliquary. The present reliquary was repaired or remade in 1687, in all probability in K'anak'er', at the behest of Davit' Vardapet, the prior of the monastery of Geghard and a descendant of the Proshian family. The present reliquary is a narrow rectangular box with a pointed arch top. It is covered inside and out with silver-gilded foils, with the exception of the back panel bearing the original inscription attributed to Vardan Vardapet Arevelts'i and the later 1687 addition by Davit' Vardapet, which precedes the earlier text: "And in the year 1687, I, Davit' Vardapet, prior of the holy monastery of Ayrivank', from the family of Khaghbak and of Prosh, son of Nanik, had this repository of the Holy Lance renovated more glorious than the first one, for the hope in Christ and in memory of my parents, and of Bishop Davit' and Step'anos Vardapet, my paternal uncles resting in Christ, and of my brothers Be'kum and Kirakos, and of my sister Mariam." Floral and plant decorations cover the silver-gilded foil on the interior and exterior of the reliquary, and a vertical band set with precious stones seals the edge of the right panel.

Four pictures in relief adorn the exterior of the door panels. The two pictures on the top row represent the Annunciation, with the Archangel Gabriel on the right panel and the Holy Virgin on the left. The second row depicts the Crucifixion, with Christ crucified, the Holy Mother of God, Saint John the Evangelist, Adam's skull, and the sun and the moon on the right panel and a bearded man holding in his left hand a spear with a fleury-style lance on the left. This figure has been identified as Saint Gregory the Illuminator or as Davit' Vardapet, who commissioned the reliquary. In Etchmiadzin's view, this figure is either Saint Thaddeus the apostle or Saint Longinus the centurion. AK

## CAT. 118 Reliquary Cross with Relics of Saint George

Lake Van region (Vaspurakan), 1746

Silver, emerald, coral, cornelian, colored stones, glass, and silver gilded

11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (29 × 29 × 3.5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N161)

This cruciform reliquary houses a relic of Saint George the general.<sup>1</sup> Several Armenian churches are dedicated to this popular saint, and the name George appears in use in Armenia as early as the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> The saint's relics were brought to Armenia in the early medieval period and kept at the monastery of Yovhannavank.<sup>3</sup> In the first half of the thirteenth century, a martyrium dedicated to Saint George was built near the village of Mughni, where some of his relics were deposited. A short time later, the church of Saint George and a monastic community were established at the site, which became a revered pilgrimage destination.

This cross-shaped reliquary was made for the main church of Saint George at the monastery of Lim. Along with the right-hand reliquary of Saint Sahak Partev (cat. 116), it was thought to have been destroyed during the Armenian Genocide;<sup>4</sup> however, our research reveals that Yovhannes Vardapet Hyusyan, prior of the monastery of Lim, brought these objects to Etchmiadzin in the summer of 1915.

Made by silversmiths in Van, this reliquary is in the Armenian radiant style, with the saltire cross superimposed on a Greek cross, "the whole giving the semblance of spokes of a wheel spreading out from the axle."<sup>5</sup> The square at the center of the cross contains a medallion covered in glass, which houses a relic of the saint resting on cotton. Multicolored precious stones adorn the reliquary, and the arms of the cross terminate in stylized fleur-de-lis patterns. There is a second, similar reliquary cross, made in Van a year later and also donated to the monastery of Lim, in the collections of Holy Etchmiadzin.<sup>6</sup>



The images at the ends of the saltire cross arms recall the depictions of the Apparition of the Cross found in illuminated manuscripts from the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan). As in those images, two angels, with arms raised in supplication, kneel on either side of small crosses; the pear-shaped cabochon emeralds fastened under their feet perhaps symbolize the sounding of trumpets by the angels at the Second Coming (Matthew 24:31). The face of Jesus Christ is depicted at the center of each of the small crosses with coral beads at the interstices of the arms of the crosses.

The dedicatory inscription, etched on the back of the reliquary, reads: "This [relic] from the skull of Saint George was obtained by the hands of Kazar, *vardapet* of Erzurum, dean of Saint Karapet, in memory of my soul and of his parents and of the entire people. Amen. At the gates of the monastery of Saint George. Whoever dares to give it as a pledge or take it away from Saint George, let them incur his vengeance. In the year 1746." AK

CAT. 119 *Konk'er*

Constantinople, 1651–52

Silk with gold, silver, and silk threads

21¼ × 19⅞ in. (54 × 49 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 378)

The *konk'er* is one of the Armenian Church liturgical vestments reserved only for the Catholicos of All Armenians in the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin; but the catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia as well as the Armenian patriarchs of Istanbul (Constantinople) and Jerusalem also wear it in recognition of their exceptional honor. The lozenge-shaped *konk'er* is worn on the right-hand side of the pontiff's belt and hangs down to the thigh. In the Byzantine Church, the *konk'er* replaced the encheirion (liturgical handkerchief), or maniple; in the Armenian Church, however, the encheirion is still part of the liturgical vestments for bishops and priests, and it appears on the left side of the belt. In the Armenian Church, the *konk'er* symbolizes the apron worn by Jesus at the Washing of the Feet on Maundy Thursday, a shepherd's haversack, and the flaming sword of the seraphim.

At the center of this *konk'er*, framed by a flowered mandorla, the enthroned Virgin and Child appear looking forward as in Hodegetria images, in which the Virgin presents her son to the viewer.<sup>1</sup> The Christ Child sits on the Blessed Virgin's lap, and his bare feet symbolize the Lord's humility and willingness to sacrifice himself for mankind. The Mother of God delicately holds the Christ Child with her left hand and her right hand rests on her right knee. The image of the Holy Mother of God closely resembles her depiction in the mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The Christ Child makes a sign of blessing with his right hand and rests his left hand on his left knee. Their clothing and halos, as well as the throne and cushion, are entirely rendered in pearl beads. Plain stitch with accents of colored silk threads define their faces, the Virgin's veil, and Christ's hair, hands, and feet.

The symbols of the four evangelists are depicted to the right and left, above and below the mandorla;



between these narrow rectangular cartouches, defined with pearl beads, is the inscribed dedication, which reads, "This *konk'er* is a memento from Master Barsegh for the enjoyment of Catholicos Philip." A delicate floral ribbon runs along the edges of the *konk'er*, and three tassels of gold and silver braided thread grace three corners.

This masterly piece belonged to Philip I Aghbak-Albak, Catholicos of All Armenians from 1633 to 1655. Following a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he went to Constantinople in 1652, where he received this *konk'er* along with other priceless gifts.<sup>2</sup> Catholicos Philip I is one of the eminent figures of the Armenian Church; he "was like a well-fortified castle defending the Armenian people against Muslims, who could not maraud and pillage Armenia."<sup>3</sup> AK

## CAT. 120 Omophorion

1686

Gold, silver, and silk threads on silk

50<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (128 × 24 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia

(N 249)

In the Armenian Church the omophorion is worn by priests during Holy Mass. This sacred vestment is double the width of the deacon's stole and has a round opening at the top. It is worn hanging from the neck, covering the chest and flowing down to the shins. Saints Nerses of Lambron and Gregory of Tat'ev explain the symbolism of the omophorion in their writings. As Nerses of Lambron states, "The priests exceed in excellence compared to them [deacons] carrying with both shoulders the same [stole] as a sign of the sweet yoke of the Lord,"<sup>21</sup> while Gregory of Tat'ev notes that "[i]t signifies the straps by which Christ was tied to the column. Also [it] signifies the yoke of God's commandments, which is light and sweet, as Christ says."<sup>22</sup>

Based on extant examples, there are two historical styles of omophorion in use in the Armenian Church: one has two separate strips that button together; the other one is a single wide strip, like this one. While the embroidery on this omophorion is not elaborately detailed, each figure is personalized, and the gold threads create a limited but harmonious color palette. At the top of the two ends of the omophorion are six lines of dedication, which read, "This venerable omophorion is a memento for the soul of Mariam and [her] parents, Norparon and Shapik'a, [and] the brothers T'oghdamish and E'sai and Sahak, at the gates of Saint John the Evangelist. In the year 1134



[AD 1685].” Below the dedication are mirroring pairs of Christian saints identified by inscriptions in Armenian over their heads. The first are full-length depictions of the Mother of God and Saint John the Baptist. The evangelists Saint Luke and Saint John follow as half-length figures in medallions. John holds a Gospel book with both hands, while Luke makes a sign of blessing with his right and carries a Gospel book marked with a cross in his left. On the third row, again presented in full length, are the founder of the Armenian Church Saint Gregory the Illuminator and the early church father Saint Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus, both in episcopal vestments. The half-length figures of the evangelists Saint Mark and Saint Matthew are represented in the next pair of medallions, each holding a Gospel book marked by a cross. The imagery of the omophorion ends with full-length portraits of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr and Saint Nicholas the Miracle Worker of Myra. Nicholas wears episcopal vestments, but without the miter; he makes a sign of blessing with his right hand and holds a cross-marked book in his left. Stephen swings a censer; his deacon's stole is similar to that of a priest, but the strips are detached and markedly apart. It is noteworthy that the four evangelists wear stoles with the strips apart and detached under their copes. Floral and stylized-plant motifs surround the figures of the saints. The ends of the omophorion are finished with large tassels. AK



## ARMENIANS IN TABRIZ

Long before 1604 and the deportations of the Armenians to Iran by the Safavid shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), Ilkhanid Tabriz had a sizable Armenian community, a population primarily made up of merchants who had settled in the Mongol capital because it was a thriving trade hub. A miniature of the Nativity from a now dispersed Gospel book painted by T’oros the deacon (*sarkawag*) in 1311 in Gladzor and in Tabriz by 1444 has the three Magi wearing Mongol hats, showing the early integration of the Armenian merchant community in the Mongol Empire (fig. 85). In later centuries, despite the continuous warfare between Ottomans and Safavids, trade in Tabriz did not stop. In 1514 the Ottomans occupied Tabriz and deported a large part of its population to Constantinople, including the Armenians. By 1574 Tabriz had recovered as a major trading center; the Carmelites refer to an Armenian merchant from whose house four thousand bales of silk had been stolen.<sup>1</sup>

From at least the fifteenth century up to the eighteenth, Tabriz was the main collection point for the raw silk from the surrounding area, the Caucasus, and Azerbaijan, and for forwarding it on to Aleppo and the markets of the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe.<sup>2</sup> The city held this role in the Armenian trade network even before the deportation of the Julfan Armenians, who were taken first to Tabriz, where many of them settled, and then to Isfahan.<sup>3</sup> Two seventeenth-century khachkars in the same style from Tabriz and New Julfa (cats. 121, 122) attest to the continuing close relations between the Armenian communities in Tabriz and those of Julfa and New Julfa. It is interesting to note that an important role in Julfan trading circles was played by links between Armenians, including the Muslim Armenians of Tabriz, who managed the mint, which was supplied with silver imported by Armenian merchants.<sup>4</sup> AB



Fig. 85. T’oros the deacon (*sarkawag*) (act. late 13th–early 14th century). “Nativity,” from a Gospel book. Monastery of Gladzor, Siwnik’, 1311. Tempera, gold, and ink on paper, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (37.7 × 26.6 cm). Bernard and Mary Berenson Collection of European Paintings at Villa I Tatti, Florence

## CAT. 121 Khachkar

Tabriz or New Julfa, 1631

Marble (?)

17<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (44 × 25.5 × 9 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (527/99.08)

Unlike large, carved funerary khachkars (cats. 27–30, 123), this small khachkar is typical of those often used as ex-votos set in the walls of churches and monasteries. This work was originally installed in the church of Saint Stephen in Tabriz, where, as its inscription shows, it was a memorial: “This holy cross is a memorial to P’irk ‘amal (his) spouse Yamik (and his) son Yovan Xinamic’ (?) in the year 1080 [AD 1631].”<sup>1</sup> The object’s size and shape are characteristic of khachkars produced during the early modern period in Armenia and in the Armenian communities of Jerusalem, Crimea, and L’vov.<sup>2</sup> The carving closely follows the design of the 1606 carved cross stone from Saint James’s chapel in New Julfa, which is itself a simplified version of the tall funerary khachkars of Julfa.<sup>3</sup> In this style the usual central cross found on khachkars was replaced with a series of crosses under an arcade with keel-shaped arches, undoubtedly inspired by Safavid architecture. The crosses have knotted finials and each one stands on a sphere and base. The lateral half-palmettes spring from the lower finial and join in the center to form a whole palmette. A similar khachkar, dated to 1615, is made of onyx, an expensive material, which, like marble, was rarely used for large khachkars during the medieval era but was later employed by the rich Armenians of New Julfa and other merchant communities. AB





# ARMENIANS IN NEW JULFA

INA BAGHDIAN TZ MCCABE

*The Julfans . . . are to the king of Persia like the Genoese [bankers] are to the King of Spain, neither can they live without the King, nor the King live without them.*

—Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*,  
September 24, 1621<sup>1</sup>

If one were to visit Isfahan and its Armenian suburb of New Julfa today, one would find only a few signs of its past splendor in the handful of seventeenth-century merchant houses and thirteen Armenian churches that remain.<sup>2</sup> While the role of the Genoese Grimaldi family as bankers to the king of Spain, mentioned above by Pietro della Valle in 1621, is well known to historians, the role of the “Julfans,” the leaders of New Julfa, as the bankers to the Safavid shahs has only recently been studied.<sup>3</sup> The Armenian merchants of Julfa, known for their commercial skills, were deported from their home to Iran by Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) in 1604. Once in Iran, their trade financed the Safavid administration.<sup>4</sup> Prior to their deportation, the English traveler John Cartwright described the Julfans as “a people rather gi[v]en to the traffique of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then instructed in weapons and matters of warres.

Fig. 86. Letter sent to Louis XIV by Armenian nobles from New Julfa, Isfahan, December 1, 1671. Paint, ink, and gold on rolled paper. Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (MS arm. 141)



This town consisteth of two thousand houses and ten thousand soules.”<sup>5</sup> Under Ottoman rule, before their exile, the Julfans traded raw silk with Western Europeans, including the Italians and the French, on the Ottoman markets for silver and manufactured goods. Today the site of Julfa and the magnificent khachkars that marked the tombs of the merchants have been destroyed, leaving no trace of the city’s former Armenian inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

In 1605, after the trials of their deportation, the Julfans founded their settlement of New Julfa. There, the Armenians accumulated vast capital from their Eurasian trade in silk and silver. In 1619, New Julfa’s land was gifted to the inhabitants as a franchise by royal edict after they won Shah ‘Abbas’s silk trade auction against the English.<sup>7</sup> This suburb of Isfahan was reserved exclusively for the wealthy Armenians from Julfa; other Armenians were settled elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> The Armenians of New Julfa were active in major ports from Europe to China, but their commercial center was in New Julfa,<sup>9</sup> and their agents traveled the world thanks to their highly successful network (fig. 86).<sup>10</sup>

The Armenian Shafraz family handled all negotiations with the Safavid court. Their first provost, Khoja Khach’ik, who had received Shah ‘Abbas in Julfa with great ceremony, was granted the title of *kalantar* (provost or governor) by the shah, and his sons succeeded him as rulers of New Julfa until the 1660s.<sup>11</sup> Khoja Nazar, *kalantar* from 1618 to 1636, even bore the title of “shah” in one Safavid edict, which also decreed his inclusion in the royal household.<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that their provost was part of the royal household, New Julfa had an autonomous government headed by its provost and run by an assembly of twenty-two families, each of which represented a different neighborhood.<sup>13</sup> This municipal assembly also administered the town’s international trade.<sup>14</sup>

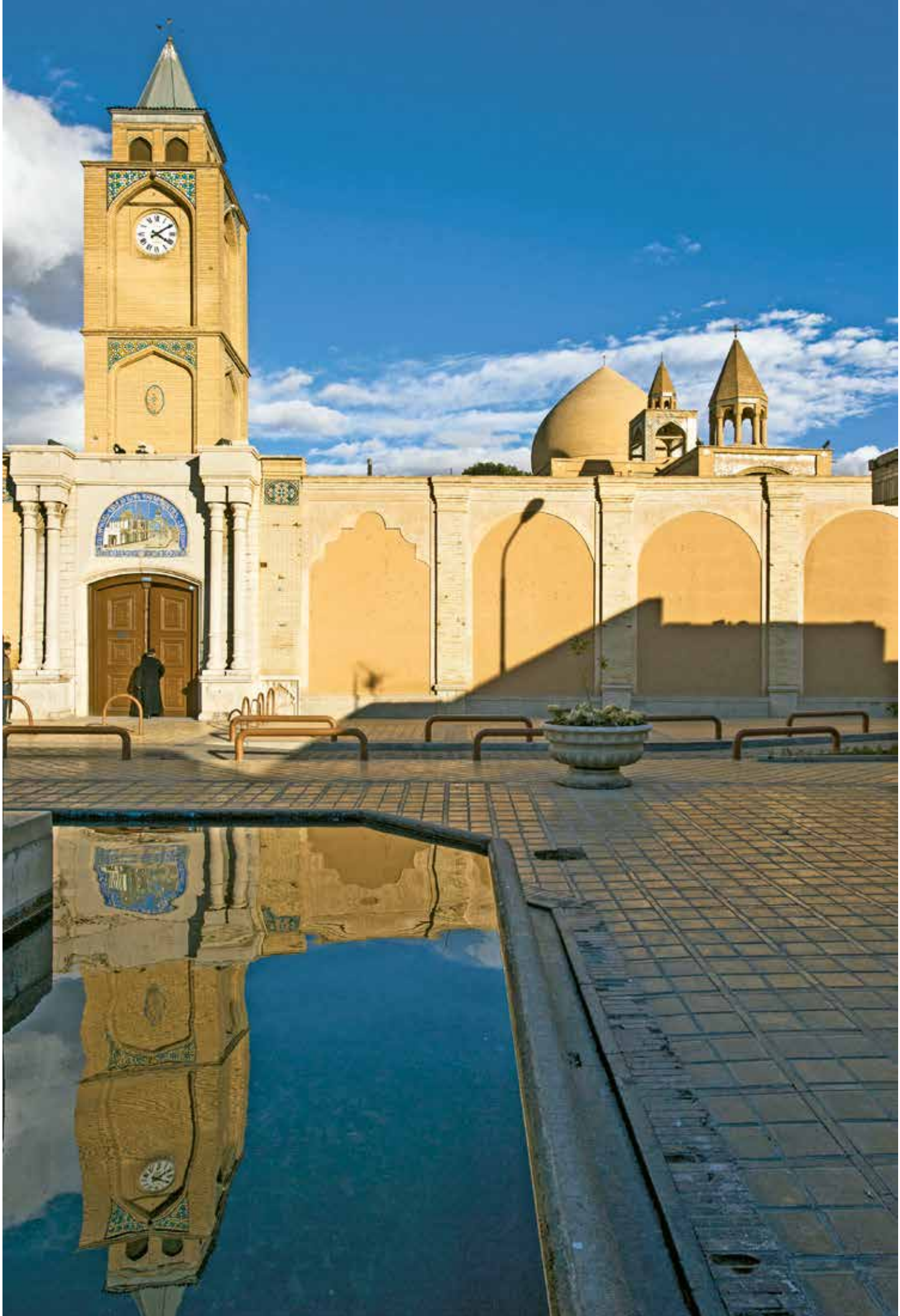
After the arrival of the Armenians of Julfa in Isfahan, the shah ordered the construction of palatial houses and churches (fig. 87). Iranian masons participated in this new construction; the surviving churches of New Julfa have elements of Persian architecture, and many have elaborately decorated interiors. Shah

‘Abbas aimed to make New Julfa the religious center for all Armenians, superseding their historical religious center of Etchmiadzin. Khoja Khach’ik, however, warned the shah that the Julfan merchants would not return from abroad if this change occurred, and instead thirteen stones were brought to New Julfa from Etchmiadzin to be included in the city’s new Saint Gevork’s church. Today some of the unique architectural and decorative elements found in New Julfa’s churches are visible in Etchmiadzin, which was later reconstructed through New Julfan funding.<sup>15</sup>

Descriptions of New Julfa as a magnificent suburb by European travelers abound. Most, save the Catholic visitors, were lodged there.<sup>16</sup> For half a century the Safavid kings protected the Armenians from conversion efforts by Catholic missionaries, though Catholics were present in the suburb at later dates. The New Julfans were in charge of receiving and lodging ambassadors, and they themselves often participated in embassies in Europe, playing a prominent role as Christians in Iran’s foreign policy.<sup>17</sup> Recognizing their importance to the economy of the empire, Shah ‘Abbas and his successors did not require the New Julfans to distinguish themselves by clothing, excise, or custom, but they were not permitted to have a servant ride behind them carrying their glass tobacco smoking vessel, a sign of rank.<sup>18</sup>

The New Julfan merchants were central to Safavid state-building as they were the chief exporters of Iranian raw silk and chief importers of silver and gold.<sup>19</sup> These Christian merchants had close ties to other Caucasian deportees who were converted to Islam. From among these Muslim Armenians, Azeris, and Georgians, Shah ‘Abbas formed a new elite class, the “slaves of the shah” (*ghulams*), and he gave them high administrative, financial, and military posts to support his power.<sup>20</sup> The pay for this elite group depended on the silver and gold brought back from Europe by the New Julfans, making them key to Iran’s economy.<sup>21</sup>

Fig. 87. Exterior of the Holy Savior Cathedral, New Julfa, 1664



The incoming gold and silver were collected at mints on the border that produced the coinage for the Safavids. A royal edict decreed that Khoja Nazar was in charge of collecting the dues of the royal household from the New Julfan merchants and depositing them with the administrator of the royal household.<sup>22</sup> The same edict states that the chief administrator of the royal household was a member of the Julfan community. He was no doubt a convert as only converts could hold administrative positions, while the merchants remained Christian. Several notable *ghulams* were Armenian, and some of them reached the highest ranks, including the posts of grand vizier and mint master at the border.<sup>23</sup> Shah 'Abbas gave the governorships of the silk-growing regions of the Caspian to *ghulams*, making the collaboration between the Christian New Julfans and the Muslim *ghulams* into an administrative system that lasted for decades.

In the mid-seventeenth century, New Julfa paid its dues to the queen mother Anna Khanum, whose faction at court was headed by the grand vizier Saru Taqui, the most powerful of the *ghulams*. His

assassination in 1645 triggered the demise of the centralized system that tied New Julfa and the *ghulams* together. The queen mother was told the grand vizier was corrupt and had subverted an enormous sum, the dues paid by the New Julfans. The loss of power of her faction left New Julfa with no protection at court.<sup>24</sup> That same year, the appointment of the orthodox grand vizier Khalifeh Sultan ushered in a period of lesser tolerance toward minority groups, including the Armenians, and further decreased the power of the *ghulams*. Khalifeh Sultan also issued decrees with prohibitions that affected the Armenians, including one against the making of wine. Furthermore, these changes opened the door for Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666) to forcibly resettle other groups of Armenians in New Julfa.<sup>25</sup> In response, New Julfan merchants sought stronger ties with the courts of Europe, India, and Manila, and many prominent merchants emigrated to India, Venice, or Moscow.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, New Julfa continued to be the administrative center of Armenian international trade that flourished well into the eighteenth century.

## ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IN NEW JULFA

In 1604, the Safavid Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) deported several hundred thousand Armenians from their homes in Julfa and resettled them in a suburb of Isfahan called New Julfa. There, Armenians developed their own trading networks, focusing on the transport and sale of silk, precious stones, and spices. By the early eighteenth century, their networks extended from Indonesia, China, India, and Russia to Europe and the British Isles, creating an Armenian merchant elite of significant autonomy and enormous wealth.<sup>1</sup>

The impressive churches and mansions of New Julfa attest to this new prosperity. The suburb is organized along the east-west Nazar Street, named after Khoja Nazar, a rich Armenian merchant trader and New Julfa’s *kalantar* (governor or provost) from 1618 to 1636. Nine parallel streets, each named after an important merchant family, divide Nazar Street into ten blocks, known as *tasnyak*, which literally translates as “tents.” Over twenty Armenian churches once stood in New Julfa; thirteen survive today (fig. 88).<sup>2</sup> All were complete by 1726, but most were built between 1606 and 1650. The intensity and speed of this building activity resulted in a highly unified and consistent architectural aesthetic. The complex and competitive socioeconomic, political, and confessional environment of New Julfa generated a range of different modes of architectural patronage: single families, groups of families, and families together with clergy sponsored the various Armenian churches of the suburb, thereby laying claim to identity, status, and social distinction.<sup>3</sup>

The urban setting of New Julfa defines the relation of its Armenian churches to their surroundings: concealed behind high walls, the churches stand in large, self-sufficient compounds, with adjoining courtyards, wells, storehouses, kitchens, bread ovens, cells, and churchyards. Following local Safavid conventions, they are constructed of rectangular mud brick and their exteriors bear patterns of recessed and pointed blind



Fig. 88. Interior of the Holy Savior Cathedral, New Julfa, 1664

arcades and pilasters, while their superstructures feature pointed barrel vaults and pointed or onion-shaped domes. Domes rest on pendentives with elaborate tracery, probably deriving from Timurid or Safavid sources. At the same time, the New Julfan churches





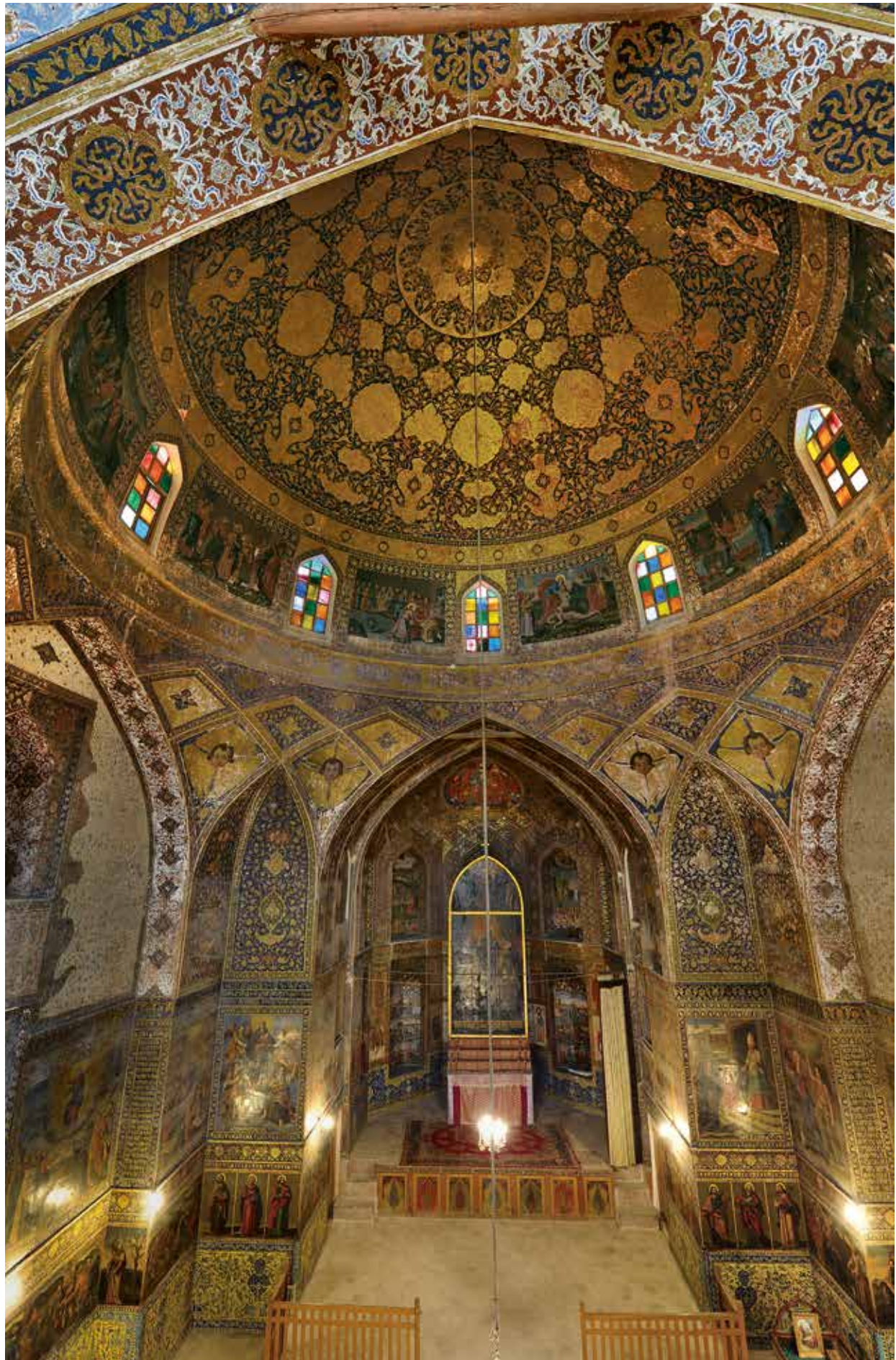
Fig. 89. View of the bell tower on the right at Holy Savior Cathedral, New Julfa, 1702

recall earlier medieval Armenian plans, employing both the domed-basilica and domed-hall types. The churches also feature, like their predecessors, raised bemas with polygonal apses and side chapels. Some complexes boasted bell towers with faceted conical roofs (fig. 89).

The interiors of the New Julfan churches are strikingly sumptuous, particularly the monuments located in the Great Square (Mets Meydan), including the cathedral and the churches of the Mother of God (Surb Astuatsatsin) and Holy Bethlehem (Surb Betghehem;

fig. 90).<sup>4</sup> Interior walls are completely covered with patterned decoration and figural painting. Zones of ornamental foliate and geometric motifs, executed in ceramic and painted stucco, surround narrative paintings of Christological and hagiographic scenes painted directly on the wall or using the technique of marouflage (canvas attached to the wall). The result simultaneously evokes Safavid mosque architecture, European printed books, and medieval Armenian church interiors. cm

Fig. 90. Interior of the church of Holy Bethlehem (Surb Betghehem), New Julfa, 1627





### CAT. 122 Khachkar

New Julfa, 1641  
 Marble (?)  
 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (24.5 × 20 × 4.5 cm)  
 Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (1051)

In New Julfa small stone khachkars are found built into the walls and above the entrance to the church of Saint James, the oldest and humblest church in this rich suburb. There are thirty-five carved stone crosses inside the church, the oldest dating to 1606, two years after the deportation of the Armenians from Julfa. On this work, the border design of two intertwining geometric interlaces, one with circles joined with knots and the other with ovals joined with double knots, is like that found on examples set in the walls of Saint James, which suggests this object also comes from the region.<sup>1</sup> At the center of the khachkar is a cross with knotted finials and two simple lateral crosses. The inscription reads, “This holy cross is a memorial from Jamp’ase for Elisap’et’ [and] Aslum in the year 1090 [AD 1641].”<sup>2</sup> AB

### CAT. 123 Khachkar

Julfa, 1586  
 Sandstone  
 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 24 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 13 in. (214 × 62 × 33 cm)  
 Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 8-Q)

Khachkars produced in Julfa constitute a singular group in Armenian cross-stone art. As Argam Ayvazyan has noted, “this style was developed and was confined mainly in Julfa; it did not spread to nor establish itself in the stone carving art of Agulis, Shor’ot, Abrakunis, and other nearby centers.”<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century, there were about ten thousand well-preserved khachkars in Julfa.<sup>2</sup> This number declined in the following centuries, particularly during the construction of the Julfan railroad in 1903–4, when countless khachkars

were razed. Toward the end of the twentieth century, approximately three thousand examples remained in Julfa.<sup>3</sup> Between 1998 and 2005, the army of the Republic of Azerbaijan destroyed the remaining cross stones in Julfa. Today only about thirty Julfan khachkars survive in Armenia, Georgia, and other countries, the majority of which were brought to Holy Etchmiadzin in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>4</sup>

This khachkar was transferred to Holy Etchmiadzin from Yerevan.<sup>5</sup> Originally from a Julfan cemetery, this example has a cornice, an arch, a rosette, and a decorative carved frame. The bottom of the slab is uncut, a special feature on Julfan khachkars, which were not mounted on pedestals but planted in the ground. The

cornice carving depicts Christ in Deesis, sitting in the central arched niche on a throne supported by symbols representing the four evangelists; he raises his right hand and holds a Gospel book to his chest with his left. In the niches to his right and left are Mary Mother of God and Saint John the Baptist, who lift their hands in supplication toward the Lord. Two hovering angels, with their hands raised in prayer, frame the Deesis scene. All the figures are presented in frontal view and have individualized features. Interestingly, the angel to Christ's left has a beard, a unique phenomenon in Armenian religious art.

A ribbon of acanthus leaves frames the triple arch under the cornice. Carved inside the deep-cut arch is a large cross, flanked by two smaller ones. The scene rests on a damaged globe atop a three-step pedestal. This composition represents the crucifixion on Golgotha. The large cross is that of the Lord, and the two smaller ones are those of the thieves; the globe symbolizes Adam's skull; and the three-step pedestal is the hill of Golgotha. Nestled between the base of the crosses and the pedestal is the master carver's inscription: "Remember me, Htp [Hayrapet (?)] the carver."

The rosette near the base is set in a separate square, a common feature on Julfan khachkars. The inscription carved on the band near the center of the rosette's disk reads, "[May] this Holy Cross be a prayer to Christ for Suk'ias. In the year 1586." Below the rosette is a full-length, unbearded figure with a halo, who is identified by the partially legible inscription to his left, "Here rests Suk'ias . . ." These two inscriptions reveal that this khachkar was erected as a monument on the tomb of Suk'ias. It is noteworthy that the deceased is represented with a halo, perhaps an allusion to his pious earthly life and a statement of hope that he too shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. The cross in his left hand signifies the bliss attained by all the faithful at the second coming of Christ: "The bright sign of the cross rises flashing in the East, the faithful rejoice in you, and the defectors wail; glorify with its light those who adore your holy cross."<sup>6</sup> AK



## ARMENIAN SCRIPTORIA IN NEW JULFA

Manuscript production began in New Julfa not long after its founding in 1605, as attested to by manuscript colophons in which Isfahan, Shosh, or New Julfa are referenced as the place of production starting in the early 1600s.<sup>1</sup> At least two Gospel books were completed in Isfahan in 1607—one by Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets‘i) and one copied by the monk Sargis<sup>2</sup>—while one of the earliest manuscripts known to have been made in New Julfa was produced in 1609 “under the protection of the Holy Mother of God (*Surb Astuatsatsin*).”<sup>3</sup> This is the name of the church in which it was copied or under whose jurisdiction it was produced, implying the presence of an Armenian church by that name in New Julfa by 1609.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the artists and scribes working in New Julfa had been deported from Julfa along with the rest of the community but others came from different localities, including the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan).<sup>5</sup> These communities brought their painting traditions with them, and their desire to preserve these traditions is reflected in the generally more conservative style found in the first manuscripts they produced in their new home (cat. 124). But the wealthy merchant patrons exhibited an emerging interest in Western European art, surely as a result of their travels and access to imported objects, including paintings and illustrated printed books. As early as 1607 Khoja Nazar commissioned a luxurious Bible manuscript from Constantinople with unusual European-inspired creation iconography; the book was finally delivered in 1629 to New Julfa, where it became the exemplar for other similar Bibles (cat. 109). By the mid-seventeenth century this fascination with Western motifs also became quite evident in the interior decoration of the many churches that the *khojas* founded in New Julfa (fig. 61).<sup>6</sup> By the 1630s and 1640s, the artists in the New Julfan scriptoria became more ambitious and experimental in their iconography and style. They began to produce entire Bibles (not just traditional Gospel books), in which they painted



Fig. 91. Headpiece of 1 Kings (1 Samuel), from a Bible (cat. 126), fol. 125

highly unusual frontispieces, such as the seven days of Creation in roundels, as well as images copied from European engravings such as those by Johann Theodor de Bry (cats. 128, 129).<sup>7</sup> They also incorporated decorative elements inspired from other European books, probably sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century herbals. The integration of traditional Armenian decorative elements and imported motifs can sometimes be a bit startling, as seen in the very traditional headpiece of 1 Kings (1 Samuel), which was further embellished with highly realistic violets below the arch (fig. 91). The eclectic character of New Julfan manuscript illumination reflects the cosmopolitan world in which this Armenian community lived and exemplifies the expansion of the artists’ visual vocabulary even as they retained many of their own long-established artistic traditions. SLM

## CAT. 124 Gospel Book

Monastery of Varag, Awan, 1600

Illuminated by Zak'ariay of Awan (Zak'ariay Awants'i; act. 1595–1611)

Scribes: Martiros Mokats'i (act. 1600) and Grigor (act. 1600)

Ink, tempera, and gold on paper with stamped leather binding;

268 folios and 2 flyleaves

10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (25.9 × 18.7 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 2804)

Zak'ariay of Awan (Zak'ariay Awants'i) was a student of Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i). He lived and worked in the village of Awan in the Lake Van region (Vaspurakan). In 1604, during the forced relocation of Armenians under Shah 'Abbas I, he settled in the village of K'adak' near Isfahan, where he copied his last manuscripts, in which he calls himself Zak'ariay Vanets'i. Zak'ariay of Awan was one of the last adherents to the Vaspurakan school, and in keeping with the school's tradition, he grouped the thematic miniatures together at the beginning of this manuscript, followed by the ten canon tables. A cycle of images illustrating the Old Testament creation texts precedes the traditional images from the Christological cycle of the great feasts and miracles performed by Christ; this unusual order is typical of late Vaspurakan manuscripts. It is important to note that the iconography in Zak'ariay of Awan's Creation cycle miniatures differs radically from that found in the work of his teacher (cats. 96, 97).

In this manuscript, the thematic miniatures begin with the seven days of Creation (fols. 2v, 3r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v), followed by Ezekiel's vision (fol. 7r), the creation of Eve (fol. 8v), and the Fall (fol. 9r). The evangelical cycle opens with the Annunciation (fol. 10v). The miniature on folio 5 verso depicts the fifth day of the creation of the world, when God made the animal kingdom. The image is composed of two superimposed sections. In the upper section, the Creator appears beneath a red poly-lobed arch. Shown in three-quarter view, he is portrayed as Christ, a young, beardless man with a cruciform halo, raising his right hand in a gesture of benediction. He is dressed in red and green and stands out



fol. 5v

against a golden background scattered with white stars, within the central frame that makes up his throne. On either side of this frame, the yellow heavens are filled with four-petaled motifs in green, red, and mauve. The haloed heads and wings of nine angels surround the red arch. The two angels at the bottom of the arch raise their hands in a sign of blessing. In the lower section are the creatures created on the fifth day: a great fish-like Leviathan sea-monster appears against a background of waves on the left, a large phoenix on a neutral background is in the middle, and flying winged creatures on a yellow background are on the right. Ornamental motifs like those in the upper section, symbolizing the sky and air, surround the phoenix and other flying creatures. The descriptive legend in the bottom margin reads, “Fifth Day. [The] winged birds and the fish Leviathan and there the living called phoenix and God the Father on an indescribable throne. And the angels appeared from the light and were praising God.”<sup>1</sup> AL-Y

## CAT. 125 Gospel Book

Isfahan, probably New Julfa, 1615

Illuminated by Mesrop of Khizan (Mesrop Khizants'i;  
ca. 1560–1652)

Scribe: Hayrapet the priest (*erets'*) (act. 1615–1680s)

Tempera, gold, and ink on paper; 246 folios

9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (23 × 17.1 cm)

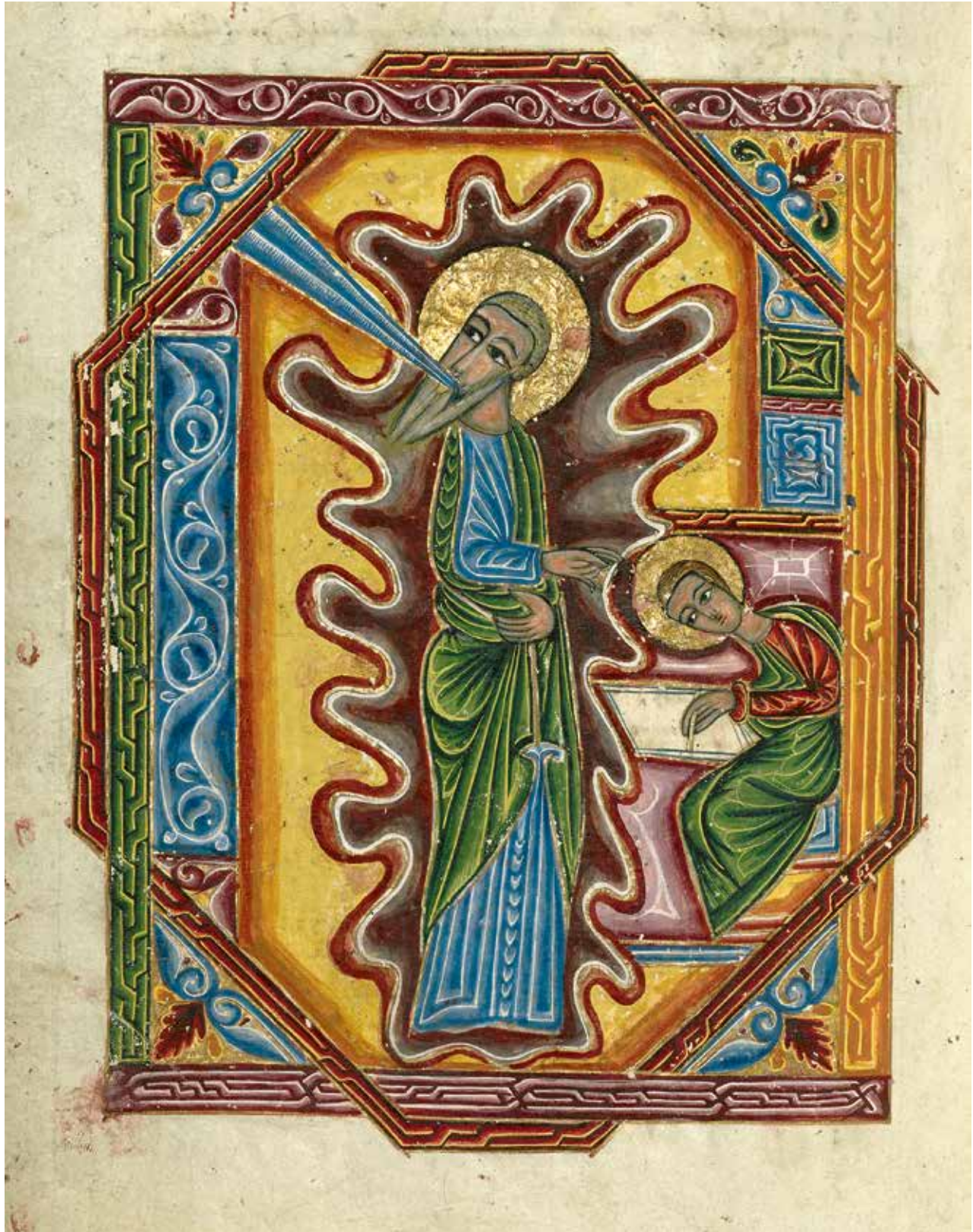
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (MS Ludwig II.7)

This Gospel book is one of the forty-five manuscripts known to have been illuminated, either partially or completely, by Mesrop of Khizan (Mesrop Khizants'i), son of Martiros and Khondk'ar.<sup>1</sup> Originally from Khizan, the artist studied under Sargis Mazman Mokats'i and later Martiros Khizants'i.<sup>2</sup> During the forced relocation of the Armenians under Shah 'Abbas I, Mesrop of Khizan resettled in New Julfa, where he continued to work and train students, including Ter Gaspar, At--'am, Barsegh, Vahram the clerk (*dpir*), Grigor, and his own sons Martiros and Minas. He also collaborated with others, as he did with this work, one of four manuscripts that he likely produced with the scribe Hayrapet the priest (*erets'*).<sup>3</sup>

Sixteen folios with narrative miniatures were separated from this Gospel book sometime after 1913. The remaining illuminations include Eusebius's letter to Carpianus, the canon tables, evangelists' portraits and their accompanying title pages, and a large number of marginal illuminations (Ludwig II.7); there is a separate folio containing a miniature of the Baptism of Christ (Ludwig II.7a).<sup>4</sup> These illuminations have particularly varied and rich decoration as well as a vivid color palette. Mesrop of Khizan's signature is found in the illumination depicting the sixth table, which includes the Eusebian canons number eight and nine, which represent the altar of Moses and the Temple of Solomon. The signature is written in *erkat'agir* script, as if it were a lapidary inscription addressing a

prayer to heaven before the Universal Church, which is in turn symbolized by the last two tables in canon number ten.<sup>5</sup>

Like many of the first generation of artists that settled in New Julfa, Mesrop of Khizan strove in his illuminations to preserve and transmit the iconographic and stylistic traditions of his homeland, although contemporary influences from New Julfa are evident in the details, like the draped curtains in Eusebius's letter to Carpianus and other canon tables. While the iconographic elements are in keeping with the tradition of the Vaspurakan school, the arrangement of Mesrop of Khizan's compositions is strikingly unique. For example, the evangelists' portraits are framed with sets of two or three decorative bands that are superimposed, entwined, or both. Within these frames, the miniatures are filled with ornamental motifs that organize the entire space like the design of an oriental carpet. These images often contain very stylized details, as is the case with the portrait of Saint John the Evangelist with Prochoros, in which the opening of the Cave of the Apocalypse is accentuated with red, gold, and white irregular edges against a yellow ground. This is a curious depiction of the cave on the island of Patmos, where, according to tradition, Saint John had a vision of Jesus Christ. A symbolic interpretation of the power of divine inspiration is the pointed ray from the heavens entering the evangelist's mouth as Prochoros sits to the side taking the evangelist's dictation of the Gospel.<sup>6</sup> AL-Y





## CAT. 126 Bible

New Julfa, 1648

Copied by Gaspar the priest (*erets'*) (act. mid-17th century) and Yovhannes (act. mid-17th century)

Illuminated by Hayrapet, Tsatur, Aghamal, Galust, and Aghap'ir (all act. mid-17th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment; 699 folios

10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 7<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.4 × 19.5 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (MS 623)

A team of talented scribes and artists produced this Bible in “the land of Persia in the district of Gazk,” a neighborhood of New Julfa.<sup>1</sup> The chief scribe was Gaspar the priest (*erets'*) (who also provided the parchment), and he was aided by his student Yovhannes. Five artists decorated this Bible: the chief illuminator Hayrapet, his three students Tsatur, Aghamal, and Galust, and Aghap'ir, who is called the “painter” (*nkarich'*).<sup>2</sup>

This Bible exemplifies the eclectic nature of manuscript illumination in mid-seventeenth-century New Julfa, where artists incorporated traditional Armenian decoration with influences from Western European iconography and styles. The adherence to tradition is especially evident in the canon tables, which were copied directly from the early fourteenth-century Gladzor Gospel book, even down to the red penwork flourishes (cat. 43, fig. 92). By 1628 the Gladzor Gospel book had been transferred to New Julfa, where it was certainly admired, as several artists copied illuminations from it, especially the magnificent canon tables.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast, the illuminations in Revelation and at the beginning of this Bible, depicting scenes from Genesis and other Old Testament texts, are derived from Western European sources, namely the engravings of Johann Theodor de Bry, published in a Latin Bible of 1609 in Mainz (cat. 129), although the intermediate source of transmission was copies of the engravings found in a 1619 Armenian manuscript Bible from L'vov.<sup>4</sup> Hayrapet and his team also must have had access to a Western European printed herbal book, because they included amazingly realistic flowers and plants in the arches of some of their traditional Armenian headpieces, such as the violets on folio 125 recto (see fig. 91). Manuscript illuminators in New Julfa integrated new Western European iconography and decorative motifs with ornamentation and iconography from earlier Armenian manuscripts as a clear homage to their venerated predecessors. SLM



Fig. 92. Canon Tables, from the Gladzor Gospel book (cat. 43), pp. 12–13



fol. 485v-486r



fol. 35v–36r

## CAT. 127 Gospel Book

New Julfa, 1644

Scribe: Step'anos (act. 1644)

Tempera, ink, and gold on paper; 283 folios

8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.4 × 16 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots’ Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 6665)

This manuscript is typical of works produced for the elite Armenians of New Julfa, like its patron Tsaghik; it follows a style inspired by manuscripts from the wealthy Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which also controlled access to vast trade routes. The scribe Step'anos opens the Gospel of Matthew with an incipit letter in the shape of his symbol, an angel, who holds a bound Gospel book.<sup>1</sup> The motif was introduced into Cilician illumination nearly half a millennium earlier at Hromkla (cat. 55). The bird-shaped letters in the first line of the text and the floral and interlace ornaments forming the marginal marker and headpiece are also based on the Cilician tradition. Portraits of evangelists

in similar poses, including the three Trinitarian rays of inspiration emanating from heaven, are found in Cilician fourteenth-century manuscripts like a Gospel book made for the great-grandson of Constable Smbat, who arranged the Cilician peace treaty with the Mongols (see Evans, p. 129).<sup>2</sup> There are similar color schemes in a manuscript ordered by Smbat's half-brother Archbishop John (Yovhannes) (cat. 67) as well as one presented as a wedding gift to his nephew Prince Levon (cat. 59) and one commissioned by Marshal Oshin (cats. 65, 66). The stocky figures and the cooler tones in this manuscript, however, relate more immediately to contemporary copies of Cilician works produced in Constantinople. Such images in books known to have been made in New Julfa are evidence of the close connections between the Armenian elite of the capitals of the Ottoman and Persian empires that made Cilician-inspired works the Armenian international style of the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> HCE

## CAT. 128 Manuscript Bible

New Julfa, 1649–50

Illuminated by Hayrapet (act. ca. 1650)

Scribes: Gaspar the priest (*erets'*), Yovsep' the clerk (*dpir*), and Yarut'iwn (all act. mid-17th century)

Ink, pigments, and gold on parchment with leather binding;  
659 folios

10¼ × 7¾ in. (26 × 19.7 cm)

“Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia (MS 189)

## CAT. 129 Mainz Bible

Mainz, 1609

Engravings by Johann Theodor de Bry (1561–1623)

Printed by Johann Theobald Schönwetter (1575–1657) and Jacob Fischer (act. 1609)

Ink on paper; 574, 226, 263 pages (three paginations in one volume)

9⅝ × 7½ in. (24.5 × 19 cm)

New York Public Library (\*YBT Bible. 1609)

The making of this complete manuscript Bible in 1649–50 was very much a group effort: the text was copied by the scribes Gaspar the priest (*erets'*) and his students Yovsep' the clerk (*dpir*) and Yarut'iwn; the correctors of the text (*srbagroghs*) were Andreas the priest and Ter Yovhannes. Both the Old and New Testaments were profusely illustrated by the artist Hayrapet. The manuscript was commissioned by Khoja Nazaret for Matt'eos *vardapet* of New Julfa.<sup>1</sup> Of particular interest is that many of the illuminations were inspired by Western European engravings. In this case, the illuminations can definitively be traced to engravings (or possibly etchings) by the German/Flemish artist Johann Theodor de Bry that were published in a Latin Bible printed in Mainz in 1609.<sup>2</sup> The replicated engravings included scenes from Genesis and the Book of Revelation. Like many other European artists, De Bry himself was inspired by some of Albrecht Dürer's famous Apocalypse woodcuts.<sup>3</sup> The Mainz Bible, however, was not the direct antecedent for the illuminations in the 1649–50 manuscript Bible. The engravings initially provided the basis for illustra-



cat. 128, fol. 11v

tions in another Armenian manuscript Bible copied in 1619 in L'vov, and illustrated by Ghazar Baberdats'i and possibly other artists.<sup>4</sup> Popularly called the L'vov Bible after its place of production, it became the model for a group of Armenian manuscript Bibles produced in the mid-seventeenth century in New Julfa, including this 1649–50 example. In this way Armenians were introduced to new iconography and artistic compositions originating in Western Europe. Nonetheless, Armenians continued their traditions in many aspects of manuscript production, including decorative features and motifs, styles and techniques, and even medieval Armenian binding methods.<sup>5</sup>



cat. 129, pp. 2-3

De Bry's engravings are horizontal compositions. In their manuscript illuminations the Armenian artists adapted these horizontal compositions into vertical ones and often put four of these scenes onto a single page, as seen on folio 11 verso. Many of the Bible manuscripts modeled after the L'vov Bible also have title pages, which is highly unusual. While title pages were commonly found in printed books, they were not used in manuscripts. The similarity between the title page in the manuscript Bible from 1649-50 and the one in the L'vov Bible suggests that a title page is another attribute borrowed from European printed books.<sup>6</sup> Title pages are also seen in some other Armenian manuscripts produced from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

In De Bry's engraving of the creation scene he condensed four different events into one image, which features, from left to right, the creation of Adam, the naming of the animals, Adam naming Eve, and the

Creation of Eve from Adam's rib.<sup>7</sup> Each of these events is enhanced by a rayed nimbus in which is written the four-letter Hebrew word (tetragrammaton) for "Jehovah" (God), which reinforces the message that God is the force behind each episode.<sup>8</sup> In the L'vov Bible, the artist copied the Hebrew tetragrammaton in three gold-rayed cartouches, although he did not include a cartouche for the second scene, the naming of the animals, which is extremely tiny in the original. The artist responsible for the 1649-50 manuscript Bible probably could not read Hebrew or imitate it, so instead he wrote "Adam" in Armenian letters in the gold cartouche on the left and "Adam Eve" in the center one, behind the depiction of Adam and Eve in the background. The rightmost cartouche has a gold background but the writing is either missing or completely smudged. The words in Armenian now function as a caption for portions of the image, rather than symbolizing God as they had in the Hebrew texts. SLM

## CAT. 130 An Armenian Bishop

Isfahan, ca. 1650

Afzal al-Husayni (act. 1630s–1660s)

Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

11½ × 16½ in. (29.2 × 41.9 cm)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Nasli M. Heeramanek Collection, gift of Joan Palevsky (M.73.5.456)

This portrait of an imposing beetle-browed, bearded bishop standing in a landscape of fronds and clouds sketched in gold is signed by the Safavid artist Afzal al-Husayni.<sup>1</sup> Although the dates for Afzal's works range from 1642 to 1654, the close affinity of his style to that of the master Riza-yi 'Abbasi (ca. 1565–1635) suggests that his career began in Isfahan in the 1630s.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, sixty-two illustrations signed by Afzal, out of a total of 192 from a *Shahnama* manuscript that was commissioned by a Safavid official as a gift for the new shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666), demonstrate that the artist had a relationship with the court that presumably continued through the reign of that shah.<sup>3</sup> During that period, particularly after the 1650s, court artists looked to both European and Indian art for inspiration, which could explain the naturalistic depiction of the bishop's wrinkled face and graying beard.

Who was this bishop? The gold-edged blue miter, the insignia of his office, which he holds in his left hand, and the pectoral cross suspended from his neck identify him as a church patriarch; this is a unique portrait of such a figure in seventeenth-century Persian painting. Yet, his identity is elusive. If this is a portrait of the bishop of the New Julfa See, the Armenian ecclesiastical jurisdiction that included Isfahan and many villages, the sitter could be Khach'atur Kesarats'i, a beloved bishop of the Armenian Church, who served from 1623 until 1646, when he died at the age of fifty-six. It is more likely the sitter was someone who had exceptional interaction with the shah, such as the catholicos of Etchmiadzin. In 1655, Hakob IV (r. 1655–1680), who originally hailed from Isfahan, became catholicos of Etchmiadzin, and in 1659, Shah 'Abbas II presented him with a



royal decree confirming his position.<sup>4</sup> According to Michael Daniel Findikyan, the cross-topped staff that the bishop holds in his left hand is the defining feature of a catholicos's dress.<sup>5</sup> Although this portrait lacks the narrative details of the meeting of Shah 'Abbas II and Hakob, it captures the commanding physicality and character of this church leader, one of many dignitaries to visit the Safavid court in the seventeenth century. SRC

## ARMENIAN LITURGICAL VESTMENTS

The historical development of Armenian liturgical vestiture is characterized by an overall homogeneity in the basic forms marked by conspicuous local influences (fig. 93). According to Bishop Step'anos of Siwnik' (d. 735), the priestly vestments are derived from the divinely ordained garments worn by Aaron in Exodus 28.<sup>1</sup> In Step'anos's fervent Christological interpretation, the priest's vestments reflect not the glory of the priest as much as the redeemed status of all baptized members of the church. As the Son of God was vested in humanity in the incarnation, reciprocally, in baptism human beings are vested in the redemptive beauty of God.

The oldest liturgical garments are those common to bishops and priests. The *patmučan* or *šapik* is a white tunic, often richly embroidered. The *urar* (later *p'orurar*), worn over the *patmučan*, is the long stole (*epitrachelion*) that wraps around the back of the clergyman's neck, with its two "wings" falling down the front. The *nap'ort*, later referred to as *šurjar*, is an ornate cope, the outermost liturgical garment. Cuffs or maniples (*bazpan*) worn around both wrists developed later. First used uniquely by bishops, the cuffs keep the wide sleeves of the tunic from interfering with the chalice during the Eucharist. The belt (*goti*) appeared in the second millennium and was influenced by



Western liturgical dress. Originally placed around the white *patmučan*, it was later tied over the frontal stole by all non-Byzantine Eastern priests.<sup>2</sup>

Distinctive to the bishop is the omophorion, also known as the *emip'oron* or *usakir*, a long, wide band that wraps completely around the shoulders and falls down the front and back nearly to floor level (cat. 106). Its precise origins are obscure. Also unique to bishops is the *konk'er* (Byzantine *epigonation*), a large square textile that hangs from the bishop's waist on the right or left side. First witnessed in Armenia in the twelfth century, its origin is also uncertain. Today it is worn only by the heads of hierarchical sees.

By far the most sweeping developments in Armenian clerical vestiture involve headgear, the Armenian terminology for which is used inconsistently. In ancient times Armenian clergy celebrated the entire Eucharistic liturgy bareheaded in accordance with the Apostle Paul's injunction (1 Corinthians 11:4, 7). Today, priests uncover their heads prior to the start of the Eucharistic Prayer. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are references to the *xoyr*, a scarf-like turban that covered the head and neck and hung down the front and back of the shoulders, probably somewhat akin to the Syriac *eskimo*. The Armenian word *xoyr* comes from the Greek κίδαρις and μίτρα, the terms used to designate Aaron's headgear in Exodus 28. In the order of the vesting prayers at the beginning of the Eucharistic Holy Sacrifice (*Patarag*), the *xoyr* is the first garment worn underneath the tunic (*patmučan*).

It was not until the seventeenth century that the crown-like *salawart*, which translates as "helmet,"

began to be worn by priests. *Salawart* also began to be used to describe the head covering previously known as *xoyr*. The earliest *salawarts* differ in shape from the Byzantine bishop's crown. Tatar miters and the headdress of Mongol and Persian nobility have been proposed as more likely prototypes, although there was much local variety in shape.<sup>3</sup> The proliferation of the *salawart* led to the development of the stiff collar known as the *vakas*. What was originally nothing more than the back flap of the *xoyr*, pulled out slightly and folded over the *nap'ort*, transformed into a separate garment that is somewhat clumsily fastened in a semicircle on the shoulders to cover the back of the neck.

The Latin bishop's miter, also called a *xoyr*, was introduced to the Armenian Church in 1184/85 when Pope Lucius III bestowed it upon Catholicos Grigor "Tlay," also known as Gregory IV the Younger (r. 1173–1193). In 1202, Pope Innocent III presented miters to fourteen Cilician Armenian bishops, paving the way for its use by all Armenian bishops by the turn of the fifteenth century. Prior to the Latin innovation, Armenian bishops covered their heads either with a simple white veil (*sk'ot*) or with the *knkugh* (from the Greek *koukoulion*), a white pointed crown with a cross in the center that was used for certain non-Eucharistic services, as depicted in manuscript illuminations (cat. 54). The black monastic hood with its distinctive peaked dome is found in illuminations from the thirteenth century (cats. 82, 137). It is also referred to as *knkugh*, and from the twelfth century as *velar*, from the Latin *velum*, meaning veil. MDF

Fig. 93. Catholicos Karekin II, Catholicos of All Armenians, holding the Reliquary Arm of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, with Catholicos Aram I, catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia, beside him to his left and prelates, preparing the Holy Christ in 2004 at the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin





CAT. 131 **Vakas**

New Julfa, 1642

Gold, silver, silk threads, and pearls on silk

5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 22<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.8 × 58 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 603)

While many liturgical vestments are in essence similar to those of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, the vakas is unique to the Armenian Church. Worn by priests, bishops, and catholicoses, the rectangular vestment covers the nape of a clergyman's neck. In the Armenian Church, the vakas represents the lost sheep—or humankind gone astray—whom Christ the Lord takes up on his shoulders to carry toward salvation and eternal life. The oldest surviving example, dated to 1410 and now kept in the History Museum of Armenia, is an embroidered piece, presenting an iconography of half-length figures of Christ in Majesty flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist in a Deesis grouping and six of the apostles (cat. 81).<sup>1</sup>

This vakas has a similar arrangement of half-length figures. At the center is Christ Jesus, with to his right in separate pearl-outlined niches the Holy Mother of God, Saint Peter the Apostle, and the evangelists

Saint Matthew and Saint Mark; to Christ's left, again in niches, are Saint John the Baptist, Saint Paul the Apostle, and the evangelists Saint Luke and Saint John.<sup>2</sup> Jesus makes a sign of blessing with his right hand and holds a Gospel book with his left. The Holy Mother of God and John the Baptist lift their hands in prayer toward Christ. The apostles and the evangelists each hold a Gospel book and look toward Christ. The top banner carries the names of the figures, separated by floral decorations that continue on the sides. Along the bottom is the dedication, which reads, "This shroud is a memento to Archimandrite Arak'eal for his personal use and affectionate memories after he leaves here in the year 1091 [AD 1642]."

The needlework on this vakas is finely rendered in delicate, multicolored stitches. The gracefully rendered composition and harmonious palette create an appealing scene with the personalized figures recalling those found in Armenian manuscript illuminations. Several vakases with similar imagery that were made in New Julfa between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are now at museums of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin.<sup>3</sup> AK



CAT. 132 **Vakas**

New Julfa, 1688

Gold, silver, and silk threads, with pearls, silver, enamel, and turquoise on silk

6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 22<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.2 × 57 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 238)

The central image on this vakas, an amice worn by priests of the Armenian Church, represents the coronation of Mary the Mother of God (Theotokos).<sup>1</sup> Surrounded by the Most Holy Trinity—God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit—Mary kneels on a crescent moon at the center of three trefoil arches. She crosses open-palmed arms over her chest as six six-pointed stars rise around her and the Holy Spirit hovers above her in the form of a dove. To her right appears the resurrected Christ Jesus and to her left sits God the Father. Flaming halos surround both Father and Son, and both gaze at Mary as they hold an enameled crown over her head. God the Father, enthroned and crowned with a miter, holds an orb in his left hand, while Christ wears his nimbed halo, symbolizing the cross, as a crown and holds a scepter in his left hand. Christ's bared torso has an emphasized navel, evoking his incarnation from the Mother of God through the umbilical cord.

To the right of the Mother of God are the evangelists Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, who are portrayed in full length with their symbols and holding Gospel books, and the prophet Isaiah, who carries an open scroll in his hands. To her left are the evangelists Saint John and Saint Luke with their symbols, as well as Saint John the Baptist, who carries a lamb in his right arm and grasps a cruciform staff, enveloped in a flowing sash, with his left. On the upper band are the names of each figure, punctuated by floral decorations. The dedication, found on the piece's lower and side bands, reads: "This vakas is a memento from Khoje'jan and his wife Malaek' and parents for the use of archimandrite Mesrop in the year 1137 [AD 1688]."

All of the figures focus their gaze on the Mother of God, except for Saint Luke and Saint John the Baptist, who face in the opposite direction. This apparent dissonance is probably a mistake either by the preparer of the template or by the embroiderer. The embroidery is well done, with each figure personalized in the harmonious composition; however, the work is not as finely executed as pieces produced earlier in New Julfa. The iconography of this textile owes much to woodcuts reproduced in printed books. AK

# ARMENIANS AND TRADE ROUTES ACROSS THE GLOBE

Even before 1604, when Shah ‘Abbas I deported them to Isfahan, the capital of Safavid Iran, the Julfans were renowned silk traders (fig. 94). Indeed, few examples of local commercial success in early modern globalization are as striking as their story. The small Armenian town of Julfa, on the Arax River in Nakhchivan, was so important in the sixteenth century that it was marked on Abraham Ortelius’s 1570 *Theatrum*

of the Ottoman Empire: Amasya, Istanbul (formerly Constantinople), Mardin, and Diyarbakir on the Ottoman land route, as well as Bursa, the main Ottoman port.<sup>5</sup> Shah ‘Abbas had aimed to forbid the traditional route through rival Ottoman territory, but there is no evidence that it became unimportant, even when the New Julfan merchants sought other routes through overtures to the tsar of Russia in 1659 and to Louis XIV of France in 1670 (see fig. 86).<sup>6</sup> A 1667 treaty opened the Russian route after Khoja Zakar Sarhadian, a New Julfan trader, offered the tsar a throne covered in diamonds and other precious stones (see fig. 8). By that date the New Julfans had lost their dominant role at the Safavid Court and hoped for strong alliances elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> In 1670 the New Julfans began trading with Manila, intensifying their activity in the Indian Ocean.<sup>8</sup>

Fernand Braudel, one of the first scholars to notice the presence of the New Julfans in the Mediterranean, traced their collaboration with other trade diasporas, notably the Indian gem trade conducted by the famous Huguenots Jean Chardin and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.<sup>9</sup> Tavernier, who sent his nephew to a school in New Julfa for mercantile training,<sup>10</sup> recognized the high expectations placed on the Armenian merchants in Shah ‘Abbas’s quest for economic expansion:

For they do not only go to Europe, but run to the depths of Asia, the Indies, Tonkin, to Java, the Philippines, and in all of the Orient, to the exception of China and Japan. But when they do not deal their affairs well, they do not go back to Isfahan, because it is a place where one has to give exact accounting and where a good and short justice is applied, the blows of the stick are not rare for the factors who have not well spared the goods of their masters.<sup>11</sup>

*Orbis Terrarum* (Atlas of the World), claiming its place among major destinations such as Jerusalem and Constantinople. Julfa appears on the map as Chinla, a conflation of the Europeanized “Chulfa” and China, suggesting it was as well known as China for silk in the eyes of the Antwerp mapmaker.<sup>1</sup>

By the 1550s a large group of merchants from Julfa had settled in Aleppo and created a near monopoly in the transit of Iranian silk, which they sold to Europeans.<sup>2</sup> During the seventeenth century, silk replaced spices as

the primary imported Eastern commodity in Europe, and Iran was then the chief producer of raw silk for European weavers.<sup>3</sup> By that time, the New Julfans, as they were known after their deportation, had become key players in global markets for not only raw silk but also silver, cloth, indigo, gems, coffee, and saltpeter.<sup>4</sup>

Aside from Europe, other weaving and market centers dependent on Iranian raw silk were those



Fig. 94. “Armenian Merchant,” from Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo* (cat. 136), p. 441

The chief Mediterranean ports for Armenian trade were Marseille, Livorno, and Venice.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, a maritime route from Bandar ‘Abbas via the Persian Gulf was a major route to India.<sup>13</sup> Scholars debate whose ships carried the Armenians’ exports to Europe, India, and beyond,<sup>14</sup> and some have argued that European companies survived their early commercial failures in Bandar ‘Abbas and in Indian ports such as Surat, an important center for Armenian commerce, by becoming carriers for local Armenian and Indian traders.<sup>15</sup>

There is evidence that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Armenian ship owners were active in India, where they flew an Armenian maritime flag.<sup>16</sup> Khoja Minas, for example, owned many ships in Surat, including the famous *Quedagh Merchant*, later captured by Captain Kidd.<sup>17</sup> Minas entered into a relationship with the British East India Company well before the treaty of 1688, which hoped to make the English the sole carriers of Armenian trade.<sup>18</sup> Despite the treaty, the Dutch and French also competed to transport New Julfan trade.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the Armenians used mostly European and some Indian ships as carriers, in addition to their own ships.<sup>20</sup> They were not exceptional in this regard; indeed, Italian merchants relied on foreign ships.<sup>21</sup> Just as the New Julfans used foreign carriers for their goods, some Armenian-owned ships transported European trade across the Indian Ocean to Manila.<sup>22</sup>

In the Navigation Act of 1651, the English had tried to ensure that the English would carry their own trade in their own ships; however, this was not the norm.<sup>23</sup> European ships moved most of the Ottoman trade, a portion of which was New Julfan, via the Mediterranean to European ports, which banned the Ottoman flag.<sup>24</sup> The trade between the Ottoman Empire and India was largely in Armenian hands.<sup>25</sup> The primary Ottoman imports from India that the Armenians handled were gems, pharmaceuticals, perfume, spices, and indigo, as well as muslins, printed calicos, and other expensive cloths.<sup>26</sup>

The port of Bursa was crucial for these Indian imports and key for the New Julfan exports of silk and silver to India.<sup>27</sup> Yet, the critical importance of the Russian route for the silver bullion trade cannot be overlooked. Russian goods such as leather, furs, tin, and glass never covered the cost of silk, so Iran benefited from receiving the balance of payment in large amounts of cash. One-third to one-half of the Russian trade was in cash, and some of this cash the New Julfans exported to India since silver fetched a higher price there.<sup>28</sup> A land route between India and Iran via Kandahar was also important for the Indian exports of cotton, indigo, sugar, printed cloth, copper, and a primitive form of steel.<sup>29</sup>

The 1967 publication of an account book describing trade in India and Tibet from 1682 to 1693 inaugurated scholarship on New Julfa.<sup>30</sup> More globally one can retrace the trade routes by consulting a 1699 commercial manual—printed at the Armenian press in Amsterdam—that covers taxation and weights and measures throughout the world.<sup>31</sup> Located in the principal European ports of Venice, Marseille, and Amsterdam, Armenian printing presses subsidized with New Julfan funds produced books, both religious and secular, that were widely diffused.<sup>32</sup> New Julfa’s success was instrumental for the preservation of Armenian culture and identity through centuries of foreign occupation and exile (fig. 95). IBM



Fig. 95. “A Woman of Lower Armenia, Devoted to Chastity,” from Cesare Vecellio, *De gli abiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo* (cat. 136), p. 443

## CAT. 133 Ecclesiastical Cope

Iran, first half 17th century or later

Velvet cope in silk and metal-wrapped thread; embroidered orphrey in silk, metal-wrapped thread and metal wire on plain-weave in silk; cotton lining; engraved metal fittings

44½ × 103 in. (113 × 261.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.67)

Known as *nap'ort* or *šurġar*, the ecclesiastical cope is the outermost liturgical vestment of priests and bishops. It is worn during the Holy Eucharist (*Patarag*) and all sacraments of the church, including ceremonies such as the Blessing of Water, Grapes, and Chrism, as well as the Church Dedication and whenever a priest or bishop chants the Gospel.

This cope was skillfully assembled from fragments of a luxurious Safavid polychrome cut-and-voided silk velvet.<sup>1</sup> The distinctive outlines and varied sizes of the pieces indicate that they were originally parts of tailored clothing.<sup>2</sup> Larger, more complete fragments were placed at the back of the cope, the side that faces worshippers during liturgical rites. Other existing copes have similarly been composed of repurposed Safavid textiles.<sup>3</sup> Armenian kings wearing garments with a floral design comparable to the one on this cope are depicted in a painting in the church of Saint Stephen in New Julfa, demonstrating the popularity of these precious weavings.<sup>4</sup>

Distinctive to this piece is the orphrey, the wide, richly embroidered band that runs along the straight edge of the semicircular cope, and to which the clasps are affixed. The orphrey seems to have been added later to the existing cope in such a way that its constituent panels of embroidered icons appear side by side when the clergyman faces the congregation. The alteration may have been made to repurpose the splendidly embellished orphrey, or perhaps to lengthen the cope for a taller wearer.

There are six figures on the orphrey plus four crosses. Four bishops are each identified by an

embroidered subscript, conventionally abbreviated. When the garment is worn, the bishops appear arranged bilaterally on either side of the orphrey as the clasped cope hangs down to the clergyman's feet. The Virgin Mary and an angel are depicted opposite one another. Strangely, the two inscriptions "Virgin Mary" and "Mother of God" do not appear





directly under her image, but farther down, beneath two bilateral panels of crosses. This suggests that the orphrey itself may have been reassembled from preexisting materials.

Each of the bishops is designated as a patriarch (*hayrapet*), which signifies the head of a local church. Nerses I Partev (d. 373) and his son Sahak I Partev

(d. 439) were prominent Armenian catholicoses. Nicholas of Myra (d. 343) came to be venerated in the Armenian Church in the late thirteenth century (cat. 60). The fourth bishop, whose identifying inscription is now only partially legible, is probably Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), who was highly influential in the Armenian Church's liturgy and theology. MDF and KC

## CAT. 134 Antependium or Altar Frontal

Probably New Julfa, 1695

Silk with silver, and silver-gilded threads wrapped around a silk core

39 × 87<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (99 × 222 cm)

Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon (1084)

This altar frontal is made of a large central panel of red silk and two lateral bands of green silk sewn together and framed by an embroidered floral border; a somewhat later braid runs around three sides and a fringe hangs from the bottom edge. The two-line inscription across the center of the red silk panel reads, “This altar frontal was made in memory of Der Mkrtič‘ and his wife Ghambam and of her brother Davit‘ and their parents in the year 1144 [AD 1695].”<sup>1</sup> The central medallion depicts the Annunciation and the four corner medallions display the symbols of the evangelists. The Annunciation, set against a silver-gilded embroidered ground, is depicted in the Western iconographic manner, with the Virgin praying on her knees in front of a *prie-dieu* (prayer stool) and with her hands crossed over her chest as the angel, emerging from clouds, approaches her from above. This image became very popular during the Counter-Reformation and spread east into the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran. Similar Annunciation scenes are found on two altar frontals, one from Smyrna and the other from Varna, and in the decoration on the entrance and walls of All Savior’s cathedral and a tiled lunette in the church of Saint Sargis in New Julfa.<sup>2</sup>

The embroidered decoration on the altar frontal of isolated flowering plants in three more or less offset rows emulates the aesthetic of woven textiles. If the decoration had been woven rather than embroidered it would have consisted of rows of identical floral spray repeats in the Safavid manner.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to tell whether the embroidery is the product of an Iranian cultural environment, such as New Julfa, or an Armenian center in the Ottoman Empire closely linked to Julfan merchants. AB







## CAT. 135 Kalamkari Hanging with Figures in an Architectural Setting

Golconda region of the Coromandel Coast, India, ca. 1640–50  
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton  
100 × 78 in. (254 × 198.1 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Albert  
Blum, 1920 (20.79)

This hanging panel once belonged to a larger composition with parts now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Dated to the mid-seventeenth century, the textile was typical of the Golconda region of India and was produced by applying mordants, resists, and dyes to the surface with a pen called the *kalam*, from which the textile receives its name.<sup>1</sup> This format of a large panel picturing flora, fauna, and human figures in a setting that recalls elaborate courtly architecture was common in Deccan wall painting. Textiles like these were used to create walls for decorated tents.<sup>2</sup>

This hanging presents key figures in Deccan society, specifically those active in Deccan economic life, during the mid-seventeenth century. Marika Sardar has identified the foreign agents as Armenian, Dutch, English, French, and Iranian people, all of whom were important in the textile trade that dominated the Indian economy at the time.<sup>3</sup> The figures here are drawn not only from actual representations of these individuals but also from European printed and painted works that capture their general style and comportment. The man on horseback is based on English portrait types of the 1620s and 1630s and may be King James I (r. 1603–1625).<sup>4</sup> The Armenian women, shown wearing headdresses with a draped scarf,<sup>5</sup> represent the Armenian merchant elite and bear a strong resemblance to their fashionable contemporaries in Cesare Vecellio's costume book *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo* (cat. 136). CA



CAT. 136 *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo*

Venice, 1590

Written by Cesare Vecellio (1521–1601)

Woodcuts by Christoph Krieger (d. ca. 1590)

Printed by Damiano Zenaro (act. 1563–ca. 1604)

Woodcut on paper

6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.7 × 12.5 × 5.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906, transferred from the Library (21.36.146)

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Armenians had established themselves as the preeminent merchants of Europe and Asia. This book of regional clothing styles, with woodcuts by Christoph Krieger based on drawings by Cesare Vecellio, as well as commentary written by Vecellio, drew visual links between clothing and identity. Vecellio, a cousin of Titian and member of his workshop, intended for this book to serve both as a visual aid for fellow artists and as a primer for Venice's wealthy merchant population, enabling them to recognize their fellow merchants abroad.<sup>1</sup>

Vecellio and Krieger represent the Armenians via five woodcuts: the wealthy Armenian, the Armenian merchant, the Armenian woman from Cilicia, the virtuous Armenian woman, and the Armenian nobleman (see figs. 75, 94, 95).<sup>2</sup> In his texts, Vecellio draws attention to the unique Christian identity of Armenia: how the Armenian Church is its own entity, differing significantly from the Catholic and Greek Churches. He also emphasizes the prominent role of the Armenians as textile and carpet merchants. Like Matthew Paris, the author connects the Armenian homeland with the landing place of Noah's Ark and comments more



pp. 439–40

broadly on the dramatic beauty of the landscape of Greater Armenia (cat. 1).<sup>3</sup>

Vecellio places these ethnic archetypes within the milieu of the Eastern Mediterranean. According to him, the wealthy Armenians' sartorial choices—dressing in fur, ivory, wools, and velvets—draw from the Turkish mode of dress, as reflected by the style of shoes and trousers favored, as well as the Greek, as reflected by the long cloaks and coats.<sup>4</sup> These widely read descriptions cemented public perception of Armenians as wealthy merchants who controlled one of the most important industries in the sixteenth century. ca

## ARMENIAN PRINTED BOOKS

Invented in Germany by Johannes Gutenberg in the mid-fifteenth century, printing with movable type quickly spread to Italy and other parts of Europe. Cultures in the Near East, introduced to European printed books through trade, rapidly understood the potential of the printing press to produce multiple copies of books. However, this new technology was complicated, requiring specialized craftsmen to produce the type, trained typesetters and printers, special inks, and of course the printing press itself. Initially, the necessary technical expertise was available only in Europe. For this reason, the first books printed in the Armenian, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic languages were produced in Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The history of printing in the Armenian language is convoluted. Owing to technical problems, Roman Catholic censorship issues, and financial difficulties (opening a printing house was expensive and needed financing), Armenian printing presses were continually displaced from different locations in Europe and the Near East over the course of centuries. Printing in the Armenian language first appeared in five small books produced in Venice, the earliest dating from 1511 or 1512 (cat. 137).<sup>1</sup> These books were intended especially for merchants, travelers, and laypeople. Nothing is known about the printer (besides his epithet, Hakob the sinful [Hakob *meghapart*]) or how he financed his press. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Armenian presses were eventually founded in many cities in Europe and the Near East, such as Venice, Rome, Amsterdam, New Julfa, L'vov, and Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

The Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press in Amsterdam became one of the most renowned Armenian presses for having produced the first Arme-



Fig. 96. “The Four Evangelists” (left) and “the Tree of Jesse” (right), from Oskan Bible (cat. 138), pp. 430–31, second pagination

nian Bible, known as the Oskan Bible after its printer Oskan Erevants'i (cat. 138, fig. 96). The press relocated to Livorno, Marseille, and finally Constantinople. In 1685, the Vanandets'i family arrived in Amsterdam and reestablished a press in that city. Active for more than three decades, the Vanandets'i press published both religious and secular books, as well as a spectacular world map geared to merchants and students (cat. 143).

Venice remained an important printing center for Armenians, especially after the arrival of the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist congregation in 1717. The Mekhitarists became celebrated for their scholarly editions and religious publications; one of their most notable achievements is an illustrated Bible published in 1733 (cat. 140). Constantinople was also a major Armenian printing center, home to approximately twenty Armenian presses by the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A printing press was not established in Armenia proper until 1771, in Etchmiadzin (cat. 141). SLM



pp. 2-3

CAT. 137 *Book of Friday (Urbat'agirk')*

Venice, 1511 or 1512

Printed by Hakob the sinful (*meghapart*) (act. early 16th century)

Ink on paper, with leather recycled from another manuscript

6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (15.8 × 12.1 cm)

Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, Italy (2225)

This small volume, called the *Book of Friday (Urbat'agirk')*, is the first book printed in the Armenian language, published in Venice in 1511 or 1512.<sup>1</sup> It consists of protective prayers, excerpts from the Gospels and Psalms, the stories of the magician Cyprian and the virgin Justine, and spells to protect against or cure all manner of illness and evil, from the mundane, such as a toothache or headache, to the more treacherous, such as snakebites or the curse of the evil eye. The title *Book of Friday* is derived from the first line of text, which begins: "Friday or Wednesday, they bring the sick one to the door of the Church. And they say the *Harts'* Psalm [*sic*] up until the *Gortsk'*. And then they say twelve 'Lord have Mercy's' and he says this prayer."<sup>2</sup> Friday is considered a symbolic day that is associated with many Armenian superstitions; much of the first section of the book, called Holy Friday (*Surb Urbat'*), consists of spells to "bind" (i.e., ward off and restrain) demons and evil spirits.<sup>3</sup> This

type of content is also found in Armenian codex manuscripts as well as prayer scrolls or phylacteries (*hmayil*), which were produced in both manuscript and printed form.<sup>4</sup>

This first page of text faces a woodcut of an Armenian priest wearing the distinctive black headgear (*veghar*) and holding a book, presumably the *Book of Friday*, while praying over a sick man in bed. It is unlikely, however, that the clergy would have approved of or used such a text, as its emphasis on spells and exorcisms to cure illnesses and destroy evil spirits borders on magic. Despite the Church's disapproval of magical spells and rituals, such folk beliefs were common. This book functioned as a protective amulet to ward off or cure illnesses and demons, and it would have been considered especially necessary for travelers and merchants far from home. It served to protect and bring comfort to both the body and soul of the reader.

The printer is known only by the enigmatic epithet of Hakob the sinful (*meghapart*); he printed a total of five books in Venice between 1511/12 and 1513/14, all for the use of merchants or other laypeople.<sup>5</sup> Hakob's printer's mark featured a cross with a circle below the base divided into quadrants, with one letter in each quadrant: D, I, Z, and A; this has never been deciphered. SLM

## CAT. 138 Oskan Bible

Amsterdam, 1666  
Edited by Oskan Erevants'i (1614–1674)  
Printed by Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press in Armenian  
Ink on paper with gold-tooled leather binding; 1–628 and 1–832 pages (two pagination systems in one volume; missing pages 833–34)  
10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (26.4 × 20.7 cm)  
Diocese of the Armenian Church of America (Eastern)

## CAT. 139 Biblia Sacra

Antwerp; New Testament, 1646; Old Testament, 1657  
Printed by Pieter Jacobsz Paets (1587–1657/67) in Dutch  
Woodcuts by Christoffel van Sichem (act. 17th century)  
Ink on paper; Old Testament: 1265 pages; New Testament: 468 pages plus 6 unnumbered pages (bound in one volume)  
14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (37 × 24.5 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund (45.37)

The Oskan Bible is the first complete Bible printed in the Armenian language.<sup>1</sup> Such an undertaking had been a long-standing desire among Armenians; however, because of technical problems, financial constraints, and papal censorship, this project would not be realized until 1666 in Amsterdam under the direction of Bishop Oskan Erevants'i of New Julfa and through the financing of three New Julfan merchants.<sup>2</sup> The press was named the Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press after two important monasteries connected with Bishop Oskan. Printing the Bible in Europe in the Armenian language required permission from Roman Catholic censors. After decades of unsuccessful attempts to obtain authorization, the Armenians finally went to the Dutch Republic to print their Bible; in the mid-seventeenth century, this Protestant country was more religiously tolerant than Rome or Venice.<sup>3</sup>

Of great interest is the Bible's embellishment with hundreds of woodcuts by the Dutch artist Christoffel



cat. 138, pp. 466–67, second pagination

van Sichem.<sup>4</sup> Many of Van Sichem's compositions were inspired by popular woodcuts and engravings produced by other European artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, Hendrick Goltzius, Jacob Matham, and the Wierix brothers.<sup>5</sup> The Van Sichem woodcuts in the Oskan Bible were printed from the same woodblocks previously used in Dutch religious publications for decades by the printer Pieter Jacopsz Paets, such as the Catholic *Biblia Sacra*, printed in Antwerp in the Dutch language in 1646 (New Testament) and 1657 (Old Testament).<sup>6</sup> The Armenian press in Amsterdam acquired the woodblocks from Paets or his estate, before 1661, and the woodcuts appeared in many of its publications, including the Oskan Bible.<sup>7</sup> The press relocated to Livorno, Marseille, and Constantinople until it shuttered in 1718; some of the Van Sichem woodcuts appeared in subsequent publications printed at these locations. These books were shipped and sold all over the Near East, where there was a ready Armenian market for them. The Van Sichem woodcuts were thus widely disseminated and became quite popular as models for religious art in various media, such as liturgical metalwork. For example, the woodcut of the Last Supper inspired the composition of the same scene in the gold pyx made by Armenian silversmiths in Kayseri (cat. 111). Additionally, the silver and enameled Resurrection on the back cover from Kayseri (cat. 112) was directly copied from the Van Sichem woodcut of the same subject.<sup>8</sup> Note that Van Sichem labeled portions of many of his woodcuts A, B, C, etc., and included corresponding captions below the images to explain the scenes depicted.<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions read: "Jesus sits down at the table again, the Apostles eat the evening meal but Jesus consumes no food" and "Jesus makes the holiest Sacrifice and Sacrament and communicates it with his Disciples."<sup>10</sup> Although the Armenians reused the blocks as is and did not remove the Latin letters, these letters had no purpose in the Armenian edition of the Bible since the Dutch captions were not included.

The Van Sichem prints were also used as models for later woodcuts by Armenian artists. Some of



Detail of cat. 139, p. 58 of New Testament, second pagination

these Van Sichem-based compositions, recut into new woodblocks by Armenian artists such as Grigor Marzuanets'i, continued to be used in Armenian printed books up to the early nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> When the blocks were recut, the Latin letters that had been used for the captions were logically not included. SLM



pp. 638-39

## CAT. 140 Mekhitar Bible

Venice, 1733, with 18th-century binding  
 Printed in Armenian by Antonio Bortoli (act. 1704–1760)  
 Published by the Mekhitarist Congregation  
 Ink and pigments on paper with gold-tooled leather  
 binding; 1280 pages  
 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (32 × 23.6 cm)  
 Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro  
 Abbey, Venice, Italy

In the early eighteenth century in Constantinople, Abbot Mekhitar Sebastats'i (1676–1749) founded the Armenian Catholic order (Benedictine rite) known as the Mekhitarists. After leaving Constantinople, Mekhitar and his disciples lived for more than a decade in the Peloponnese. By 1715 they had relocated to Venice and in 1717 the order obtained the Venetian island of San Lazzaro, where the congregation and its renowned library remain to this day.<sup>1</sup> Famous for establishing highly regarded educational institutions worldwide, the Mekhitarists were also known for their extensive printing activity in the Armenian language, especially for translating into Armenian and publishing Western European literary, historical, and Catholic religious

books, as well as for printing classical Armenian authors and religious books.<sup>2</sup> This Bible, printed in 1733 and edited by Mekhitar himself, is the third edition of the Bible in Armenian.<sup>3</sup> It was based on the Oskan Bible printed in Amsterdam (cat. 138). The Mekhitar Bible, however, was not actually printed on the island of San Lazzaro by the Mekhitarists but in Venice by Antonio Bortoli, who for decades held the legal privilege of printing books in the Armenian language in that city.<sup>4</sup> The Mekhitar Bible was embellished with 156 engravings, many of which were based on Christoffel van Sichem's woodcuts used in the Oskan Bible.<sup>5</sup> For example, on page 639, at the beginning of the Book of Proverbs, the engraving on the upper right with the Queen of Sheba kneeling before Solomon is a simplified version of Van Sichem's woodcut of the same composition found on page 92 (first pagination) of the Oskan Bible.<sup>6</sup>

The engravings of at least two copies of the Mekhitar Bible were superbly hand-colored as special presentation copies: the first as a gift for Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740–1758), and this exemplar for Abbot Mekhitar himself.<sup>7</sup> This copy has resided on the island of San Lazzaro since its publication. SLM

CAT. 141 *Book of the History of the Jewish War against the Romans*

Etchmiadzin, 1787

Written by Titus Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100)

Ink on paper, with leather over wood binding; 496 pages

11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28.5 × 23.5 × 5 cm)

Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 246)

This work by Titus Flavius Josephus is printed on off-white thin paper; some pages are tarnished, and traces of humidity are visible. The fore edge, head, and tail are dyed with Armenian cochineal, portions of which have faded. The book has two title pages and a colophon.

The first printing press in Armenia was founded at Holy Etchmiadzin in 1771 through the efforts of Catholicos Simeon I of Yerevan (r. 1763–1780): “He devised that plan twenty years before his election when still a deacon he was sent as legate to India and succeeded in inculcating this idea in Grigor Mik‘aye‘lean Khojajan Tchak‘ikeants of Julfa, a wealthy merchant in Madras . . . , who agreed to defray the necessary costs.”<sup>1</sup> Until 1787 books of spiritual or liturgical character were published in Holy Etchmiadzin, under the direction of the catholicoses Simeon I and Ghukas I. With the printing of the *Book of the History of the Jewish War against the Romans*, for the first time the press at Holy Etchmiadzin produced a book on the initiative not of the Catholicos of All Armenians but of a benefactor of the Armenian Church. Khach‘ik Poghosyan, an Armenian magnate from India, petitioned Catholicos Ghukas I to publish Josephus’s work and offered to assume responsibility for the printing costs. Initially, the catholicos did not deem the work appropriate for printing,<sup>2</sup> and he was still not convinced after Khach‘ik Poghosyan sent him a copy of another Armenian translation of Josephus’s text. The pontiff, however, did not ignore the proposal of the Armenian benefactor from India, and he decided to publish a translation of Josephus’s work based on a copy kept at the Holy See: “The copy of the History of Josephus supplied by you had many errors, thus we decided to print the accurate copy in our possession, the manuscript of the translator and of his disciple.”<sup>3</sup>



frontispiece

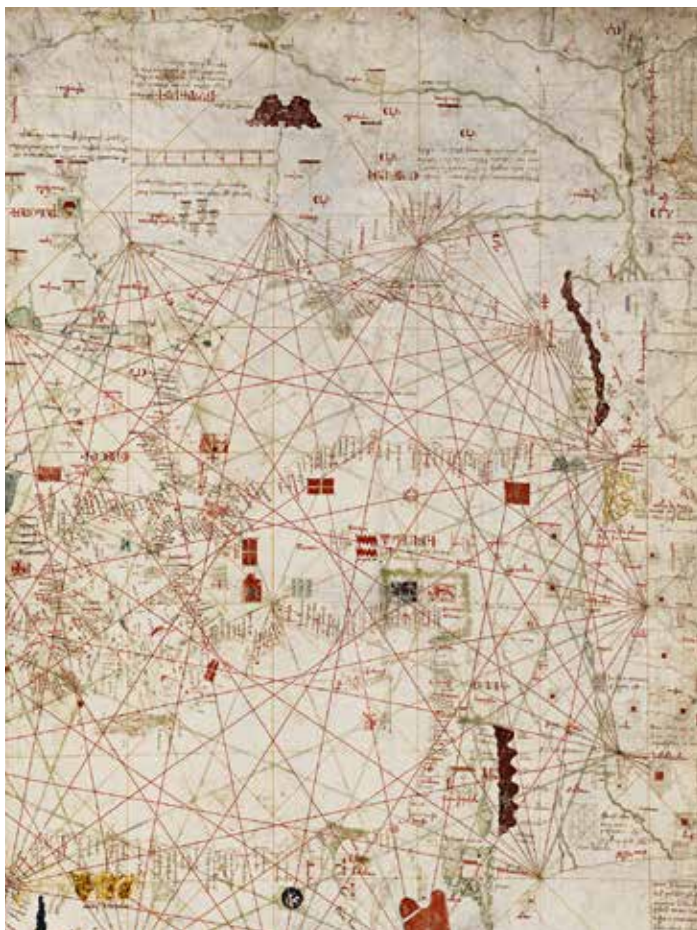
The colophon of the printed book states that Josephus’s text was first translated into Armenian much earlier; Armenian Church doctors, such as Saint Gregory of Tat‘ev, used this early translation. During the invasion of Timur, the ancient copies of this book and several others were destroyed.<sup>4</sup> This new Armenian translation was made from Latin by Step‘anos, *vardapet* of Lehatsi (Poland), a member of the brotherhood of Holy Etchmiadzin, in the second half of the seventeenth century, “following multiple requests imposed on us by the trice blessed Catholicos Lord Pilippos, as well as petitions and pleas by the brothers.”<sup>5</sup> The translator’s autograph copy was originally kept in the Library of Manuscripts of Holy Etchmiadzin, and it is now held in the Matenadaran, Yerevan.<sup>6</sup>

Both the new translation of Josephus’s text on the first-century Jewish rebellion against the Romans in Jerusalem and its publication in Etchmiadzin pursued political ends. Some Armenian spiritual and lay leaders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought to encourage the Armenian people to liberate themselves from the tyranny of Persian and Ottoman domination: “The publication of the translation of Josephus’s work was meant to prepare the ideological and historical foundations for the Armenian people to understand that they should strive to obtain their liberty through a general uprising.”<sup>7</sup> AK



## MAPS INCLUDING ARMENIA

One of the first maps to identify Armenia is a circular Babylonian inscribed tablet from the sixth century BC; it shows among other sites Babylon at its center with Armenia above Assyria to the right.<sup>1</sup> The *Geography* (*Ashkharhats'oyts'*) by the Greek-trained polymath Armenian Anania Shirakats'i (610–685), while lacking a drawn map, contains the earliest surviving detailed description of Armenian lands.<sup>2</sup> During the medieval centuries, Western Christian maps focused on the country as the home of Noah's Ark (cat. 1). A twelfth-century copy of a map said to have been drawn by Saint Jerome in 420 shows the ark on Mount Ararat between the two ancient Armenian kingdoms that developed after the death of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC)—*armenia superior* (Greater Armenia) and



*armenia inferior* (Lesser Armenia).<sup>3</sup> A 1339 Catalan portolano (navigational chart) of the Mediterranean emphasizes the last Christian port in the Eastern Mediterranean, Ayas in Cilicia, and illustrates the ark on Mount Ararat to mark Greater Armenia on the inland trade route (fig. 97).<sup>4</sup> Islamic maps from the tenth century onward identify Armenian lands and include Mount Ararat but without interest in, or reference to, Noah's Ark.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest surviving Armenian map from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century does not show the ark, or even Armenia. This circular T-O map, with an oversize Jerusalem at its center, is divided into Europe, Africa, and Asia and names important trade-route cities, including Baghdad, Constantinople, Damascus, and Venice (see fig. 25).<sup>6</sup> Two maps of exceptional interest were produced in Armenia at the end of the medieval centuries. The first map, dated to 1691, reflects international interest in the Armenians by displaying in detail their communities in the Ottoman Empire (cat. 142).<sup>7</sup> The second, produced for the Armenian merchant elite of New Julfa and Constantinople, is in a European style and depicts the entire world through which Armenian merchants traveled. The allegorical scenes typical of European taste surrounding the map reflect the Armenian merchant elite's desire to participate in contemporary European culture (cat. 143).<sup>8</sup> HCE

Fig. 97. Angelino Dulcert (act. mid-14th century). Detail of a portolano, 1339. Tempera and ink on parchment, 40 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (102 × 75 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Res, Ge. B 696)

CAT. 142 *Tabula Chorographica Armenica*

Constantinople, 1691

Illuminated by Eremia Ch'elepi K'eomiwrchean (1637–1695)

Tempera and ink on paper

140<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 47<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (358 × 120 cm)

Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Fondo Marsili, Italy (rot. 24)

By the end of the seventeenth century, Armenian communities had attained a far-flung and sizable intercontinental presence that stretched from London to Myanmar and from Amsterdam to Madras. This oversize map, drawn for Luigi Federico Marsili, a Bolognese aristocrat and member of the retinue of the Venetian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, shows the expansiveness of the late seventeenth-century Armenian Church. The map plots the positions of important churches and sites from Nishapur, the location of the martyrdom of Lewon-deank,<sup>1</sup> to the churches and monasteries of Crimea.<sup>2</sup> K'eomiwrchean included nearly eight hundred sites on the map, as well as the major Armenian ecclesiastical centers: the catholicosates of Etchmiadzin, Gandzasar, Aght'amar, and Cilicia, along with the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople, are all represented.<sup>3</sup>

The map was intended to be used not as a course-plotting tool but as a curio, an exemplar of Marsili's intellectual breadth. Rather than simply indicating the geographic extent of the Armenian presence, it highlighted the Armenian networks of control through trade, culture, and religion. Unlike the *Chronica Majora* (cat. 1), K'eomiwrchean's map does not privilege Mount Ararat and Noah's Ark as Armenia's most noteworthy features. The map also constitutes a catalogue of the types of Armenian architecture established since the sixth century and used throughout areas under Armenian control. For example, K'eomiwrchean places members of the Ottoman court (who were represented in Cesare Vecellio's 1590 edition of *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo*; cat. 136) and prelates associated with Etchmiadzin outside a complex of buildings at the Mother See, featured prominently in the upper right quadrant of the map; this scene resembles other depictions of Armenian architecture (cat. 103) and Armenian clergy (cat. 130). CA



## CAT. 143 World Map

Amsterdam, 1695

Engravings by Adrian Schoonbeek (1657/71–1705) and Peter Schoonbeek (act. 1695)

Printed by T'ovmas Vanandets'i (d. 1708)

Ink on paper

48<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 62<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (124 × 158 cm)

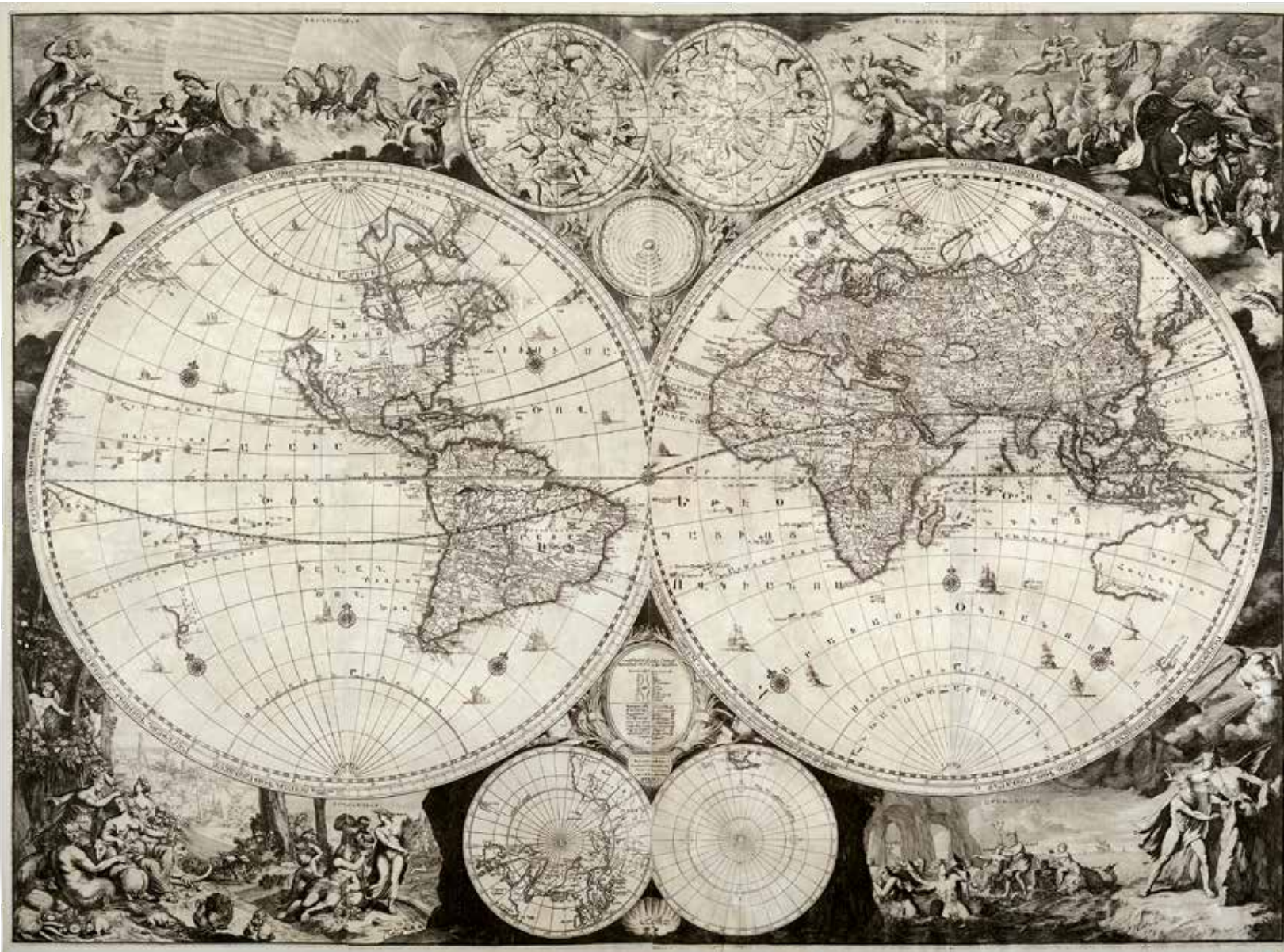
Private collection

This impressive work, produced in Amsterdam in 1695, is the first printed world map in the Armenian language.<sup>1</sup> It was published by Archbishop T'ovmas Vanandets'i, whose family ran an Armenian press in Amsterdam from 1685 to 1718. The map was printed from eight copper plates engraved by the Dutch brothers Adrian and Peter Schoonbeek; the eight sheets were pieced together to form the map.<sup>2</sup> Like many seventeenth-century European world maps, it depicts the world as two large hemispheres and includes allegorical illustrations of the four seasons, with one in each corner. As was typical of Armenian manuscripts and early printed books, the map also includes a short colophon below the two large hemispheres. The majority of the text on the map is in Armenian, including identifications of the multiple images in the allegorical scenes, presumably to allow Armenians to understand the images as well as the geographic sites. There are also a Latin inscription naming the Dutch engravers and giving the date and place of printing and a small Persian inscription at the bottom within a half clamshell, which reads *jahan bin*, or “comprehending the whole world.”<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why a Persian inscription was added to the map; perhaps many of the potential customers were Armenian merchants from New Julfa, and this was included as a nod to their adopted home. On the map, the captions for Europe and the Near East are understandably detailed, while those for some relatively unexplored regions of the world—such as New Holland (Australia) and North America—are

incomplete or inaccurate. California is depicted as an island, a common misconception recorded in several seventeenth-century European maps.<sup>4</sup>

This large, high-quality printed map would have been quite expensive, and therefore affordable only to the wealthier echelons of Armenian society, such as the merchant class; maps were probably also used in schools. About a dozen copies of this map are known to exist today.<sup>5</sup> At least five of these copies have a large caption or title at the top or bottom of the map with the words *Hamatarats Ashkharhats'oyts'* (Universal Map).<sup>6</sup>

In addition to this map and its accompanying booklet, called a “key” and published a year later, the press produced many secular books for merchants and students. These include a book of comparative weights, measures, and money throughout the world; a text with information on the elements, climate, and natural phenomena such as earthquakes; the 1711 *Thesaurus Linguae Armenicae* by Johann Joachim Schröder; and a 1699 book intended for young students, containing the alphabet, grammar, scientific and philological texts, medical remedies, and even dream interpretation—presumably subjects which would have been deemed necessary for young Armenians preparing for a life in business and travel.<sup>7</sup> The Vanandets'i press also printed religious books, such as hymnals, prayer books, and a New Testament, as well as the first edition of the fifth-century *History of Armenia* by Movses Khorenats'i, considered the Father of Armenian History. SLM



# GLOSSARY

All terms in *italic* are Armenian, unless otherwise noted.

**abeghay** monk

**amice** linen liturgical vestment that covers the neck and shoulders of the celebrant

**antependium** (pl. **antependia**) decorative cloth that covers the front of the altar

**archimandrite** clergyman who ranks below a bishop

**atabeg** provincial governor

**bazpan** liturgical cuff or maniple worn around the wrist

**bolorgir** round, cursive Armenian script typically used for minuscule script

**burvar** hanging censor

**catholicos** primate or bishop of the Armenian Church

**catholicosate** territory or division under the jurisdiction of a catholicos

**Chashots' Girk'** lectionary that includes the liturgical readings for the church year

**chasuble** sleeveless liturgical vestment

**colophon** statement in the margin of a book that usually contains information about authorship and production

**dalmatic** long, wide-sleeved liturgical vestment worn by bishops and deacons

**derebey** local tribal leader; relatively independent Anatolian lords (Turkish)

**dpir** clerk

**Drnbats'ek'** Palm Sunday evening

**emip'oron** (or **usakir**) liturgical vestment indicative of a bishop's rank, commonly known by the Greek term omophorion; similar to the pallium worn in the Western church

**erets'** priest

**erkat'agir** uncial script typically used for majuscule script; first Armenian script developed by Mesrop Mashtots'

**erkir paganel** literally, "to kiss the ground"; prostration in veneration of the cross

**esnaf** guild (Turkish)

**flabellum** (pl. **flabella**) liturgical fan

**futuwwa** term from the Quran that refers to a type of moral code (Arabic)

**gavit'** narthex or antechamber preceding the church

**goti** liturgical belt

**grakal** Armenian lectern or liturgical book stand

**hagiography** saint's biography

**hayrapet** patriarch or head of a local church

**hmayil** phylactery; inscribed scroll

**Holy Chrism** consecrated oil used in Armenian Church ceremonies

**ishkhan** prince

**kafa** verses added to a text, often an interpretation of the text

**kalantar** provost or governor (Persian)

**katholikon** entire church space

**khachkar** carved Armenian cross stone

**khoja** title given to an Armenian elite merchant in Persia

**khoran** canon tables or elevated altar space

**knkugh** (later **velar**) white pointed liturgical headgear

**konk'er** large square liturgical textile that hangs from the bishop's waist on the right or left side; similar to the Byzantine *epigonation*

**mahtesi** pilgrim

**maphorion** mantle worn by the Virgin Mary (Greek)

**masnatup'** (or **srbatup'**) reliquary

**nap'ort** (later **šurjar**) ornate cope and outermost liturgical garment

**naxarar** feudal lord; title for Armenian nobility

**nkarich'** painter

**notrgir** (or **notragir**) compact, notarial Armenian script

**paron** Armenian title for feudal lords

**paron-ter** literally, "lord-priest"; class of feudal prelate

**Patarag** liturgy of the Eucharist; Eucharistic Holy Sacrifice

**patmučan** (or **šapik**) white liturgical tunic that is often richly embroidered

**patriarchate** office or headquarters of the patriarch, the highest-ranking bishop

**phelonion** (pl. **phelonia**) liturgical cope (Greek)

**protospatharios** a dignitary in the Byzantine imperial hierarchy (Greek)

**proximos** title of significant rank (Greek)

**rabunapet** literally, "head teacher"; learned master in a college of high theological and philosophical learning; often used interchangeably with *vardapet*

**sarkawag** deacon

**shapik** white full-length liturgical vestment, also known as an alb

**sharaknots'** hymnal

**shghagir** ligatured cursive Armenian script

**sk'ol** simple white liturgical veil

**sparapet** hereditary title given to a commander-in-chief of the Armenian army

**srbagrogh** corrector of a manuscript text

**stats'ogh** sponsor or donor

**tasnyak** literally, "tenths"; refers to ten blocks that divide a street

**ter** honorific title similar to "lord"; refers to member of the clergy when used before the given name

**t'rch'nagir** ornate Armenian letters composed of birds

**urar** (later **p'orurar**) long liturgical stole that wraps around the back of the clergyman's neck; worn over the *patmučan*

**vakas** liturgical collar worn by priests in the Armenian church

**vambrace** liturgical cuff

**vanahayr** abbot

**vardapet** honorific term granted to a learned scholar or theologian

**veghar** liturgical headgear worn by celibate priests

**waqf** charter; Muslim charitable endowment (Arabic)

**xoyr** (later **salawart**) miter or scarf-like turban that covers the head and neck and hangs down the back of the shoulders

**yaysmawurk'** synaxarion or a brief account for a feast day or of a saint's life

# NOTES

## ARMENIANS AND THEIR MIDDLE AGE

1. Movses Khorenats'i 1978, pp. 75, 92. Movses was a major medieval Armenian historian whose date is intensely debated. Whether he wrote in the fifth or the eighth century, his writings contain much of the earliest Armenian understanding of their history and were widely accepted throughout the medieval centuries.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35, 171–75; see also Garsoïan 1994, pp. 7–8; Redgate 1998, pp. 111–12, 253, which includes evidence of other early Christian connections in the fifth-century Armenian *Epic Histories*, book III, as a source. See *Epic Histories* 1989, pp. 67–100.
3. Movsesian 2016. The date of the Armenian conversion—301 or 314—is highly debated with recent scholarship generally supporting 314; Redgate 1998, pp. 111–16.
4. C. K. Garabed identified the quotation as a popular variation of the text of William Saroyan's short story "The Armenian and the Armenian," first published in *Inhale and Exhale* (1936). See Garabed 2009; Saroyan 1936.
5. Garsoïan 1984–85; Redgate 1998, pp. 88–112.
6. Agat'angeghos 1976, pp. 406–15; see also Maksoudian 1994, pp. 25–26. For a more detailed discussion of the conversion of the Armenians, see Thomson 1988–89.
7. Redgate 1998, pp. 107–39; see also Maksoudian 1994, pp. 25–26.
8. Redgate 1998, pp. 140–42; see also Maksoudian 1994, pp. 27–28.
9. Mathews 1982, who notes that the archangel who brings the Magi to Christ is a tradition preserved in the apocryphal *Armenian Infancy Gospels*.
10. Agat'angeghos 1976, pp. 273–97, with commentary on pp. lv–lvii. See also Redgate 1998, p. 122, who notes that the light and fire associated with the event reflected Zoroastrian tradition and biblical images traditions.
11. Garsoïan 1996; Redgate 1998, pp. 129–33, 152, 252–53, 648–49.
12. Garsoïan 1991, p. 666.
13. Sanjian 1969, for example, pp. 50, 55, 58, 59, 60, 63, 65, 105, 109.
14. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, pp. 179, 197, who extensively quotes the Armenian historians Grigor Aknerts'i (*The Nation of Archers* after 1273) and Step'anos Orbelian (*History of the Province of Syunik* of 1297).
15. See Avedis K. Sanjian in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, pp. 17–26, especially p. 18; Nersessian 2001, p. 168, no. 92.
16. Alishan 1899, p. 430; Larner 1999, pp. 40–41.
17. Kaegi 2003, p. 21.
18. Maranci 2008–9; Maranci 2006, pp. 662–65.
19. Redgate 1998, pp. 226–29.
20. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. I, p. 3.
21. Evans 2016, p. 238.
22. Runciman 1969, pp. 584–85, 591.

23. Redgate 1998, pp. 256–57. Levon was awarded his crown at Tarsus by Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, on behalf of the Western Roman emperor Henry VI.
24. See Evans 1990, pp. 27–29, n. 64, for Bardzrberd and Paperon (Baberon) as the families' principal residences.
25. Redgate 1998, p. 261.
26. Mutaïan 1993, p. 90.
27. Bedrosian 1997, pp. 268–71; Kouymjian 1997, p. 41; Margaryan 2007, pp. 297–99. My thanks to Anna Ballian for these references.
28. Jones 2007.
29. Evans 2016.
30. Marchese and Breu 2015.
31. Aslanian 2011, pp. 82, 83, 150.
32. Papazian 2000; Aslanian 2011, pp. 62, 142.
33. Collier 2014.

## CAT. I

1. Lewis 1987, p. 302.
2. Vaughan 1958, pp. 2–3, 11–13, 239, 244; Lewis 1987, pp. 300–303, 353–54; Melanie Holcomb in Boehm and Holcomb 2016, pp. 26–28, no. 1. Paris's text up to the years 1234/35 is primarily based on the *Flores Historiarum* by Roger of Wendover.
3. Lewis 1987, p. 353.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 300–301, 302.

## THE INVENTION OF THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET

1. Although he is often referred to as Mesrop Mashtots', the name "Mesrop" was added in late medieval times; Maksoudian 1985, pp. xiii–xiv.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. vii–xxxii.
3. M. E. Stone, Kouymjian, and Lehmann 2002, p. 73.

## CAT. 3

1. Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, pp. 166–67; Anna Sirinian in Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and V. Karapetian 2011, p. 104, no. 28.
2. Mathews in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 176.
3. Ioanna Rapti and Vigen Kazarian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 186–87, no. 64; S. Der Nersessian 1933/1973, pp. 539–40, lists Armenian manuscripts with similar canon tables.
4. Annie Labatt in Evans 2012, pp. 67–68, no. 39, for the Rabbula Gospels; S. Der Nersessian 1933/1973, pp. 540–46, emphasizes connections to more contemporary Byzantine works, including Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS gr. 70, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS Marc. I 8, and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Theol. Gr. 240; McKenzie and Watson 2016, pp. 130–44, includes Georgian, Armenian, and Greek parallels to the Ethiopian *tholoi*.
5. See S. Der Nersessian 1933/1973, pp. 544–46, for connections to the Carolingian Godescalc and Saint Medard de Soissons Gospels, Bibliothèque

Nationale de France, Paris, MS lat. 8850; Narkiss 1979b, p. 30; Heldman 1993, pp. 119, 130–31, no. 55; Nersessian 2001, p. 158, no. 81, pp. 176–77, no. 105; McKenzie and Watson 2016, pp. 134–44.

## ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN CENTERS

1. Ruben Vardanyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 102.
2. See, most recently, Maranci 2015, pp. 113–200.
3. See Jones 2007.

## CAT. 4

1. Hovsep'yan 1944a, pp. 109–12, ill. nos. 94, 95; B. N. Arak'elyan 1949, p. 54, ill. no. 27; Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 29–30, no. 2.
2. The identification of the image is difficult to confirm. Some recent scholars accept the identification of the figure as King Tiridates; see Mutaïan 1999b, p. 61, no. 111, 3; Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 29–30, no. 2. The present author and others question the certainty of the identification; see Nersessian 2001, pp. 108–9, no. 10; G. V. Grigoryan 2012, pp. 60–62.

## CAT. 5

1. Donabédian 2008, pp. 13–14, 259–60.
2. Bailet et al. 2012.

## CAT. 6

1. For more information relating to this object, see *Soviet Armenia Encyclopedia* 1981; *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia* 2002; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 147, no. 40; A. Kazarian 2007; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, p. 190, no. 52; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, p. 143, no. 85.
2. Agat'angeghos 1983, pp. 413–25.
3. Lazarus of Pharpi 1982, p. 380.

## DVIN

1. Kalantarian 1996.
2. Donabédian 2008, pp. 213–14.
3. A. Grigoryan and Mkrtchyan 2014.

## CAT. 7

1. G. V. Grigoryan 2012, p. 261; *Armenia: The Spirit of Ararat* 2016, p. 45.
2. G. M. Grigoryan 2013.

## CAT. 8

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 93.
2. See Mathews 2008–9; Mathews 2016, p. 27.

## CAT. 9

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 91–92, no. 20; Mathews 2016, p. 27.

## JEWELRY FROM DVIN

1. Kettenhofen 1996.
2. Bosworth 1967, pp. 90–91, 123–24; see also Peacock 2005, pp. 209–10, who points to the strong influence exerted by Christian culture on the local Arab and Kurdish dynasties.
3. Garsoïan 1997c, pp. 176–84; Hewsen 1998, pp. 43–44.
4. Manandyan 1965, p. 144.
5. Ghafadaryan 1952, p. 172, n. 1, pp. 174, 176, figs. 151–53. Ghafadaryan gives 1936 as the find date of the hoard, whereas Kalantarian 1996, p. 168, gives 1930.
6. Ghafadaryan 1952, fig. 153. The Dvin bead earrings are of a type traditionally associated with Iran, but bead earrings in general are linked with Greco-Roman prototypes and several later examples, found in the Balkans and South Russia, are linked to the Byzantine world; see Zimmer 1991.
7. Ghafadaryan 1952, fig. 153, no. 1378. See also Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 152–53, no. 72.
8. Kalantarian 1996, p. 168, cites all the gold finds from Dvin as if they came from the Aygestan Hoard.

### CAT. 10

1. Spink and Ogden 2013, p. 72, no. 1; the spheres are additionally embellished with a pyramid of grains. On the technique, see Jenkins and Keene 1983, pp. 143–44; Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 70–71.
2. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, pp. 430–31, no. 555; Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, pp. 210–16, no. 1. Pieces of chain were found in the Sayram Su Hoard; Allan 1986, p. 12, nos. 42, 46–48.
3. Ghafadaryan 1952, p. 172, fig. 151; Kalantarian 1996, p. 168, pl. III, 3.

### CAT. 11

1. Ghafadaryan 1952, fig. 153, no. 1429, 1, 2; Kalantarian 1996, p. 168.
2. Hasson 1987, p. 14, no. 4; Lester 1991, p. 26, fig. 14.
3. Spink and Ogden 2013, p. 193, nos. 102, 103; the no. 103 earrings have reflexive spiral terminals, which are an Iranian feature. For spiral terminals, plain and reflexive, see Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 172–74.

### CAT. 12

1. See a similar detail in Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 186–87, nos. 90, 91, dated from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and attributed to Iraq or Iran.
2. N. G. Hakobyan 1981, pl. xa, 15; Kalantarian 1996, p. 168. Another single basket-type earring with applied filigree was excavated at Dvin; Kalantarian 1996, pl. 114, 2. The earring, which is less ornate, comes very close to Tiberias and Amorium examples; see Marilyn Jenkins in Evans and Wixom 1997, p. 419, no. 275b; Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, p. 398, figs. 140a, b.
3. Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 118–21, nos. 34–39, p. 126, no. 43; Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, pp. 109–10, 259, no. 78; Evans and Wixom 1997, p. 245, no. 168 (catalogue entry by Katharine R. Brown), p. 246, no. 169 (catalogue entry by

Sarah T. Brooks), pp. 418–19, nos. 274, 275 (catalogue entries by Marilyn Jenkins). Albani 2010, p. 199, refers to one piece found in Constantinople and to two pieces found in Greece; the one from Parapotamos closely matches a piece in Jerusalem (Hasson 1987, p. 76, no. 96).

4. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jewellery\\_antiquity\\_tabriz\\_museum.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jewellery_antiquity_tabriz_museum.jpg).
5. Both types are documented in the eleventh-century Tiberias and Serçe Limani finds. On the Fatimid techniques and hoards, see Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 132–39. The Dvin earring has the single rope-and-grain band soldered to the junction of the base with the body in common with the more typical Fatimid jewelry.

### CAT. 13

1. Ghafadaryan 1952, fig. 153, nos. 1379, 1285; Kalantarian 1996, p. 168, pl. III, 3.
2. Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, pp. 238–39, no. 53.
3. Gladiss 1998, p. 90, no. 15, ill. p. 74; Spink and Ogden 2013, p. 191, no. 99. For earlier pieces, see Gladiss 1998, pp. 89–90, nos. 13, 14, ill. p. 70; Anna Ballian in Evans 2012, pp. 191–92, no. 132. On the spherical sheet-bead joint of Byzantine earrings, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002, p. 427, no. 548, p. 431, no. 556, pp. 435–36, nos. 564–66, p. 585, no. 834; Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, passim.
4. Gagik I Artsruni is represented in the Abbasid manner, seated cross-legged, on the reliefs on the church of Aght'amar, Lake Van. The diminutive lower part of the body and the small feet emerging out of the *salvars* (baggy trousers) are common on Fatimid ceramics and jewelry; see Ballian 2006, pp. 62–63, figs. 42, 43.
5. See Spink and Ogden 2013, p. 110, nos. 22, 23, p. 150, no. 64, pp. 204–5, nos. 133–36.

### CAT. 14

1. Ghafadaryan 1952, p. 174, fig. 151; Kalantarian 1996, p. 168. On the image of the bird, see A. Grigoryan and Mkrtchyan 2014, nos. 149, 150, 154.
2. MMA 52.32.3.2, 3; Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 50, no. 22; Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 258–60, 275–77, nos. 236–38; see also Hasson 1987, p. 94, no. 125. On a twelfth-century pair of Byzantine bracelets with similar plaited hoops but different clasps, see Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, pp. 272–73, no. 116a, b.
3. Spink 2013, pp. 393, 435, no. 338 (catalogue entry by Michael Spink and Jack Ogden).

### CAT. 15

1. Ghafadaryan 1952, fig. 152, no. 1375; the pair is no. 1283. See also Kalantarian 1996, p. 168.
2. Allan 1986, p. 12, nos. 38, 39; Hasson 1987, p. 74, no. 91.
3. Jenkins and Keene 1983, pp. 40–43, nos. 16–18; Spink and Ogden 2013, pp. 173–74, 272–73, nos. 232, 233; Martina Rugiadi in Canby et al. 2016, p. 101, no. 29.

### CAT. 16

1. Carboni 2001, pp. 29–30; Goldstein 2005, pp. 86–87.
2. Kalantarian et al. 2009, p. 93, pl. LII, 4. On other mosaic fragments excavated at Dvin, see

Kalantarian 1996, pl. 101, 6–8; Kalantarian et al. 2009, fig. 28, 5–10.

3. David Whitehouse in Carboni and Whitehouse 2001, pp. 150–52, nos. 64, 65.
4. Garsoïan 1997a, pp. 140–42; Jones 2007, pp. 5, 14–17.

### CAT. 17

1. On heraldic birds, see Grube 1994, p. 31, no. 23, p. 93, no. 87; Marilyn Jenkins in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 416–17, no. 272; Watson 2004, p. 259, no. 1a.8, p. 301, no. K.16. On the winding scroll, see Grube 1976, p. 145, no. 91; Grube 1994, p. 263, no. 297; Pancaroğlu 2007, p. 46, no. 6.
2. Kalantarian 1996, pp. 132–33, 136; A. Grigoryan and Mkrtchyan 2014, nos. 143, 155–57, 159–61, 163–66, 169–72.
3. Wilkinson 1973, pp. 181–82, 188–93, nos. 28–51, ill. pp. 199–204; Watson 2004, p. 239, no. Ge.1. Byzantine imitation luster is similarly distanced from its prototypes; see C. H. Morgan 1942, pp. 86–90.
4. Kalantarian et al. 2009, pls. XXIV, XXVI, XXVIII.

### CAT. 18

1. Kalantarian 1996, pp. 9, 50–51, 135–36.
2. Watson 2004, pp. 54–56; Martina Rugiadi in Canby et al. 2016, pp. 179–86, no. 108.
3. Watson 2004, pp. 303, 312–13, no. L.9, pp. 320–22, nos. L.19–L.23; Grube 1994, p. 258, nos. 289, 290.
4. A. Grigoryan and Mkrtchyan 2014, pp. 93–95.
5. Kalantarian et al. 2009, pls. XXXII–XLIII.

## ANI

1. Recent studies include Cowe 2001; Hovannisian 2011; A. Grigoryan 2015. A synthesis of the history of the site appears on the website <http://virtualani.org>.

### CAT. 19

1. Cuneo 1969.
2. Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 147.

### CAT. 20

1. Sophie Makariou in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 219, no. 94.
2. N. G. Hakobyan 1981, pls. I–III, IX; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 221–22, no. 96. A school of metalworkers active in the Caucasian area is mentioned by Melikian-Chirvani 1982, p. 137, fig. 45. For an inlaid vessel produced for a Jew of Tbilisi, see Sheila R. Canby in Canby et al. 2016, p. 269, no. 170.

## LITURGY IN THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

1. See Findikyan 2009–10.
2. Gerstel 2006.
3. Findikyan 2016.
4. Findikyan 2010.
5. Ter-Vardanean 2002, pp. 135–36.
6. Gregory of Tat'ev 1741, pp. 387–90.

### CAT. 21

1. Cat. 110, for example, weighs nearly twenty pounds.
2. Hovsep'yan 1928, p. 162.

3. Mushegyan 1964, pp. 62–64.
4. History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (123); Nersessian 2001, p. 143, no. 57.
5. History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (105); Mushegyan 1964, pp. 62–64.

#### LITURGICAL CENSERS

1. Hamilton 1974; Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 1, pp. 229–38; Kjeld von Folsach in Folsach, Lundbaek, and Mortensen 1996, p. 67, no. 33.
2. Vank Museum, Isfahan (84); see Canby 2009, p. 67, no. 25. The censer was most probably brought from Julfa like the other precious heirlooms dating to before the seventeenth century and the deportation of Armenians to New Julfa.
3. Hamilton 1974, pls. IX, e and X, d; Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 1, pp. 217–18, vol. 2, pp. 105–11.
4. Raby 2012, especially pp. 33–35, figs. 1.10, 1.11; for an excellent example made by Syrian Christian metalworkers in the style of Mosul metalwork, see a pair of flabella with a Syriac inscription (Raby 2012, pp. 49–50) and see also Snelders 2010, pp. 104–26, pls. 10, 11. For Mosul metalwork, see also Ballian 2009; Immerzeel 2017.
5. Guidetti 2017, pp. 166–69.
6. Mirzoyan 1992, pp. 603–26, and p. 611 on the group attributed to Ani. A censer found in Egypt and now in the Louvre belongs to the same group; see Bénazeth 1992, pp. 88–89.
7. Blessing 2014, pp. 2–3, 8–9.

#### CAT. 22

1. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Ex collection Louis Carrand, Florence; Skulpturensammlung, Albertinum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (ZV 2673). The Florence and Dresden censers were already noted as similar in Jerphanion 1939, pp. 299, 302.
2. The Marmashen censer is now in the Museum of the City of Gyumri, Armenia (369). See Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 1, p. 285, vol. 2, pp. 9, 13; Mirzoyan 1992, pp. 607–11, nos. 2, 3, figs. 2, 3; Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 209–10, no. 79.
3. Hamilton 1974, p. 61, pl. XI, b.

#### CAT. 23

1. In 1939 the Kamechlie censer was in the possession of the Beirut dealer Dikran Sarrafian but since then its whereabouts are unknown; see Jerphanion 1939; Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 1, pp. 22–23. For more pieces of Syrian provenance, see Hamilton 1974.
2. In the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire; Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 1, pp. 234–35, vol. 2, p. 16.
3. For a censer found in Varanda, Arts'akh (Nagorno-Karabakh), with similar band decoration but with five Gospel scenes, see Mirzoyan 1992, pp. 605–7, fig. 1. For other censers with similar decoration, see Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 2, p. 1, no. 3, p. 4, no. 9, p. 22, no. 42 or 45, p. 31, no. 59, p. 45, no. 90 (inscribed in Arabic); some, probably earlier examples, have relief acanthus or winding scroll rather than concentric circles; see Richter-Siebels 1990, vol. 2, p. 4, no. 7, and fig. 24 in this volume, a censer in the

Museum of Pavlos and Alexandra Kanellopoulos, Athens.

#### CAT. 24

1. For more information relating to this object, see K'yoseyan 1995; Sarkissian 2003; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 218, no. 93; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, p. 307, no. 113; V. Karapetian and Lucca 2015, p. 143, no. 19; Khatcherian 2017.

#### CAT. 25

1. N. G. Hakobyan 1981, p. 334, pl. IV, a-7; Iveta Mkrtchyan and Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 205–6, no. 74; Greenwood 2015, pp. 144–45.
2. M. M. Mango 1986, pp. 87–90, nos. 7, 8, p. 235, no. 65, pp. 237–39, nos. 67, 68, pp. 249–50, no. 76; Greenwood 2015, pp. 115–31.
3. Sleeves on Byzantine crosses are usually larger and riveted; see Cotsonis 1995, p. 40; Helen C. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 60–65, nos. 24–26.
4. Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 212, no. 83 (catalogue entry by Dorota Giovannoni), p. 214, no. 88 (catalogue entry by Mkrtchyan), pp. 215–17, nos. 90–92 (catalogue entries by Durand). See also William D. Wixom in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 55–57, no. 21.

#### CAT. 26

1. For more information relating to this object, see Step'anos of Taron 1859; *History of Events* 1871; B. N. Arak'elyan 1958; *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, p. 45, no. 12; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 34, 59, no. 12; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 142, 158, 178, no. 9; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, pp. 34–35, no. 11; Nersessian 2001, p. 120, no. 25; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 207, no. 75; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, p. 296, no. 95; Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyian, and Vartan Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyian, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 122–23, no. 45.

#### GREATER ARMENIA AND THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

1. For a discussion of the philosophies of the known and unknown worlds presented in medieval European maps, see Hiatt 2002. For the Armenian T-O map (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 1242), see also Galichian 2014, p. 49, fig. 14.
2. Galichian 2004.
3. See Khvalkov 2017, especially pp. 335–94.
4. Galichian 2004.
5. Di Cosmo 2010, p. 91.
6. Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1961, pp. 130–35; English trans., Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1986.
7. Angeliki Laiou shows that Byzantine (Roman) Law unofficially made space for a range of ethnicities whose customs and practices differed from the imperial codes, thereby making law a powerful mechanism of integration; Laiou 1998. Nina G. Garsoïan shows that Armenians were the “largest internal diaspora” in the Byzantine

Empire, living in most provinces, including Italy, and that some Armenians assimilated while others strove to maintain an Armenian identity, via faith, language, and dress; Garsoïan 1998.

8. Armenian involvement in the Byzantine Empire led to an Armenian presence in Western Europe, specifically in Italy, where there were Armenian monasteries in Ancona, Bologna, Genoa, Milan, Padua, Perugia, Salerno, Siena, Rimini, Rome, and Venice by the tenth century. Armenians transported the cult of Saint Gregory the Illuminator to the parts of Italy that belonged to the Eastern Church, and he is still considered a patron saint in Naples, Palermo, and Nardó. See Stopka 2017, pp. 100–102.
9. Jones 2007.
10. Jones 2012.
11. Dadoyan 2013. In her review of this publication, Nora Lessersohn astutely criticizes the problem of terminology in Dadoyan's work; Lessersohn 2015.
12. Eastmond 2017, p. 25.
13. Franklin 2014, p. 38.
14. Yuzbashian 1996.
15. For more on how this practice is related to the mobility of the late medieval world, see Selim Kuru's work on the poetry of Gülşehri, a fourteenth-century author from Kırşehir who composed works in both Persian and Turkish. Kuru 2016, p. 185.
16. Cowe 2015, p. 80.
17. Abu-Lughod 1989, p. 362.
18. Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1961, p. 172; English trans., Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1986, p. 295.
19. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, pp. 31–42.
20. Grigor Khat'ets'i (1349–1425), *Hishatakaran aghetits'* (Colophon of Misfortune); cited in L. S. Khach'ikyan 1955, p. 277; L. S. Khach'ikyan 1972, p. 26.
21. Watenpaugh 2014.
22. Sinclair 1987–90, vol. 3 (1989), p. 38.
23. The Republic of Armenia is home to at least seventeen caravanseries dating to the late medieval period, suggesting that many Armenian *naxarar* families supported the construction of these inns to ensure that trade caravans could move easily in the region.
24. Slappendel 2012, p. 82. See also Amit and M. E. Stone 2002; M. E. Stone and Amit 2006.
25. This tombstone was found in the 1960s and its inscriptions recorded by then director of the “Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots' Institute-Museum of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Levon Khach'ikyan.
26. Khachatrian 1987, pp. 67–69.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Goshgarian forthcoming.
30. Shukurov 2013.
31. Yalman 2017.
32. See Mélikoff 1960; *Digenes Akrites* 1999; *Book of Dede Korkut* 1974; *David of Sassoun* 1964.
33. Hacikyan 2000–2005, vol. 2 (2002), p. 424.
34. Mkhit'ar Gosh 1975, p. 22; English trans., Mkhit'ar Gosh 2000, pp. 101–2.
35. Goshgarian forthcoming.



36. Petrosyan 2001.
37. See <http://www.cresquesproject.net/>.
38. Pegolotti 1936, p. 369.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Manandyan 1965, pp. 186–87.
41. Donabédian 2016, p. 54.
42. Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1961, p. 300; English trans., Kirakos Gandzakets'i 1986, p. 363.
43. Luttrell 1998, p. 799.
44. Manandyan 1965.
45. Pegolotti 1936.
46. See Maksoudian 1997.
47. Nadel-Golobič 1979.
48. Pegolotti 1936, p. 15.
49. *King's Dictionary* 2000.

#### KHACHKARS

1. Petrosyan 2001.
2. Maranci 2015, pp. 177–82.
3. Donabédian 2007, pp. 157–59.

#### CAT. 27

1. Patrick Donabédian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 170, no. 57.

#### CAT. 28

1. See cat. 52 for the introduction of evangelist symbols in Armenian art in the twelfth century in the kingdom of Cilicia.
2. Evans 1982.
3. “Lori Berd” 2006.

#### CAT. 29

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 315, no. 133.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1978, p. 195.

#### CAT. 30

1. For more information relating to this object, see *Song of Songs* 1993; *Canon Table Frontispieces* 2004; Petrosyan 2008; Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyian, and Vartan Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyian, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 78–79, no. 15; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, p. 167, no. 89; Khatcherian 2017.
2. *Sacramentary* 1961, p. 354.

#### MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN SITES

1. Recent works exploring the cross-cultural nature of architecture in medieval Armenia and Anatolia include Blessing 2014; Eastmond 2017.
2. Mkhit'ar Gosh 2000.
3. N. Thierry and J.-M. Thierry 1993.

#### LORI

1. *Sanahin* 1980; *Hakhpat* 1968.

#### CAT. 31

1. Cuneo 1969; Maranci 2009.

#### CAT. 32

1. Discussed briefly in J.-M. Thierry and Donabédian 1989, p. 204; see also p. 402, fig. 342.
2. See S. Der Nersessian 1978, p. 190, fig. 142.
3. J.-M. Thierry and Donabédian 1989, p. 402, fig. 343.

#### SIWNIK'

1. Avedis K. Sanjian in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, pp. 1–26.
2. La Porta 2007.

#### CAT. 33

1. J.-M. Thierry and Donabédian 1989, p. 506.

#### CAT. 34

1. Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 145–46, no. 38.
2. Cuneo 1969.

#### CAT. 35

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 307, no. 130.
2. Nersessian 2001, p. 106, no. 7. For Ateni, see Maranci 2015, pp. 216–17.

#### CAT. 36

1. Hovsep'yan 1911, pp. 1–8; B. N. Arak'elyan 1958, pp. 175–76; *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, pp. 38–39, no. 6; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 32, 59, no. 6, ill. p. 33; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 155, 177, no. 2, ill. p. 154; Edda Vardanyan in Mutaftian 1999b, p. 153, no. VI, 24; Nersessian 2001, pp. 116–17, no. 21; Jean-Pierre Mahé and Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 331–33, no. 143; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, pp. 380–85, no. 143; Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyian, and Vartan Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyian, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 119–21, no. 44.

#### CAT. 37

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 306, no. 129.

#### CAT. 38

1. See Nersessian 2001, pp. 140–41, no. 54; see also Christie's 1996, lot 294.
2. M. Ghazarian 1984.

#### SCHOOLS AND SCRIPTORIA: HAGHPAT AND GLADZOR

1. Copied and illuminated by Yovhannes Sandghkavanets'i, eleventh century, Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 7736.
2. Matenadaran, MS 6288. The manuscript was copied in 1211 by two scribes, one of whom remains anonymous, while the other has been identified as the scribe Hakob; the manuscript was then brought to Ani by its patron, Sahak Anets'i, where it was finished and illustrated by the scribe and miniaturist Margare.
3. Mat'evosyan 1997, pp. 58–65; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, pp. 30–34, 174.
4. Gregory of Tat'ev (Grigor Tat'evats'i), *Book of Questions*, 1397; copy by the scribe Sargis, completed in 1409 in Metsop'avank', Matenadaran, MS 921, fol. 367v; L. S. Khach'ikyan 1955, p. 93.

#### CAT. 39

1. Erznka Bible, 1269–70, Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 1925; for the prophets Hosea, see

fol. 332r, and Moses, fol. 9r; and for the Gospels of Matthew, fol. 470r, and of John, fol. 513r. S. Der Nersessian 1966, pp. 28–30; Korkhmazian 2015, pp. 47–55, 78 (Armenian), 129–37, 159 (Russian), figs. 33, 34, 41, 42.

#### CAT. 40

1. This letter is found on page 470 of the manuscript; S. Der Nersessian 1986a, pp. 231–33. One of Esayi's important theological works was his own commentary on Isaiah, hence his interest in Georg of Skevra's text on the same subject; Sanjian 1993, pp. 186, 191.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1986a, p. 233.
3. This is not the same artist as T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i), also from Gladzor. The two artists have noticeably different styles. See Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, p. 151, fig. 92; Narkiss 1979b, pp. 76–77; S. Der Nersessian 1986a. Sirarpie Der Nersessian notes the great similarities in the facial features and the drapery folds seen in Jerusalem MS 365 with those in the detached leaves originally part of Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 10859 (cat. 41). One striking difference between the frontispiece of Jerusalem MS 365 and the detached leaves is that in the single leaves T'oros has painted most of the skin tones with blue pigments, for reasons still unknown; Sylvie L. Merian in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, pp. 595–602.

#### CAT. 41

1. Note that T'oros the deacon is not the same artist as T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i). The inscriptions on the illuminated leaves have been translated by Sylvie L. Merian in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, pp. 595–602. The inscriptions and all colophons in their original classical Armenian can be found in Acharean 1910, pp. 70–74.
2. Colophon on fol. 342v; see Acharean 1910, p. 72.
3. Based on stylistic considerations, both Bezalel Narkiss and Sirarpie Der Nersessian have concluded that the added frontispiece of Jerusalem MS 365 depicting Esayi Nch'ets'i teaching his students in Gladzor was painted by T'oros the deacon. The manuscript text (Commentary on Isaiah) was copied in Cilicia in 1299 and sent unbound by Kostandin, bishop of Caesarea, to Esayi Nch'ets'i in Gladzor; it is therefore likely that T'oros the deacon also worked there. The human figures in this full-page illumination do not have blue skin tones, however. Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, p. 151, fig. 92; Narkiss 1979b, pp. 76–77; S. Der Nersessian 1986a, pp. 229–41, and fig. 2.
4. Acharean 1910, p. 70.
5. Merian in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, pp. 595–602.
6. Anne Driesse and Kathy Eremin of the Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, conducted pigment analyses of the leaves in their collection in 2010 indicating the use of ultramarine and indigo for the blue flesh tones; report, Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard

Art Museums. See also Merian in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, p. 595.

7. The twisted dragons (Satan) found in the River Jordan during Christ's baptism symbolize Christ's triumph over Satan and death; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, pp. 107–9.

CAT. 42

1. For the Vehapar Gospels (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 10780), see Rapti 2014, p. 554, fig. 2, and for Simeon holding the Christ Child, Maguire 1980–81.
2. Corrie 1996.
3. Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 96.

CAT. 43

1. Sanjian 1993.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1986a.
3. Avedis K. Sanjian in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 26.
4. Mathews and Sanjian 1991; Mathews and Taylor 2001.
5. A colophon on p. 227 of the manuscript by T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i) states: "O great master [rabunapet] of mine, Esayi, remember this unworthy disciple of yours, T'oros." See Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 190 (transcribed and translated by Sanjian).
6. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 10780.
7. Ormanean 1984, p. 69, "Lectern."
8. Mathews explains this iconography in great detail and describes how this unusual depiction with the dove of the Holy Spirit (also found in the Vehapar Gospels and other Armenian manuscripts) could perhaps be a remnant of an older Christological position named "adoptionism." See Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, pp. 96–98, 138–39.

CAT. 44

1. The lengthy colophons have been transcribed in the Matenadaran catalogue; Eganyan, Zeyt'unyan, and Ant'abyan 1984, no. 206, cols. 918–22.
2. Fols. 437v–438r.
3. Sirarpie Der Nersessian believes that T'oros of Taron (T'oros Taronets'i) was mostly likely inspired by a French illuminated manuscript; see S. Der Nersessian 1944, pp. 74, 79.
4. Some details, such as the phial held by Samuel to anoint David, might have been inspired from a Western model rather than Byzantine models; *ibid.*, pp. 74–76.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–73.
6. Eganyan, Zeyt'unyan, and Ant'abyan 1984, no. 206, col. 915. A paleographic sample of the Latin script from the flyleaves is reproduced in column 922, and the colophon on folio 587v of the manuscript with the two forms of the date is transcribed in column 920.

CAT. 45

1. S. Der Nersessian 1986a, p. 239.
2. Fol. 90r; published in L. S. Khach'ikyan 1950, pp. 182–83, no. 228.

3. These initial letters using the symbols of the evangelists first came to Cilicia through exposure to Latin manuscripts; Evans 1994, p. 71.
4. Sirarpie Der Nersessian describes in great detail the many ways Armenians gained possession of Latin manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see S. Der Nersessian 1944.
5. Images of a nursing Virgin seem to have begun in the East, as seen, for example, in Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M.600, a Coptic Miscellany from the tenth century. But the crowned Virgin is European in origin, as in Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.756, an English Psalter of ca. 1270; see S. Der Nersessian 1944, pp. 76–79.

**ARTISTIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN ARMENIA AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD**

1. A. Kazarian and Ousterhout 2001.
2. Behrens-Abouseif 1989, pp. 67–72.
3. Canby et al. 2016, pp. 60–61, nos. 10, 11 (catalogue entries by Sheila R. Canby), pp. 62–63, no. 12 (catalogue entry by Deniz Beyazit).
4. Yalman 2017.
5. Pancaroglu 2009, pp. 184–89.
6. A well-known example dated 1279 is in the Mevlana Museum, Konya, Turkey (332).
7. Blair 1995; Eastmond 2006; Blair 2017.
8. Soucek 1998, pp. 126–29.
9. Blair 1995, p. 56.
10. Komaroff and Carboni 2002.

CAT. 46

1. According to Astghik Gevorgyan, the second miniaturist is Khots'adegh; see Gevorgyan 1998, p. 271, no. 156.
2. See, for example, ewers from Ani (Sophie Makariou in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 219–20, nos. 94, 95) and jugs from Dvin (Iveta Mkrtchyan in Kévorkian 1996, pp. 95, 241, nos. 142, 143, p. 103, no. 152).
3. See, for example, Yovhannes Khizants'i, Gospel, 1392–94, Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 3717, fol. 8v; Mkrtich', Gospel, 1450, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or 291, fol. 2r; Khatch'atur, Gospel, 1451, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 566, fol. 3r; Hakob of Julfa, Gospel, 1586, fol. 16v (bound volume, fol. 374v; see cat. 96).

CAT. 47

1. Edda Vardanyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 348–49, no. 152. The other manuscripts are Matenadaran, MS 316, MS 4023, MS 6139, and MS 6303.
2. For more information, see cat. 82.
3. Underwood 1950, pp. 45–107.
4. See MMA 91.1.1539 for an example of the type.
5. Many thanks to Sylvie L. Merian for translating these inscriptions.
6. See "Two Interpretations of the Ten Canon Tables" in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, pp. 207, 209 (translated by James R. Russell). Russell also notes that the word for partridge, *kak'aw*, was the name for a lewd dance condemned by the early fathers of the Armenian Church (p. 207, n. 5). According to Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali),

the partridge copulates abundantly and steals eggs that are not their own, like the "whorish and foreign women: Tamar, Rahab, and Ruth" who stole from the house of Abraham; see Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 209 (translated by Russell).

CAT. 48

1. Soucek 1998, pp. 126–29.
2. Zakaryan 1980, pp. 79–81, cited in Soucek 1998, p. 123, n. 43.
3. Taylor 1994, pp. 96–97.

CAT. 49

1. Blair 1995.
2. Soucek 1998, pp. 126–29.

**ARMENIANS EXPAND WEST: THE KINGDOM OF CILICIA**

1. S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 633–34; Evans 1990, pp. 1–154, especially pp. 39, 40. Konstantin I, appointed catholicos in 1221, was raised near the fortress of Baron Konstantine, who controlled the Hetumids. This family came to power in 1219 when Levon the Great died and the baron became regent for Zabel, heir to the throne. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 1–35, 51–76.
2. Carr 1993, p. xii, where the extent of Cilician rule of Hromkla is described as 1258–92; Bayarsaikhán Dashdondog 2011, p. 140, describes the extension of the territories as including lands through which trade routes passed. See Nersessian 2001, p. 55, for the move to Etchmiadzin.
3. S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 641–42.
4. See "Armenians and Their Middle Age" by the present author in this volume; S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 646–48, with extensive quotations from primary Armenian sources.
5. Furber 1969, p. 604; Edbury 1991, pp. 10–11, 31–32.
6. Edbury 1991, p. 16, quoting Guillaume de Tyre (William of Tyre; 1130–1186), Crusader chancellor and archbishop of Tyre, and author of the chronicle *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum (History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea)*, and p. 115; Bayarsaikhán Dashdondog 2011, p. 188.
7. S. Der Nersessian 1969, p. 650; Evans 1990, p. 33.
8. S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 651–52; Evans 1990, pp. 27–29, 34.
9. Evans 1990, pp. 30–33, especially n. 76.
10. S. Der Nersessian 1969, p. 652; Bayarsaikhán Dashdondog 2011, pp. 79–89.
11. S. Der Nersessian 1959/1973, pp. 356, 373, 374; S. Der Nersessian 1969, p. 652; Evans 1990, pp. 35–36, 37, n. 100; Bayarsaikhán Dashdondog 2011, pp. 79–89.
12. Evans 1990, pp. 24–25, 36–38, and n. 101; Bayarsaikhán Dashdondog 2011, pp. 82, 89, 137–40.
13. William of Rubruck 1990, pp. 31–36; see also Evans 1990, p. 38.
14. William of Rubruck 1990, pp. 4, 25, 39–47, 115, 116 ("the Bible you [Louis IX] gave me and a most beautiful psalter given me by my lady, the Queen, containing very fine illuminations"), pp. 173–75, 190; see also Evans 1990, pp. 40, 42–44.

15. Evans 1990, p. 43; Weiss 1998, pp. 149–50; Folda 2005, p. 400.
16. William of Rubruck 1990, pp. 25–36; see also Evans 1990, pp. 38–39, 40.
17. Larner 1999, p. 28; Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, pp. 179, 197, who extensively quotes the Armenian historians Grigor Aknerts'i (*The Nation of Archers* after 1273) and Step'anos Orbelian (*History of the Province of Syunik* of 1297).
18. Polo 1938, vol. 1, p. 94, quoted in S. Der Nersessian 1969, p. 655.
19. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, p. 183.
20. S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 655–58; Evans 1990, pp. 45–46.
21. Arnold 1999, p. 68.
22. S. Der Nersessian 1969, pp. 653–58; Evans 1990, p. 44; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 126.
23. *Monks of Küblâi Khân* 1928, pp. 145, 155, 172–82, 188–96, 213–14; Arnold 1999, pp. 31–35, for his trip to Rome and close relations with Franciscans there; Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, pp. 193–202, especially p. 194.
24. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, p. 203.
25. For the most recent translation of Hetum the Historian's *History of the Tartars* (*The Flower of Histories of the East*), see Hetum 2004; excerpts can be found in Yule 1913–16.
26. Arnold 1999, pp. 126–27; Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, p. 21.
27. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 142, 159–60, where the translator of the code is identified as Constable Smbat.
28. Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog 2011, pp. 212, 215–18, 224.

#### ARMENIANS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

1. S. Der Nersessian 1973b; Garsoïan 1998; Redgate 1998, pp. 68–165.
2. My appreciation goes to Professor Benjamin Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, and indirectly to his student Sophia Taborski, for the information about the sarcophagus in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna, where an inscription in Greek and Latin on the lid identifies Isaac as an Armenian. See Dütschke 1909, pp. 9–12; Garsoïan 1998, p. 64.
3. Vryonis 1992; Garsoïan 1998, pp. 65–66.
4. Redgate 1998, pp. 158–59.
5. Maranci 2003.
6. Evans 1990, pp. 21–22; Redgate 1998, pp. 166–67.

#### CAT. 50

1. C. Mango 1980, p. 26.
2. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 56–57.
3. Chanashean 1966, p. 28; Helen C. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 357–58, no. 239.
4. Chanashean 1966, pp. 29–30; Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 357–58, no. 239.

#### ARMENIAN SITES IN CILICIA

1. Recent historical studies of Armenian Cilicia include Dédéyan 2003; Hovannisian and Payaslian 2008; MacEvitt 2008; Mutaïan 2012.
2. Edwards 1987.
3. Edwards 1982, pp. 156–61; Edwards 1983, pp. 131–32; Edwards 1987, pp. 65–72.

#### SKEVRA

1. Alishan 1899, pp. 103–10; Evans 1990, pp. 22–23; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 15–16.
2. Evans 1990, pp. 22–23; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 16.
3. Evans 1990, pp. 22, 63; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 16.
4. Alvida Mirzoyan in Evans 2004, pp. 134–35, no. 71.

#### CAT. 51

1. Samuelian 2002.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 4, 12–13; Nersessian 2001, pp. 162–63, no. 85; Thomas F. Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 264, no. 113.
3. [Http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/02/23/pope\\_francis\\_declares\\_armenian\\_saint\\_doctor\\_of\\_the\\_church/1125062](http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/02/23/pope_francis_declares_armenian_saint_doctor_of_the_church/1125062).
4. Grigor of Narek 2002, prayer 88b.

#### CAT. 52

1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 16.
2. See Evans 1990, p. 27, for Prince Hetum's travel to Rome as the priest Hetum-Elia to negotiate on behalf of the Rupenid King Levon the Great over his succession, and pp. 22–23, 55–57, for evangelist symbols; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 7–8, where possible Eastern sources for the symbols, but not their style, are suggested.
3. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 2, fig. 12, and Mathews and Wieck 1994, fig. 41, for the incipit page of John in cat. 54 in this volume. See also Helen C. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 361–62, no. 242, and Prinzing and Schmidt 1997, pl. xvii, for the same incipit page in the long-lost and now found L'vov Gospels, also written for Saint Nerses.
4. Evans 1990, pp. 23, 52–55, 62, 65; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 6.
5. S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, pp. 52–53, 176–78.

#### HROMKLA

1. Evans 1990, pp. 16–20; see Honigmann 1936, for the Syriac presence.
2. Evans 1990, p. 20 and n. 45; Evans 1998, p. 107.
3. Evans 1990, pp. 22, 63; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 16.

#### CAT. 53

1. Mutaïan 1993, pp. 1–2; Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 106, no. 1, fig. 22; Dédéyan 2003, vol. 2, p. 1245, n. 2; Mutaïan 2012, vol. 1, pp. 334–36, vol. 2, fig. 131; Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 280–81, no. 99.
2. Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 78–81, nos. 37–39 (catalogue entries by Jeffrey C. Anderson, Dimitrios G. Katsarelias, and Ioli Kalavrezou), pp. 162–63, no. 110 (catalogue entry by William D. Wixom), pp. 398–99, no. 264 (catalogue entry by Jaroslav Folda); Folda 1997, p. 390; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 266–67, no. 115; for khachkars with inscribed borders, see Patrick Donabédian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 166, no. 51.
3. Sheila R. Canby in Canby et al. 2016, p. 262, no. 166. This iconography is found most often

- on portals of funerary monuments such as the Karatay Madrasa or the Ince Minaret in Konya.
4. Donabédian 2007. For stepped-base crosses, see Leroy 1964; Donabédian 2007, p. 156, fig. 6; Donabédian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 162, no. 45.
  5. Mutaïan 1993, pp. 1–2. The khachkar was brought from Hromkla in 1972 and donated to the museum of the Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias.
  6. Amouroux-Mourad 1988, pp. 80, 89; Dédéyan 2003, vol. 2, pp. 1229–45, 1268–87, and on the title and battle, pp. 1234, 1241.

#### CAT. 54

1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 44–45.
2. Sirarpié Der Nersessian (*ibid.*, p. 44) and Helen C. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, p. 357, say he is a priest; S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, p. 104, and Nersessian 2001, pp. 185–86, no. 114, identify the figure as a deacon.
3. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 153, describes the arrival in Cilicia of twelve miters as gifts from Pope Innocent III to twelve Armenian bishops; miters also appear in cats. 114, 115, and 130 in this volume. S. Der Nersessian 1963, p. 56 and fig. 195, shows a bishop wearing a miter in a similar ordination scene in a Gospel book for Archbishop John, half-brother of King Hetum I, made in 1265.
4. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 356–57, no. 238; Nersessian 2001, pp. 185–86, no. 114.
5. See S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, pp. 104, 109, and Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, p. 357, for the Syriac presence in Malat'ya (Melitene); Alishan 1899, p. 253, for the Syriac presence at Sis, especially under King Hetum I; S. Der Nersessian 1963, p. 13, for the Syriac colony at Hromkla.
6. Leroy 1964, vol. 1, pp. 332–38, and vol. 2, pl. 111, 1; see S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 44–45, and Nersessian 2001, pp. 185–86, no. 114, for a presently unknown potential Byzantine common source.

#### CAT. 55

1. Evans 1990, pp. 16–20.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 22 and n. 53, for texts Nerses of Lambron translated and p. 62, for his arrival at Hromkla.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55, nn. 153–55, and fig. 7, showing Pope Gregory I and the inspiring dove in the Sacramentary of Warmundus. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 3–12, especially p. 10, for a more generalized approach to the sources.
4. Evans 1990, pp. 55–57.
5. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 2, figs. 3, 4, 9–12, 16–20, for the illuminated pages of the manuscript, and vol. 1, p. 10 and n. 84, for the scribe, based on information provided by A. Matevosian.

#### CAT. 56

1. See Evans 1990, p. 30, for the baron appointed the catholicos, who was from a village near his fortress.
2. Sylvia Agémian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 115; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 45–50, including other known works by the artist, and see p. 51 for the prayer for Kirakos written by T'oros Roslin

- in his manuscript no. 1956 in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem; Evans 1984.
3. Anna Ballian in Evans 2004, p. 270, no. 156.
  4. Nersessian 2001, p. 125, no. 35; Agémian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 115.
  5. Agémian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 115.
- CAT. 57
1. For an explanation of the canon tables, see cat. 3.
  2. Evans 1984; Evans 1990, pp. 159–60, where Sirarpie Der Nersessian's identification of the canon tables as related to the Zey'tun Gospels, MS 10450, in the Matenadaran, Yerevan, is accepted; Helen C. Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 206, no. 82, for identification of the canon tables as coming from the Zey'tun Gospels; Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 362–63, no. 243; "Canon Tables" 2018.
  3. Cahen 1969, p. 717.
  4. Evans 1998, especially pp. 109–10.
  5. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 51.

- CAT. 58
1. See Lowden 2000, vol. 1, pp. 185, 139–87, for the division of the Bible, with the current name being where the Bible's contents are now located: volume 1 is University of Oxford, Bodley MS 270b; volume 2 is Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS latin 11560; and volumes 3 and 4 are British Library, London, MS Harley 1526 and MS Harley 1527, that according to Lowden were always meant to be separate volumes.
  2. Buchthal 1957, pp. 49, 56–68; Branner 1977, pp. 4, 9, 22, 32, 54, 64–65; Folda 2005, pp. 283–85.
  3. Evans 1994, pp. 74–78; Helen C. Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 150; Evans 1998, pp. 106–7; Evans 2009, p. 152.
  4. Evans 1998.
  5. The manuscript is in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.539; see S. Der Nersessian 1973a, pp. 10–11, 19; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 52–55, 62.
  6. Evans 1990, pp. 108–10; Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 150.
  7. Evans 1990, pp. 91, 108–10, 113, 117, 119, 132–37, 142–46; Evans 1994, pp. 74–78; Evans 2009, pp. 151–55.

- CAT. 59
1. Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, pp. 148–49, figs. 64, 65; Evans 1990, p. 160, n. 20; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 154.
  2. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 154–55, where it is suggested that silk was manufactured in Cilicia.
  3. Evans 2001, pp. 246–49.
  4. Roslin's Gospel of Hetum I of 1266, MS 5458, fragment 1454; Ch'ugaszyan 1998–99, p. 33.

#### LITURGICAL OBJECTS FROM SIS

1. Ballian 2002a.
2. Muyldermans 1926, pp. 290–301.
3. Anna Ballian in Evans 2004, p. 270, no. 156.

- CAT. 60
1. Muyldermans 1926, pp. 288–89; see also Jaroslav Folda in Evans 2004, pp. 357–59, no. 216; Bacci

- 2006, p. 251, no. IV.11, p. 272, no. V.3, p. 284, no. V.15. For speaking reliquaries, see Hahn 1997; for Byzantine, Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 43–44, no. 10a (catalogue entry by Eunice Dauterman Maguire), pp. 496–97, no. 332 (catalogue entry by Folda).
2. The 1286 lectionary is in the Matenadaran, Yerevan; Findikyan 2012, pp. 66–67, and see also pp. 60–61, 71–72. The Skevra reliquary is kept in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; S. Der Nersessian 1964/1973. Round, bulging eyes are also common on small Byzantine steatite icons; see Bacci 2006, pp. 202–3.
3. The date is hard to read, and Kiwleserean 1939, cols. 1325–28, who was the first to publish the inscription, gives 774 (1325) with some reservations; see also Ballian 2002b, p. 89; Anna Ballian in Evans 2004, pp. 136–37, no. 72. Dickran Kouymjian reads the date as 764 (1315) in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 276–77, no. 120; Kouymjian 2009, p. 225; Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 178–82. The stylistic relationship between the Skevra triptych and the medallion of Saint Nicholas makes the earlier reading of the date more appropriate.
4. J. de Morgan 1918, pp. 245–47; Mutafian 1999a, pp. 157–58; Kouymjian 2005. The practice of invention, separation, and translation of relics is well known in the West and Byzantium; see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1997; Shortell 1997.
5. The inscription is cursorily executed, perhaps pressed in a mold. The reading is problematic and so is the identity of Lord Theodoros, who may be Catholicos Theodoros (r. 1382–1392) or less probably Prince T'oros (Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 179).
6. Kouymjian 2009, p. 226.

- CAT. 61
1. For more information on this object, see *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, pp. 43, 129, no. 10; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 34, 59, no. 11, ill. p. 33; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 22, 155–56, 177, no. 3; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 34, no. 10; *Armenie* 2001, p. 44, no. 5; Dickran Kouymjian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 279–80, no. 122; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, pp. 351–52, no. 131.
  2. Kouymjian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 276–77, 279–80.
  3. The right hands in the Great House of Cilicia Catholicosate, Antelias (made in 1928), and that in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (made in 1837) should be mentioned. These are open-hand reliquaries as well, carrying the relics of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.
  4. Agat'angeghos 1983, p. 455.

- CAT. 62
1. A. Karapetian 2011.

- CAT. 63
1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 93–125, especially pp. 102–3 and 107, where the work is dated between the Queen Keran Gospel book of 1272

- (fig. 6) and the Gospel book of Archbishop John of 1289 (cat. 67).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–57.
3. Lowden 2004; see also Evans 2004, pp. 278–79, no. 163 (catalogue entry by Robert S. Nelson), pp. 285–86, no. 170 (catalogue entry by John Lowden).
4. S. Der Nersessian 1944/1973, pp. 612–15; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 106–8.

- CAT. 64
1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 95.
  2. Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, p. 149, figs. 79–83.
  3. *Ibid.*; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 95, suggests 1272.
  4. S. Der Nersessian 1970/1973; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 100–101; see also Evans 1990, pp. 147–49, 165.
  5. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 77–92, especially pp. 77–78.

- CATS. 65, 66
1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 93, 102–6; Helen C. Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 193–94, no. 64, p. 206, no. 82. See Merian 1998–2000 for the history of the reunification of the work.
  2. S. Der Nersessian 1970/1973; Evans in Evans 2004, pp. 60–61, no. 30a, b.
  3. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 158; Evans 2001, p. 251, and fig. 646.
  4. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 2, fig. 166, for an image of one of the Gospel book's dedicatory pages.
  5. Soucek 1998, pp. 116–20.

- CAT. 67
1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 77–92.
  2. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78, 84, 96–97; Thomas F. Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 273, no. 118.
  3. Kouymjian 2006, pp. 304–16, 319–22. Chinese motifs also appear earlier, in 1286, in the Lectionary of Prince Hetum II, who was king when this manuscript was illuminated; S. Der Nersessian 1944/1973, p. 622; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 124, 158. See Denney 2010, p. 244, fig. 257, for the Metropolitan Museum textile.
  4. *Monks of Kûblâi Khân* 1928, pp. 53, 56, 77–78, 213–15, with special reference to how King Hetum II saved Rabban Bar Sauma when the Mongols converted to Islam in 1294; S. Der Nersessian 1944/1973, p. 626.
  5. Evans 2009, p. 157, and colorpl. xviii.

- CAT. 68
1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 132, 142, ascribes the first reference to his name to 1307. S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, p. 137, argues for 1301; Narkiss 1979b, p. 81, also gives 1301.
  2. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 22, 142.
  3. S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, p. 143; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 161; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, p. 167, no. VI, 52, identifies the image as Sargis, the artist. The image is identified as a celibate priest; Sargis was a married priest so it cannot be his image.

4. S. Der Nersessian 1936–37, p. 137; Narkiss 1979b, p. 81.

CAT. 69

1. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 150, says it can be dated by events of 1338 described in inscriptions in the manuscript.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 153, describes the arrival in Cilicia of twelve miters as gifts of Pope Innocent III in 1202 to twelve bishops.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 161, and Thomas F. Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 278, describe him as painting the evangelist.
4. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 161, for the uniqueness of the headdress; Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 278, for the association with Mongol dress.
5. Drampian 2009a, p. 30.

**ARMENIANS IN CRIMEA AND ITALY**

1. Donabédian 1999, p. 189.
2. Kramarovskiy 2008, p. 77.
3. Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 108–9; N. Stone 1997, pp. VII–IX; Korkhmazian 2008, pp. 39–40.
4. Bonardi 1999, p. 222.

CAT. 70

1. Agémian 1991, pp. 19–30; H. Goltz and K. E. Goltz 2000, p. 22, ill. pp. 24–25; Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 108, no. 16, figs. 49, 50; Evans 2002, p. 58; Helen C. Evans in Evans 2004, pp. 508–9, no. 311.
2. Agémian 1991, p. 23.
3. Stopka 2017, pp. 124–25.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
5. Zakaryan 1999, p. 193.

CAT. 71

1. Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. nos. 158, 159; Ioanna Rapti in Kévorkian 1996, p. 235, no. 74; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, pp. 219, 221, no. VII, 36; *Armenië* 2001, p. 117, no. 34; Merian 2014, p. 609.
2. See H. (Heide) Buschhausen, H. (Helmut) Buschhausen, and Korkhmazian 2009, p. 32.
3. Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. nos. 158, 159.
4. Nersessian 2001, pp. 190–91, no. 120.
5. Merian 2014, p. 609.
6. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 2706 and MS 7623.

CAT. 72

1. Stopka 2017, p. 182.
2. Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. no. 164; Sylvia Agémian in Kévorkian 1996, p. 235, no. 75; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, p. 229, no. VII, 42; Ioanna Rapti in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 288, no. 124.
3. Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. no. 164.

CAT. 73

1. On this Gospel book, see S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 87; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, pp. 192–93, no. VI, 92.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1963, p. 20.

3. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 7644; S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 87.

CAT. 74

1. Durnovo 1969, p. 223 (Russian), p. 233 (French); Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. no. 32; Ioanna Rapti and Raymond H. Kévorkian in Kévorkian 1996, p. 235, no. 73; Mutafian 1996, p. 121; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, p. 175, no. VI, 77; *Armenië* 2001, p. 106, no. 24.
2. Korkhmazian, Drampian, and H. Hakobyan 1984, ill. no. 32; Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, p. 175, no. VI, 77.
3. Quirini-Poplowski 2017, p. 232.

**ARMENIAN GLOBAL CONNECTIONS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD**

1. Simeon of Yerevan 2009, pp. 84–85.
2. Bournoutian 2009, p. 39.
3. See Van Lint 1995, pp. 15–18.
4. Braude and Lewis 1982; Savory 2003.
5. Barkey 2008, p. 141.
6. M. Hensel and D. S. Hensel 2010.
7. See Barkey 1994.
8. See Bardakjian 2000, p. 31. A more complex vision of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Ottoman Anatolia has been put forward in much recent scholarship, most meaningfully and recently that of Sam White and Molly Greene; see White 2011; Greene 2015. Kevork B. Bardakjian has argued for a more complex approach to understanding this period in Anatolia, specifically for the Armenian populations living there, thanks to the large amount of literary production generated at the time; Bardakjian 2000, pp. 31–32.
9. Madoyan and Ananyan 1979, pp. 501–2; English trans., Hacikyan 2000–2005, vol. 2 (2002), pp. 746–49 (quotation on p. 747).
10. See Allouche 1983; Dressler 2005.
11. Comparisons can be made with the Catholic Counter-Reformation movement in the aftermath of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, which was taking place at just the same moment as the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry. See Ozment 1980, especially pp. 397–418.
12. Evliya Çelebi describes Langa, a neighborhood on the shores of the Marmara Sea, as an area of Istanbul where both the elite and people from all four corners of the city could walk freely. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, I:145a.
13. The Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem is one of the oldest sections of the city. After the Ottoman conquest of the region in 1516, Sultan Selim “guaranteed the integrity of the Armenians’ age-old possessions within and without the Holy City, as well as those of their dependent communities”; Sanjian 1979, p. 13. Still, for the Armenians, Greeks in Jerusalem consistently challenged their authority.
14. Marsili was a unique and curious nobleman and soldier who was present at both the Siege of Vienna (1683) and the negotiations for the Treaty of Carlowitz (1673) and has been considered the father of oceanography. See Stoye 1994.

15. Hathaway 2003, p. 121.
16. Ivanova 2017, p. 244.
17. Kafadar 2014, p. 244.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
19. Eremia wrote an Armenian-language version of this text as well as an Armeno-Turkish version. Avedis K. Sanjian has shown that while the two share a general framework, they are in fact two distinct compositions; Sanjian 1981, pp. 40–43.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
21. See Russell 1987.
22. Ivanova 2017, p. 259.
23. Yerasimos 1999, p. 36.
24. Driessen 2005; Freitag 2014.
25. Driessen 2005, p. 136.
26. Goffman 1999.
27. See Aslanian 2014b.
28. Aslanian 2011, pp. 6, 66 (quoting Rothman 2006).
29. Aslanian 2011, p. 3.

**GREATER ARMENIAN ART AND PATRONAGE**

1. For this late period of Armenian architecture, see Kouymjian 2007a.

CAT. 75

1. For more information relating to this object, see *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; Davt’yan 1981; Hovsep’yan 1983–87, vol. 1 (1983); Davt’yan 1984, n.p.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, pp. 120–21, nos. 76, 76a; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 52, 61, no. 65, ill. p. 51; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 173, 184, no. 53; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 1999b, pp. 63–64, no. III, 10; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, pp. 90–91, no. 62; Nersessian 2001, p. 129, no. 41; Edda Vardanyan and Jean-Pierre Mahé in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 364–65, no. 157; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, pp. 406–7, no. 158; *Treasures of Holy Etchmiadzin* 2008, pp. 78–79.
2. Arak’el Dawrizhets’i 1990, p. 333.
3. *Catholicos of All Armenians* 2008, p. 139.

CAT. 76

1. There are two saints known by that name; the other one is better known as Qays al-Ghassani, an abbot of Mount Sinai.
2. Peeters 1926, especially pp. 286–91; Laurent 1922.
3. The special veneration of Saint Abulmuse in Aght’amar has a parallel in Sis, where the hand relic of another Christian Arab saint, Saint Barsauma, is kept (see cat. 105 in this volume and Ballian 2002b, p. 87). Both sees shared with Syrian Christians the same geographic area and anti-Chalcedonian sentiments.
4. Amy S. Landau and Theo Maarten van Lint in *Legacy of Armenian Treasures* 2013, pp. 244–45, no. 8.3.

**LAKE SEVAN**

1. For the medieval monuments of this region, including Hayravank’ and the cemetery of Noraduz, see *Sevan* 1987.

CAT. 77

1. For the Havuts' Tar cross, named after the monastery where it was deposited, see S. Der Nersessian 1978, p. 114.
2. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 148.
3. *Ibid.*

CAT. 78

1. Iveta Mkrtchyan in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 309, no. 132.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1946/1973, pp. 408–9.
3. See the essay “Khachkars” by the present author in this volume.

CAT. 79

1. Zepiur Taraian and Dorota Giovannoni in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 174, 175.
2. Sirarpie Der Nersessian also compares the figural composition of this door to later silver book covers; S. Der Nersessian 1978, p. 242.

CAT. 80

1. M. M. Mango 1986.
2. Mushegyan 2009, p. 39, no. 49; I am indebted to Vicky Khachaturian for helping with the inscription. See also *Armenia: The Spirit of Ararat* 2016, p. 71.
3. A nearly similar pair of flabella from Sevanavank' dated 1645 is kept in the History Museum of Yerevan.
4. Allan 1982, pp. 33–34.
5. Anna Ballian in Ballian 2011b, pp. 182–83, no. 57; see also Ballian in Delivorrias and Georgoula 2005, p. 89, no. 31.

CAT. 81

1. See Muyldermans 1926, pp. 298–301.
2. Evans 2004, pp. 305–6, no. 181, pp. 308–10, nos. 184, 185 (catalogue entries by Warren T. Woodfin), p. 306, no. 182 (catalogue entry by Emina Zečević), pp. 310–11, no. 186 (catalogue entry by Anna Ballian); Woodfin 2012, pp. 64–79.
3. Iveta Mkrtchyan and Dorota Giovannoni in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 336, no. 146.
4. Bedrosian 1997, pp. 268–71; Kouymjian 1997, p. 41; Margaryan 2007, pp. 297–99.
5. For the fleur-de-lis in Byzantine context, see Ousterhout 2009, pp. 164–65.

**SCRIPTORIA PRACTICES IN GREATER ARMENIA**

1. An Armenian priest can be married before ordination, but afterward he cannot advance to a higher rank, such as bishop.
2. Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009.
3. In his colophon on fols. 245v–246r, the lay artist and scribe Tserun thanks his wife for polishing the paper of a Gospel book he produced in 1411 (now in a private collection); Leyloyan-Yekmalyan and Merian 2010, pp. 231–32.
4. I have thus far found fifteen manuscripts that include illustrations of these hanging easels. They are all Gospel books, ranging in date from 1294 (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 4814; cat. 48) to

1591. All originate from the Vaspurakan region except for the two latest manuscripts, dated to 1590 (Matenadaran, MS 2805, from Abrakunis near Julfa) and 1591 (Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, MS 1556, from Chanchi village near Sebastia). These last two Gospel books were probably copied from older Vaspurakan exemplars. The easels are depicted with the evangelists or in a self-portrait of the artist. The examples from the Lake Van region range in date from 1294 to 1457. It is not clear how they functioned, as it seems that it would be difficult to keep the board steady, even on one's knees, if it were hanging from the ceiling.

5. The lay artist and scribe Tserun included his self-portrait with hanging easel in two manuscripts: Matenadaran, MS 8772, fol. 15v (a damaged Gospel book that Tserun repaired and renewed in 1391), and Matenadaran, Fragment 1101, undated. A self-portrait of the artist Astuatsatur with a hanging easel is seen in Matenadaran, MS 4867 (dated 1297 from Archesh).
6. Leyloyan-Yekmalyan and Merian 2010, p. 269.
7. I thank Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan for pointing out this fascinating detail to me. Note that manuscripts were sometimes reproduced by using a reader who dictated the text aloud to the scribe (or scribes), so this might also be a visual representation of a scribe (in this case, Luke) hearing a word read aloud as he writes it down.

CAT. 82

1. Sirarpie Der Nersessian examined this manuscript for H. P. Kraus and presented her findings to him in July 1966. H. P. Kraus was an antiquarian book dealer in New York City who sold this manuscript and others to Dr. and Mrs. Peter Ludwig, from whom the Getty Museum acquired 144 manuscripts. Volume 1 of the catalogue of the Ludwig Collection, in which this manuscript is described, was published in 1979; see Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 1 (1979), pp. 171–76 and figs. 88–115; see also Alice Taylor in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 175–76, no. 40, figs. 64, 65, 125; Taylor 1994, p. 97; Agémian 2003, p. 241. Three other manuscripts copied by Petros the monk (*abeghay*) of the monastery of Manuk Surb Nshan are known and currently held in the Matenadaran, Yerevan: Gospels dated 1387 (MS 5480); Gospels dated 1392 (MS 3717); and a Bible, partially by Petros, dated 1390–1400 (MS 346).
2. An illustration of a man strenuously polishing paper shows him grasping an identically shaped object in the upper right border of a folio in the Mughal dynasty Gulshan Album (also called the Jahangir Album), produced about 1600 and now in the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (F1954.116). The polishing object seems like it might have been wrapped in a covering of leather (?) or something similar; the material from which the object is made is not entirely evident. The border of this Mughal manuscript depicts the various steps in manuscript production, including burnishing paper,

stamping leather, trimming folios, building a bookstand, preparing paint from gold, and writing. Paper polishing is depicted in other Islamic manuscripts as well, such as Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M.531, fol. 13r (dated to 1540), and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 13.228.7.7, fol. 129 (dated to 1524–25).

CAT. 83

1. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian's two articles on MS 1434 in which she discusses each part separately: S. Der Nersessian 1968/1973; S. Der Nersessian 1969/1973. See also Scheller 1995, app., pp. 400–405, no. A3, pp. 406–12, no. A4.
2. S. Der Nersessian 1968/1973, p. 680, n. 39.
3. The collection of the Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, includes an Iranian folio, from about 1570–80, of a composite camel made of humans and other animals (1954.57); at the Metropolitan Museum a work attributed to Iran and produced during the third quarter of the sixteenth century (25.83.6) shows a composite camel almost identical to the Fogg example. Two more folios at the Metropolitan Museum, both from the Deccan and datable to the seventeenth century, depict an elephant composed of human figures (1985.247) and a fabulous beast (Buraq) upon which Muhammad was said to have made his journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (1992.17). The Morgan Library and Museum's MS M.787, produced in Kashmir, probably in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, consists of a peri holding a gold disk with a face and riding a fantastical lion whose body is composed of animals, birds, and humans.
4. Simpson 1980, p. 80.
5. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 9422. See S. Der Nersessian 1969/1973, p. 671; for a reproduction of the canon table of MS 9422, see Durnovo 1961, p. 123.

CAT. 84

1. Kouymjian forthcoming, pp. 149–50.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
3. The numerous inscriptions and colophons have been transcribed in Pogharean 1967, pp. 460–66, no. 473.
4. Grigoris and Markare also collaborated on another Alexander Romance in 1526; the main manuscript is Kurdish MS 82, which is now in the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice. Six leaves from that manuscript were removed in the 1920s and are at Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, Garrett MS 23; see Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 201, no. 77, fig. 151.
5. Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, p. 153, figs. 127, 128; Narkiss 1979b, p. 92.
6. The Alexander Romance manuscript in the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice (MS 424), attributed to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, depicts Bucephalus with a clear image of a bull's head on its haunch (fols. 53v, 62v, 88r, and 100v).

See pls. 106, 124, 175, and 200 in the facsimile and commentary of this manuscript: Pseudo-Callisthenes 2003.

7. This was first noticed by Sirarpie Der Nersessian in *S. Der Nersessian 1969/1973*, p. 671.
8. *Ibid.* Thus far I have not found any examples in other cultures of the use of a composite animal to depict Bucephalus.

#### CAT. 85

1. Colophon fols. 182–83; Nersessian 2012, vol. 2, pp. 887–932, no. 175. The numerous inscriptions in the manuscript also have been transcribed and many have been translated in this volume.
2. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 5472; see Mutafian 2007, pp. 170–71; Claude Mutafian, with Dickran Kouymjian, in Mutafian 2007, p. 170, no. 3.73.
3. Mutafian, with Kouymjian, in *ibid.*, pp. 171–72, no. 3.74; Dickran Kouymjian in Van Lint and Meyer 2015, pp. 164–65, no. 42.

#### CAT. 86

1. Since his father's name was Tser, he was also sometimes known as Grigor Tserents'.
2. Nersessian 2001, pp. 171–72, no. 96; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, pp. 174–76. Nersessian gives his date of martyrdom as 1426.
3. I thank Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan for confirming this information and for her helpful comments on this manuscript. The colophon is published in L. S. Khach'ikyan 1955, pp. 224–25, no. 246. See also Pogharean 1971, pp. 414–18; Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 123–24, no. 68 (note that the photograph on page 123 is incorrect; it is not Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 3714).
4. Merian 2013b, pp. 42–93, and fig. 1.

#### CAT. 87

1. Colophons fols. 121r and 254v; Danielean 1984, pp. 202–3, no. 34; Agémian 1991, pp. 71–72.
2. Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, Garrett MS 18, a Gospels dated 1449 and copied and illuminated by Yovhannes the priest; see Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 199–200, no. 74, pl. 28. The illuminations are available on the Princeton University website The Index of Medieval Art (formerly The Index of Christian Art), available through subscription: <https://ima.princeton.edu/>.
3. See Mathews and Wieck 1994, fig. 40, for the image in Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 7347, Gospels of 1166 at Hromkla; Helen C. Evans in Evans and Wixom 1997, pp. 361–62, no. 242, for John with Prochoros in the L'vov Gospels of 1193–1198/99, in the Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Gniezno, Poland. See Mathews and Wieck 1994, fig. 57, for the image in Matenadaran, MS 4823, a Gospel book dated 1224. This iconography has appeared in Byzantine manuscripts since about the tenth century; Buchthal 1961. Although illustrating the Evangelist John with Prochoros is not rare in Armenian Gospel books, it is still more common to see Saint John depicted alone.
4. Makaravank' is an eleventh-century Coptic monastery founded in memory of Saint Makarios of Alexandria. The monastery came into possession

of the Armenian Apostolic Church about 1425. Hadjilyra 2009, pp. 25–26.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–15.
6. Colophons fols. 255r–255v, and on fol. 9v.

#### CAT. 88

1. See G. A. Hakobyan 1980. On the establishment of the canons, see Ter-Mikaëlian 1905, p. 28.
2. “Armenian *Sharakan* Tradition” 2002, pp. 882–90.
3. Discovered by Christina Maranci in 2017.

#### ARMENIAN GOSPEL BOOKS WITH SIDEWAYS-ORIENTED ILLUMINATIONS

1. See Mathews 1994, p. 63; Kouymjian 2013.
2. Gulácsi forthcoming, figs. 1–3.
3. Lowden 1999, pp. 18–21, 26–30.
4. Occasional variations to this include when the portrait of an evangelist is not sideways at the start of his respective Gospel (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 2930, MS 4818, MS 7456, and MS 9423), intra-textual sideways scenes (Matenadaran, MS 10780), and mixed orientations (Matenadaran, MS 238, MS 2877, and MS 7736).
5. See Mathews 1994, p. 65; Kouymjian 2013, pp. 83–84.
6. See, for example, Matenadaran, MS 3784, copied and likely illustrated by the priest T'ovmas in Melitene (Kouymjian 2013, p. 84), and MS 4813 (cat. 91), copied and illustrated by the scribe and artist Melk'isedek at Berkri (Nersessian 2001, pp. 168–69, no. 93).
7. The Gospel of Luke (1:26–38) does not discuss the place of the Annunciation, which is given to Joseph instead of Mary in the Gospel of Matthew (18:20). The first reference to the Annunciation taking place at a well is in the Protoevangelium of James (11:1); see Elliott 1993, p. 61.
8. The Gospel of Matthew (2:1–12) does not specify the number of the Magi. While twelve Magi were known in Syria, the three gifts they offer likely resulted in the convention of their number; Metzger 1980, pp. 23–24. See Matenadaran, MS 6201, fol. 5r (Durnovo 1961, pp. 40–41), and British Library, London, MS Or.2680, fol. 2v, for examples of the four Magi (Nersessian 1987, pl. XI).
9. The Gospel of John (11:38) describes Lazarus's tomb as a cave; see Schiller 1971–72, vol. 1, pp. 182–83. The Armenian frontispieces under discussion show a tower-like tomb: Matenadaran, MS 3784, fol. 7v, and MS 974, fol. 3r (see Durnovo 1961, p. 61), as well as Library of Saint Toros, Jerusalem, MS 3624, fol. 7v (mistakenly labeled as the Ascension of Christ depicted on fol. 10v of this manuscript by Michael E. Stone in Narkiss 1979a, p. 36 and fig. 52, and see also p. 148). Similar tower-like tombs were also found on sixth- and seventh-century gemstones (Spier 2007, p. 117, nos. 687, 688) and in a sixth-century Latin Gospel book that has been noted for having “Syrian features” by Francis Wormald (see Wormald 1954, p. 16 and pl. IV, 4).
10. Lowden 1999, pp. 48–58; see also Nersessian 1987, p. 3.
11. See Leroy 1964.
12. British Library, Add. MS 7169, contains thirteen pages of narrative illustrations between fol. 8v

and fol. 14v, five of which are not sideways and one is upside down; see Leroy 1964, vol. 2, pls. 118–24.

13. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat.Sir.118, Chaldean Patriarchate of Mosul (unnumbered item), and British Library, Add. MS 7174; see Leroy 1964, vol. 2, pls. 54, 1, 55, 1 and 2, 151–55, respectively.
14. Gulácsi 2005, pp. 133–93; Gulácsi 2008.
15. Durnovo 1961, p. 61; V. Kazarian and Manukian 1991, p. 29.
16. James 1980, pp. 13, 16–19; James 1992, p. 24 and no. 1, fols. 1a, 201b, 202a, as well as p. 34 and no. 5, fols. 1b–2a.
17. Gulácsi 2015, pp. 227–312.

#### CAT. 89

1. Durnovo 1961, pp. 59–60; V. Kazarian and Manukian 1991, pp. 79–81; Gevorgyan 2005, p. 33; Gulácsi forthcoming, fig. 1.

#### CAT. 90

1. Gulácsi forthcoming, fig. 2.
2. Taylor 1984, pp. 306–11, figs. 1, 2; Alice Taylor in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 184, no. 52, fig. 61, pl. 18.
3. Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 179, no. 45, fig. 32, pl. 19.

#### CAT. 91

1. H. Hakobyan, V. Kazarian, and Mat'evosyan 1978, pp. 19–22; Nersessian 2001, pp. 168–69, no. 93.
2. Gulácsi forthcoming, fig. 3.

#### KHIZAN STYLE

1. For Grigor K'ahanay and his family, see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, p. 159, genealogical table 1. For Yovhannes Khizants'i, see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, pp. 211–12; Avetisyan 2013; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2016–17. For Zakare, see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, p. 219; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2016–17, pp. 255–62, fig. 2. For Mkrtich' II Khizants'i, see Gevorgyan 1998, p. 433, no. 252; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, p. 192. For Yovhannes II Khizants'i, see Gevorgyan 1998, p. 528, no. 322; Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, p. 216.
2. For Khach'atur Kahanay Khizants'i, see Gevorgyan 1998, p. 260–62, no. 151. For Mesrop Khizants'i, see M. Arakelyan 2012.

#### CAT. 92

1. Lalayan 1915, no. 161; Hovsep'yan 1944b, pp. 7–9; S. Der Nersessian 1958, pp. xxxvi, 17, 48, 55, 56, 88; Sotheby's 1977, lot 178; Helen C. Evans in “Recent Acquisitions” 2010, p. 17.
2. The monastery of Saint George the General at Mokk' (Mokats' Surb Georg Zoravar), also called Saint George of the Mountain (Sari Surb Georg), was founded about the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Artsruni princes of Vaspurakan. Starting in the second half of the fourteenth century, this monastery housed the Sari Vank' school, which was known for its scriptorium.
3. See the Gospel, 1434, Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 2784; Gospel, 1437, Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 8933; Gospel, 1451–53, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 566; Gospel, 1455, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.453.

4. For more information on the style of Yovhannes Khizants'i's family, see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009.
5. This iconographic particularity can also be found in the miniatures of Simeon Archishets'i (Matenadaran, MS 4851, fol. iv, and MS 2744, fol. 3v), although there is a difference in the order in which the characters are depicted: Melchior, Caspar, then Balthazar; see Leyloyan-Yekmalyan 2009, figs. 32, 33.

#### REVIVAL OF EARLY NARRATIVES IN MANUSCRIPTS

1. For the copying agenda of the Bitlis, see Thomson 2001.

#### CAT. 93

1. For additional information on this manuscript, see Durnovo 1961, pp. 168–69; H. Hakobyan, V. Kazarian, and Mat'evosyan 1978, pp. 236–37, no. 70; Gevorgyan 1998, p. 294; Claude Mutaftian, with Edda Vardanyan, in Mutaftian 1999b, pp. 89–90, no. III, 40; Nersessian 2001, pp. 172–73, no. 98; Ioanna Rapti in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 74–75, no. 15; Eganyan 2009, p. 661, no. 1620. For other depictions of this battle scene illustrated by Karapet of Berkri, see S. Der Nersessian 1952/1973.

#### CAT. 94

1. For additional information on this manuscript, see Thierry and Donabédian 1989, p. 342, figs. 170, 171; *Armenien* 1995, pp. 262–63, no. 199; Raymond H. Kévorkian in Kévorkian 1996, p. 237, no. 97; Gevorgyan 1998, p. 730; Claude Mutaftian in Mutaftian 1999b, p. 63, no. III, 8; Ioanna Rapti in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 31–32, no. 3; Ter-Vardanean 2012, p. 565, no. 1920.

#### JULFA STYLE

1. Avvazyan 1984, pp. 31–36.
2. This manuscript resides in the collection of Holy Etchmiadzin. For more information, see Eremyan 1952.
3. Barsegh *vardapet* arrived in Julfa in 1601, where he copied the *Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke* (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 8243) in 1603; see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1974, pp. 32, 99. In 1603, Ter Mkrtych' copied the Gospels in the city of Julfa (Matenadaran, MS 2232); see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1974, p. 104. In 1601, Yohan Dark'amark'ets'i restored the sixteenth-century *Yaysmawurk'* (Matenadaran, MS 7436), near the city of Julfa; see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1974, pp. 14–15. In 1603, Yohan restored and bound a Gospel from 1497 as well as another dating from 1477 with Sargis K'ahanay in 1604; see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1974, pp. 157–58. The scribe Rstakes the monk (*abeghay*) composed a *Yaysmawurk'* in Julfa in 1605; see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1974, pp. 183–84. For Step'anos of Julfa (Step'anos Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 712–14, no. 442. For Hakob of Julfa (Hakob Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 463–66, no. 274.

4. For Hakob of Julfa, see Greenwood and Vardanyan 2006; Drampian 2009b. For Mesrop of Khizan, see M. Arakelyan 2012.
5. For Zak'ariay of Awan (Zak'ariay Awants'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 205–10, no. 118; for Astuatsatur of Julfa (Astuatsatur Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 62–64, no. 30; for Grigor Naghsh of Julfa (Grigor Naghsh Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, p. 146, no. 83; for Hayrapet of Julfa (Hayrapet Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 328–39, no. 188; for Step'anos of Julfa, see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 712–14, no. 442; for Gaspar Erets', see V. A. Hakobyan and Hovhannisyian 1978, pp. 12, 261–62, 293–94, 307–8, 318–19, 378–79, 418–20, 451–53, 513–14, 561–62; for Hakob II of Julfa (Hakob II Jughayets'i), see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 474–76, no. 281.

#### CAT. 95

1. Greenwood and Vardanyan 2006, p. 90, no. 1; Claude Mutaftian, with Dickran Kouymjian, in Mutaftian 2007, p. 170, no. 3.73. This copy of the Alexander Romance is known as the “Sis copy” as it was kept in the catholicosate of Sis for a long time; it was then moved to Varag Monastery at an unknown date, where it stayed until 1916.
2. See Tashean 1892, pp. 85–138. For an English translation of the Armenian version of the Alexander Romance, see Pseudo-Callisthenes 1969.
3. See Tashean 1892, pp. 124–25.
4. Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 201–3.
5. “And remember, when beside Christ, the unworthy illuminator Hakob, who does not deserve his name. And also, its [the book's] corrector, Ter Grigor, who wrote commentary on holy scripture, and Jughayets'i, who illuminated it; remember and ask God to take pity.”
6. Sometimes on the same page, such as on folio 10a, on which the work of two different miniaturists can clearly be identified.
7. The Armenian text presented above mentions that they had human faces.
8. The cursive inscription on the exterior margin, which is partly erased, reads: “.b. hawk'. [. . .] aghkesandru” (two birds . . . to Alexander [*sic*]).

#### CAT. 96

1. According to the colophons, this manuscript belonged to the tailor Karapet of Trebizond, son of Petros, who donated it to Holy Savior Monastery (Surb P'rkich') in Kiwmshhane on September 1, 1827 (fol. 4 [fol. 362 before the last restoration]). On June 15, 1919, the manuscript was given to Yarut'iwn Aydinean, who lived in Batumi (fol. 2 [fol. 360 before the last restoration]), and in 1936, it was sold to Jean Pozzi by Mr. Alianakian. In 1971, the manuscript was bought by the bookseller Pierre Berès. Sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 30, 1971 (see Hôtel Drouot 1971, lot 101). At the request of its new owner, Pierre Berès, Sirarpie Der Nersessian completed a study and detailed description of the manuscript; see Agémian 2003, pp. 262, 275; see also the dossiers “Paris,” “Pierre Berès,” and “Paris, anciennement Pozzi, no. 7993” in the Sirarpie Der Nersessian Archives, Matenadaran,

Yerevan. For its condition, see Greenwood and Vardanyan 2006, pp. 87–88.

2. Originally, folios 360 to 403 were at the beginning of the manuscript; they were later moved when the book was rebound. See Greenwood and Vardanyan 2006, p. 87.
3. According to the description given by Archbishop Artawazd in 1949 (see Artawazd 1950, p. 17), the manuscript lost two leaves between folios 391 and 392, which contained the Descent from the Cross and the Harrowing of Hell. Similarly, one or two leaves between folios 7 and 8 have been lost, which included portraits of the Virgin Mary and the evangelist Matthew, and one more leaf between folios 100 and 101, which included a portrait of Christ. See the dossier “Paris, anciennement Pozzi, no. 7993” in the Sirarpie Der Nersessian Archives.
4. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 5472 (16th century), MS 9691 (1585), MS 6758 (1587), MS 10367 (1591), MS 7639 (1610); John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, MS Armenian 20 (1587; cat. 97); Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 3424 (1592); All Savior's Monastery, New Julfa, MS 396 (105) (1608; formerly in Saint Sargis, New Julfa).

#### CAT. 97

1. The physical characteristics of this manuscript vary from one source to the other; Archives Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Matenadaran, Yerevan (as 27.5 × 19 cm / 19 × 12 cm, 399 folios; Agémian 2003, pp. 228–29, dossier, “Manchester, John Rylands, Arm. 20”); Artawazd 1950, p. 83 (as 22 × 16 × 6 cm, 500 folios); Greenwood and Vardanyan 2006, p. 91 (as 27.2 × 18.5 cm, 340 folios); Drampian 2009b, p. 86 (as 22 × 12, 500 folios). This description uses data collected by Sylvie L. Merian, whom I thank for this information.
2. See fol. 38v in the 1586 manuscript (cat. 96) and fol. 16v in the 1587 Gospel, Matenadaran, MS 6758, fol. 16v.

#### CAT. 98

1. In his manuscripts' colophons, Arakel of Geghama (Arak'el Geghamets'i) asks the reader to remember his parents, Awak' and Yustian, his brothers P'iraziz and Sahéziz, his wife Khanagh, and his children Grigor, Grigores, and Sarik. He also claims to belong to the great Argut'eants' family line. On this psalter, see Sotheby's 1968, lot 204; Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 178–79, no. 44, fig. 22; *Art of the Armenians* 2004, no. 6; Claude Mutaftian, with Dickran Kouymjian, in Mutaftian 2007, pp. 174–75, no. 3.76; Vrej Nersessian in *Illustrious Illuminations* 2017, pp. 73–77, no. 19.
2. Vrej Nersessian, unpublished manuscript, private collection.
3. A *saz*, a word of Persian origin, broadly refers to a type of lute that was popular throughout Iran, Armenia, Kurdistan, Turkey, Greece, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. In Armenia, this instrument was used to accompany the lyrics sung by the *ashugh*s (troubadours). In the 1599 Psalter from the Matenadaran collection, Yerevan (MS 2660), Arakel of Geghama included several miniatures



depicting King David (fols. 1v, 61v, 140v, 159r). It must be noted that, in this manuscript, the king is shown with both a harp (fol. 1v), which conforms to classical iconography, and a *saz* (fol. 140v), which conforms to local iconography. For this psalter, see Ter-Vardanean 2013, pp. 1001–6, no. 2660.

#### ARMENIANS IN JERUSALEM

1. See the many works on the Armenians in the Holy Land by Michael E. Stone, such as those collected in M. E. Stone 2006.
2. Anania Shirakats'i 1992, p. 46. For the latter source, see Movses Daskhurants'i 1961, pp. 183–84.
3. Evans 1982.
4. See Evans 2016.
5. Carswell and Dowsett 1972.

#### CAT. 99

1. *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; Davt'yan 1981; Khachatryan 1986; *Canon Table Frontispieces* 2004; Marielle Martiniani-Reber, Georgette Cornu, and Dickran Kouymjian in Privat-Savigny and Berthod 2007, pp. 65–66, no. 5; Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyian, and Vartan Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyian, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 188–89, no. 59; V. Karapetian and Lucca 2015, p. 151, no. 6; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, p. 233, no. 146.

#### ARMENIANS AND KÜTAHYA CERAMICS

1. Carswell and Dowsett 1972, vol. 1, p. 78, pl. 21, fig. a, vol. 2, pp. 1–42; Crowe 2006–7.
2. Crowe 2006–7.

#### CAT. 100

1. *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; Davt'yan 1981; *Saint Etchmiadzine* 1981, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Armenian Ceramic Art of Kütahya* 2016, no. 1.

#### CATS. 101, 102

1. Amy S. Landau in *Legacy of Armenian Treasures* 2013, pp. 82–83, no. 2.5.
2. Carswell and Dowsett 1972, vol. 1, pl. 24, c.
3. Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin (N 51); Nersessian 2001, pp. 134–35, no. 46.
4. Zepiur Taraian and Dorota Giovannoni in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 405–6, no. 181.
5. Benaki Museum, Athens (11155).
6. Amy S. Landau and Theo Maarten van Lint in *Legacy of Armenian Treasures* 2013, pp. 246–47, no. 8.4.

#### CAT. 103

1. Carswell and Dowsett 1972, vol. 1, pp. 12–67.
2. Sadberk Hanim Museum, Istanbul (SHM 901-P.293).
3. See Zekiyian 1990, p. 116, no. 139, for an illustration of the basin.
4. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1991-162); Amy S. Landau in *Legacy of Armenian Treasures* 2013, pp. 80–81, no. 2.4.
5. Benaki Museum, Athens (7649); Carswell and Dowsett 1972, vol. 1, pp. 74–75, pl. 20.

6. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (3170-2); *ibid.*, pp. 72–73, pl. 19.
7. Uluhogian 2000.

#### ARMENIANS IN SIS

1. Sanjian 1965, pp. 233–36; Gould 1976; Dadoyan 2005, pp. 67–74.
2. Ballian 2002b, pp. 93–105.
3. Anna Ballian in Ballian 2002a, p. 113, nos. 39, 40; Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 258–60, nos. 79, 80. The 1659 cross is made of a thick sheet of copper alloy and gilded with a pattern engraved around the edges; see Collareta and Capitanio 1990, pp. 2–6, no. 2 (entry by Marco Collareta). In relation to the cross of 1685 or 1690, see several examples from the Veneto; Zastrow 2009, pp. 105–9, no. XIV, pp. 169–84, nos. XXV, XXVI. See also the essay “Armenians in Constantinople and the Metalwork Trade” by the present author in this volume.
4. Ballian in Ballian 2002a, p. 112, no. 32, figs. 4, 81; Ballian 2002b, p. 105; Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 273–75, no. 93.
5. Ballian in Ballian 2002a, p. 111, no. 30, fig. 76, p. 112, no. 31, fig. 75; Ballian 2002b, pp. 86–87. For a fourth piece made in Antioch in 1611, see Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 400, no. 176.

#### CAT. 104A, B

1. Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 251–52, no. 73.
2. Collareta and Capitanio 1990, p. 92, no. 23, pp. 254–59, no. 80 (catalogue entries by Antonella Capitanio), p. 114, no. 30 (catalogue entry by Marco Collareta); Gajić 2016, pp. 559–62, fig. 455.
3. For examples of the Ottoman Gothic style in church silver, see Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, figs. 2, 13; Ballian 1998, figs. 468, 470, 471.
4. A censer at Etchmiadzin is equally elaborate; see Kouymjian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 426–27, no. 195. It may date earlier than the eighteenth century. The decoration is not in a late Safavid style but in the floral Ottoman style common to the second half of the seventeenth century. See Anna Ballian in Delivourias and Georgoula 2005, p. 89, no. 31; Ballian in Ballian 2011b, pp. 118–19, no. 28.

#### CAT. 105

1. Sanjian 1965, pp. 233–36.
2. Kiwleserean 1939, cols. 509–13; H. Goltz and K. E. Göltz 2000, pp. 68, 70–71; Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 109, no. 19, figs. 44–46; Evans 2002, pp. 55–57; Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 224–26, no. 46/2.

#### ARMENIANS IN ALEPPO

1. Simeon of Poland 2007, pp. 265–70.
2. Sanjian 1965, pp. 46–50, 260–63; Masters 1999; Aslanian 2011, pp. 27–28, 66–68. For manuscripts written and illuminated in Aleppo, see Evans and Merian 1994, p. 111; Alice Taylor in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 165–66, no. 26.
3. S. Der Nersessian 1986b, pp. 160, 163; Landau 2012, pp. 429–30.

#### CAT. 106

1. Muyltermans 1926, pp. 286–90; H. Goltz and K. E. Göltz 2000, p. 53; Anna Ballian in Ballian 2002a, p. 118, no. 73, fig. 96.
2. Langlois 1861, pp. 401–2.
3. Marielle Martiniani-Reber in Dadoyan 2015, p. 321. The inscription was first transcribed and translated in Langlois 1861, pp. 401–2. According to him, the now effaced part read: “Made in the year 683 of our era. Say: God gives mercy on whom made this. Amen!” In the files of the museum of the Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias, the date is read as 1634. The museum holds a second similar piece but it is not inscribed.
4. Avedis K. Sanjian in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 23; for the Armenian intellectual activity in seventeenth-century Aleppo, see “Armenians in Aleppo” by the present author in this volume.

#### CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND NEW JULFA

1. Hovannisian 1997, vol. 2. The accounts of seventeenth-century European travelers, merchants, and ambassadors are a useful resource. See, especially, the court books of the Levant Company in the Public Records Office, Kew, England. A selection of documents dating from 1632–80 is available on microfilm.
2. For example, much research needs to be done in the Turkish archives on New Julfa's trading networks.
3. See Kévorkian 1985; see also Kévorkian 1981, pp. 401–2. This figure of 40,000 does not include Catholic Armenians; see Bardakjian 1982.
4. Robert Mantran uses taxation registers but these records do not differentiate between several different Christian minorities subject to the *jizya*, a tax paid by non-Muslims to Islamic rulers; Mantran 1996, p. 253. See also Faroqhi 1994, p. 493.
5. Gulbenkian 1994–95. European merchants often wore Armenian clothing to go through the Ottoman Empire.
6. Faroqhi 1994, p. 503.
7. See Maria Queiroz Ribeiro in Baetjer and Draper 1999, p. 22. For New Julfa, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1998. For a rare study on Ottoman merchants, see Kafadar 1986.
8. Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, MS 1594, Gospels dated 1609; Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arm. d. 13, Gospels dated 1609 by Mesrop of Khizan; Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MS 2015a-x, Gospels dated 1618–22 by Mesrop of Khizan. I thank Sylvie L. Merian for this information.
9. Helen C. Evans and Sylvie L. Merian have argued that despite this, there were two distinctive styles; see Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 105–7.
10. Baghdiantz McCabe 2010a.
11. Although many Armenians were skilled artisans, the guilds are better studied for this period; see Yi Eunjeong 2004. For the silk trade, see Suraiya Faroqhi most recently in Faroqhi 2014. For a general study, see V. Ghazarian 1998.

## ARMENIANS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE METALWORK TRADE

1. Kritovoulos 1954, p. 140. The same reasoning in relation to those who could develop trade and crafts was behind the decision of Shah ‘Abbas a century later to settle the Julfans in Isfahan.
2. Bardakjian 1982.
3. See Barsoumian 1982; Kürkman 1996, pp. 287–89.
4. According to Stephan Gerlach, who was writing in 1576 and was a member of the Habsburg delegation to the Porte, the government of the Ottoman Empire, many goldsmiths were Armenians; Gerlach 1674, p. 204; see also Evliya Çelebi 1834–50, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1846), pp. 193–95; Mansel 1995, p. 130; Kürkman 1996, pp. 73–74.
5. Barsoumian 1982, p. 172; T’ok’at’ 2005, p. 282; Ballian 2015a; for the book cover, see Ballian 2015a, p. 52 and fig. 15; *Switzerland—Armenia* 2015, p. 305, no. 87, ill. p. 196.
6. The Julfa cross would have been brought to Isfahan by the deported Julfans; Canby 2009, p. 65, no. 23. On the Greek crosses, see Anna Ballian in Ballian 2011b, pp. 184–85, no. 58.
7. Ballian in Ballian 2011b, pp. 152–53, no. 43.
8. Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 115–23; Merian 2013a.
9. On church silver and filigree enamel, see Ivanov 1967; Sotirov 2001; Ballian 2015b. On a rare seventeenth-century watch with filigree enamel made in Istanbul and signed “Şahin,” see Özdemir 1993, p. 114.
10. Maksoudian 1997, pp. 69–73; Harlaftis 2011; Lyberatos 2012.

## ARMENIAN SCRIPTORIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE

1. For a brief overview of Armenians in Constantinople, see Hovannisian and Payaslian 2010, pp. 1–7.
2. Some Armenian colophons refer to it by both its Armenian name (Surb Georg Zoravar) and its Turkish name “Sulu Manastır” (Watery Monastery), writing those Turkish words with Armenian letters. It is also called Surb Georg (Gevorg) of Samatya. This monastery was built on the site of an eleventh-century Byzantine church and monastery dedicated to Theotokos Peribleptos, which was ceded to the Armenians either in the late fifteenth century or the mid-seventeenth century (the sources disagree). The current structure dates from the nineteenth century. See Janin 1969, pp. 218–22.
3. Pehlivanian 2002, pp. 56, 63–64.
4. Other presses were founded there later, and by the eighteenth century, Constantinople was a major center for Armenian printing. Kévorkian 1986, pp. 120–21; Pehlivanian 2002, pp. 70–71, 77–80.
5. Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 104–15; Maranci 2016–17.

### CAT. 107

1. Agémian 1991, pp. 31–34, no. III, pls. XXIX–XXXVI, figs. 69–91, and pls. L, M. On this Gospel book, see also Danielean 1984, p. 452, no. 156; H. Goltz and K. E. Göltz 2000, p. 74; Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 109, no. 17, figs. 47, 48; Sylvia Agémian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 117, no. 3.

2. Agémian 1991, pp. 33–34.
3. For example, Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M.621 (cat. 113), and Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MS Armenian 11, from the church of Saint Sargis in Constantinople and dated 1643.
4. Gurgen Hachat’ian added another inscription on fol. 53r, which had been blank, in which he asks those who read this manuscript to remember him and his deceased family members, and they in turn shall be remembered before the Lamb of God. Folio 53v consists of the portrait of Matthew (which he mislabeled as Mark, as it was bound at the beginning of Mark’s Gospel). The inscriptions added below all four of the evangelist portraits are in the same hand and same purple ink as his other inscriptions. Danielean 1984, p. 452, no. 156; Agémian 1991, p. 31.

### CAT. 108

1. See H. (Heide) Buschhausen, H. (Helmut) Buschhausen, and Korkhmazian 2009, pp. 69, 211–26, pls. 197–229, with comparative images from the Eight Painters Gospels (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 7651). For the Eight Painters Gospels, see also S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 104, 113–17, 136, 142–43, 147, 169–75; Thomas F. Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 274–75, no. 119.
2. Evans and Merian 1994, p. 109; Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 168, no. 29, fig. 31, pls. 40, 41. Nikoghos, the finest artist of the Crimean school of illumination, produced thirty-four works between the 1640s and 1690s, of which this is an early example.
3. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 115; Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 274.
4. Velmans 1971, p. 12, reported Gabriel Millet’s discovery in the twelfth-century Byzantine strip Gospel book (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, MS Laur. VI.23) of pages numbered in Armenian and a note in Armenian at folio 27v to omit the image, which proved that it was once in Armenian hands. S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 104, 136, detailed the relation of MS Laur. VI.23 to MS 7651. She recognized that the Armenian manuscript lacked the image noted to be omitted on folio 27v in the original.
5. See S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 115, for Western crowns; Evans 1990, pp. 147–48, for the swooning Virgin as a Western motif in connection with the Prince Vasak Gospels, Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 2568 (cat. 64), whose artist Sirarpie Der Nersessian associates with MS 7651 (S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, p. 113). See Helen C. Evans in Evans 2004, pp. 221–23, no. 131, for an example of a contemporary Byzantine image of the Man of Sorrows; Mathews in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 274–75, no. 119, for Italian influence.

### CAT. 109

1. This manuscript is paginated. Sirarpie Der Nersessian’s notes indicate there are 1212 pages but she later states that there are 609 folios; the reason for the discrepancy is unclear since 609

folios should equal 1218 pages. Archives Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Matenadaran, Yerevan (dossier, “Musée de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, inv. no. L.A. 152”). My thanks are due to the Matenadaran, as well as to Annie Nafilyan and Michel Nafilyan, Institut de Recherche sur les Miniatures Arméno-Byzantines, Paris, and Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, for facilitating use of the archives. On this manuscript, see also Sotheby’s 1926, lot 552; Maria Queiroz Ribeiro in Baetjer and Draper 1999, pp. 21–22, no. 4; Nersessian 2001, pp. 188–89, no. 117.

2. For more information on Khoja Nazar’s title “prince of princes” and its significance, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1998–2000; Baghdiantz McCabe 2010a.
3. The lengthy colophon of 1629 is found on pp. 1208–11 and summarizes the deportation of the Armenians from Julfa to Isfahan by Shah ‘Abbas I in 1604. It also provides information on the manuscript’s commission from Constantinople, completion, and arrival in New Julfa in 1629, the same year that Shah ‘Abbas died, his grandson Safi succeeded him, and Ter Movses Tat’evats’i was installed as catholicos. Pages 1211 to 1212 record the births of numerous descendants. On page 1212 is a colophon from 1796 indicating that the manuscript then belonged to the Shahamirian family in Tbilisi. I would like to thank the former curator of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Maria Queiroz Ribeiro, who in 2000 kindly sent me photographs of the entire colophon.
4. In the top register, the events unfold from left to right, in the second register from right to left, and in the bottom register from left to right again.
5. Ribeiro in Baetjer and Draper 1999, p. 22.
6. For example, the Vivian (Vivien) Bible (first Bible of Charles the Bald, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS lat. 1, fol. 10v); and the Grandval Bible (British Library, London, Add. MS 10546, fol. 5v).
7. Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M.739.
8. A famous example of a French moralized Bible is Vienna’s Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2554, from the first half of the thirteenth century. Creation scenes in roundels are also found in manuscripts of Bibles, Psalters, and Books of Hours from France, England, and Italy. The Souvigny Bible produced at the end of the twelfth century includes the six days of Creation (fol. 4v) in square frames (Mediathèque de Moulins, France, MS 1).
9. Eastmond 1999.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 224–25.
11. These manuscripts are Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 428 (1620); Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, MS L.A. 152 (1623; cat. 109); and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Vat. Arm. 1 (1625). MS 428 in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem was also a commission from a *khoja* in Isfahan, whose name was erased in the colophon. This unknown *khoja* sent someone named T’asali from Isfahan to Constantinople to commission the manuscript for him, completed in 1620. It is not known if it

ever arrived in Isfahan, but the manuscript also includes a later colophon dated 1629, which mentions the death of Shah 'Abbas, the succession by his grandson Safi, and the installation of Ter Movses Tat'evats'i as catholicos in Etchmiadzin that same year. For the full colophon, see Pogharean 1967, pp. 386–87, no. 428. There is an error in Narkiss 1979a, p. 154, in the description of MS 428 (catalogue entry by Michael E. Stone), which states that the manuscript was “illuminated by Khatchatur *abeghay* of Isfahan, who was invited to Istanbul by a patron whose name has been effaced.” This is incorrect; it is T'asali who came from Isfahan, not the artist Khach'atur.

12. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig I.14 (1637–38, New Julfa); Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 1933 (1645, New Julfa); and All Savior's Monastery (Surb Amenap'rkich Vank'), New Julfa, MS 15 (1) (1662–63, New Julfa). Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 1928 (1648), was probably also produced in New Julfa, as it is very similar to Jerusalem MS 1933 (dated to 1645). Furthermore, both include illuminations of the Apocalypse inspired by Johann Theodor de Bry's engravings in the 1609 Mainz printed Bible (cat. 129). The artists combined various sources for the illustrations of these Bibles.
13. Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, MS 1507 (13) (1635); Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 1932 (1640) and MS 501 (17th century).

#### CAT. 110

1. Agémian 1991, p. 116.
2. The colophons have been fully transcribed in Danielean 1984, pp. 531–33, and are summarized in French in Agémian 1991, pp. 115–16. The main colophon is on fols. 574r–576v; see Danielean 1984, p. 532, no. 213. On this manuscript, see also Akinean 1961, pp. 16–17, no. 3a; Agémian 1991, pp. 115–20, no. XVII, pls. XCIII–XCVI, figs. 285–301; H. Goltz and K. E. Göltz 2000, p. 74, ill. p. 75; Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 111, no. 26, figs. 52, 53; Sylvia Agémian in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 131–33.
3. Since Yovanes calls him “priest” in his colophon, it is not clear if his teacher was the famous Khach'atur Kesarats'i (1590–1646), bishop and prelate of New Julfa.
4. The illuminations are extremely similar to those in two hymnals: one in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W.547, dated 1678, and the other in the Mekhitarist Congregation, Vienna, MS 986, from 1675. There is another *Yaysmawurk'* with remarkably similar headpieces and figures in the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna, MS 1036, completed in 1678 in Constantinople. These manuscripts and MS 213 in Antelias are probably from the same scriptorium or workshop, or the artists had the same teacher.
5. This synaxarion was published by Grigor Marzuanets'i in Constantinople and reprinted in 1730 and 1733. See Kouymjian 2015b.

#### ARMENIAN METALWORK IN KAYSERI

1. Merian 2013a.
2. For an illustration of the front cover of MS 3714, Matenadaran, Yerevan (cat. 86), see Merian 2013b, fig. 1.

#### CAT. 111

1. Translation in Dowsett 1970, pp. 173–74. This inscription around the lid is problematic, as the accession of Sultan Suleiman and the feast of Baragham do not correspond; it is fully discussed in Dowsett 1970, pp. 173–78. Note that much of this article is now outdated as Dowsett was unaware of any other objects produced in this Armenian workshop in Kayseri. On this pyx, see also Nersessian 2001, p. 124, no. 34.
2. Dowsett 1970, p. 172.

#### CAT. 112A, B

1. Sylvie L. Merian and Helen C. Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 183, no. 50, figs. 79, 133. See also American Art Association 1913, pt. 2, no. 497, and pt. 1, frontispiece.
2. British Library, London (MS Or. 13808, silver dated 1691; formerly in the collection of Baroness Lanna, Prague); Mekhitarist Congregation, Vienna (Cod. 416, silver dated 1691); Matenadaran, Yerevan (MS 10411, silver dated 1704); and three undated plaques: Matenadaran (MS 10369); Université de Lille III, Bibliothèque, Fonds Agache-Desmedt (MS 222); and formerly in the collection of Haroutune Hazarian, New York (MS 80). None of these include enamel or jewels. See Merian 2013a, table 1.
3. It is also possible that the woodblocks were sold by his estate after Peter Jacopsz Paets, the printer, died about 1657; see Lane 2012, p. 87.
4. Merian 2013a, table 2. Eleven woodcuts are listed in table 2 and the Last Supper should be added as the twelfth, as it was the inspiration for the Last Supper of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum's gold pyx (cat. 111).

#### CAT. 113A, B

1. Translation of extant inscriptions: Artist's inscription on fol. 152: “Lazy in goodness and quick in wickedness, remember the artist of this [manuscript] and you shall be remembered.” Later owner's inscription on fol. 3: “I gave this book to my son-in-law Grigor in payment of my account. He has the right to keep it or to sell it. I wrote this on 10 January 1908. Yovhannes Ter Karapetean.”
2. Thomas F. Mathews and Sylvie L. Merian in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 190–91, no. 60; Sanjian 1976, pp. 514–20.
3. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MS Armenian 11; the text of the Houghton flyleaves is Homily 26 on the Gospel of Matthew. I wish to thank Dr. Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann of Glenmont, New York, and Washington, D.C., for kindly dating and identifying the text of the Morgan flyleaves, and confirming that they come from the same Greek manuscript as the flyleaves in the Houghton manuscript. She has published the Houghton

flyleaves in Kavrus-Hoffmann 2010, pp. 264–67. She will publish the Greek flyleaves from Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.621, in a future Addenda and Corrigenda article.

4. Armenian bindings traditionally include a leather fore-edge flap the size of the fore edge. Endbands are a decorative sewn band at the head and tail of the manuscript near the spine. Armenian, Greek, Syriac, and Georgian endbands are raised above the edges of the boards and textblock, hence are called “raised endbands.” However, each culture developed its own distinctive type. For further details, see Merian, Mathews, and Orna 1994, pp. 124–34; Hille and Merian 2011.
5. Marchese and Breu 2010a, pp. 115–16. Garo Kürkman has published and translated Ottoman documents indicating the great number of Armenian silversmiths, goldsmiths, and jewelers in Constantinople in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Kürkman 1996, pp. 286–89. Kürkman also translated some passages from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* in which Evliya mentions Greek, Jewish, Armenian, and Muslim silversmiths in seventeenth-century Constantinople; Kürkman 1996, pp. 73–74. Evliya Çelebi was a renowned seventeenth-century traveler who wrote a ten-volume work describing his journeys, the *Seyahatname*, still used extensively by historians.
6. For similar embroidery, see *Armenian Embroidery* 1999, pp. 106–8.

#### MOTHER SEE OF HOLY ETCHMIADZIN

1. For this account, see Agat'angeghos 2010.
2. See, most recently, A. Kazarian 2007.
3. *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984.
4. Ukhtanes 2008, pp. 85–86.

#### CAT. 114

1. *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Tesouros de Etchmiadzin* 2004, pp. 111, 115, 125.
2. Agat'angeghos 1983.

#### LITURGICAL OBJECTS FROM HOLY ETCHMIADZIN

1. *Etchmiadzin Chronicles* 2003, pp. 47–51.
2. Javakishvili and Abramišvili 1986, pp. 216, 222, 224, 231, 232; Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 447, no. 208.
3. Georgian works show a similar flat treatment of embroideries; Vlachopoulou-Karabina 1998, pp. 15–21, figs. 5–7, pp. 126–32, figs. 70, 71; Soltes 1999, pp. 256–57, no. 152, ill. p. 124 (catalogue entry by Mzistvala Ketskhoveli), and see also p. 254, no. 148 (catalogue entry by Izolda Meliqishvili), p. 255, nos. 149, 150 (catalogue entries by Gulnazi Baratashvili), pp. 258–59, no. 153. For abundant use of pearls but a different treatment of the embroidery, see the *epitaphios* of Vasile Lupu, Voivoda of Moldavia; Maria Theocharis in *Treasures of Mount Athos* 1997, pp. 407–9, no. 11.22 (2nd ed., pp. 479–81, no. 11.29). For Sinope, see Theocharis in *Treasures of Mount Athos* 1997, p. 395, no. 11.9 (2nd ed., p. 464, no. 11.14); Vlachopoulou-Karabina 1998, pp. 67–73, figs. 35–39.

4. Muyltermans 1926, pp. 296–97. For the floral decoration, see Vlachopoulou-Karabina 1998, pp. 72–77, figs. 40a–43, and also pp. 29–31, figs. 2, 10, for a textile with similar abstract treatment. On Khizan manuscripts and several examples of figures with protruding ears, see S. Der Nersessian 1986b, pp. 107, 121, 134, 147.
5. *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 47, no. 24.
6. Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 432, no. 200; Taraian and Durand 2007, pp. 395–96. On Gümüshane, see Ballian 1994; Ballian 2011a, pp. 40, 42, 44; Anna Ballian in Ballian 2011b, pp. 90–107, nos. 15–23.
- CAT. 115
1. I thank Michael Daniel Findikyan for his generous assistance with this entry. For the rite of vesting, see Feulner 2006.
  2. The present whereabouts of the Constantinopolitan manuscript are unknown, but see Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 158–59, no. 17. The New Julfan manuscript is in Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arm. g. 5, fol. 245v; see Theo Maarten van Lint in Van Lint and Meyer 2015, pp. 108–9, no. 18.
  3. See Marchese and Breu 2010b.
- CAT. 116
1. For more information on this object, see *Saint Etchmiadzine* 1981, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, pp. 4, 128, no. 4; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 31, 59, no. 3, ill. p. 12; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 46–47, 157, 177, no. 6; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 25, no. 2; *Armenië* 2001, p. 41, no. 2; Dickran Kouymjian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 420, no. 190; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, p. 56, no. 3.
  2. *Catholicos of All Armenians* 2008, p. 206.
  3. *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia* 2002, p. 413.
  4. Lalayan 1912.
- CAT. 117
1. For more information on this object, see *Album Etchmiadzin* 1962, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Tesouros de Etchmiadzin* 2004, pp. 53, 114, 124; Jean-Pierre Mahé and Jannic Durand in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, pp. 409–11, no. 184; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, pp. 59–68, no. 5; *Treasures of Holy Etchmiadzin* 2008, pp. 22–23.
  2. *Armenian Writings* 1853, pp. 58–59.
  3. Alishan 1890, pp. 547–49; Hovsep'yan 1951, pp. 169–78.
  4. Michael I 1870, pp. 420, 422–23.
  5. Vardan Arevelts'i 1960, p. 30.
  6. Shakhkhat'üneants' 1842, p. 60.
  7. Erits'eants' 1894, p. 409–12.
- CAT. 118
1. For more information on this object, see *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, pp. 42, 129, no. 9; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 33, 59, no. 10, ill. p. 17; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 101, 157, 177–78, no. 7; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 33, no. 9; *Tesouros de Etchmiadzin* 2004, pp. 43, 114, 124; Dickran Kouymjian in Privat-Savigny and Berthod 2007, p. 94, no. 24; Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyan, and Vartan Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 50–51, no. 5; V. Karapetian and Lucca 2015, p. 138, no. 14; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, p. 217, no. 130.
  2. Acharean 1942, p. 455.
  3. Zak'aria K'anak'erts'i 1870, vol. 3, pp. 38–39.
  4. *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia* 2002, p. 413.
  5. Ormanean 1957, p. 131.
  6. Museums of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 758).
- CAT. 119
1. For more information on this vestment, see Davt'yan 1981; *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, p. 104, no. 60; *Pyhä risti* 1998, pp. 49, 61, no. 56; *Treasures of Armenia* 1998, pp. 173, 184, no. 52; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 79, no. 53; Nersessian 2001, p. 138, no. 48; *Tesouros de Etchmiadzin* 2004, pp. 90, 115, 125; Zepiur Taraian and Dorota Giovannoni in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 402, no. 178; *Sacred Armenia* 2007, p. 442, no. 175; *Treasures of Holy Etchmiadzin* 2008, p. 101.
  2. Arak'el Dawrizhets'i 1990, p. 275.
  3. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- CAT. 120
1. Nerses of Lambron 1847, p. 147.
  2. Gregory of Tat'ev 1741, p. 182.
- ARMENIANS IN TABRIZ**
1. Helen C. Evans in Mathews and Wieck 1994, p. 160, no. 19, p. 169, no. 31; Taylor 1994, p. 94; Khanbaghi 2006, pp. 111–13; Preiser-Kapeller 2014.
  2. Herzig 1991, pp. 120–34.
  3. Arak'el Dawrizhets'i 2005–6, vol. 1, p. 41. The community thrived, and after the middle of the century a new church was built; Arak'el Dawrizhets'i 2005–6, vol. 1, pp. 41, 257. I owe this reference to Tom Sinclair.
  4. Baghdiantz McCabe 2006.
- CAT. 121
1. Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 106, no. 3, fig. 24; Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 281, no. 100.
  2. Donabédian 2007, p. 161, n. 23.
  3. Carswell 1968, pp. 35–36, pls. 14, 15; for further identification of the church, see Herzig 1991, pp. 74–75. On the Julfan khachkars, see Patrick Donabédian in Durand, Rapti, and Giovannoni 2007, p. 384, no. 170.
- ARMENIANS IN NEW JULFA**
1. “Co'ì Ciofalini . . . sono in somma al Rè di Persia, a punto come i Genovesi al Rè di Spagna, che nè essi posson viver senza il Rè, nè il Rè senza loro.” Della Valle 1658–63, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1658), letter 14, p. 244 (letter of September 24, 1621, from Isfahan).
  2. Carswell 1968.
  3. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999; Safavid edicts proving the crucial Julfan financing of the Safavid court are reproduced and translated in apps. A–C, pp. 365–75.
  4. *Ibid.*, pp. 141–70, and for the royal edict spelling this out, app. A, pp. 365–67.
  5. Cartwright 1611, p. 35.
  6. Some of the destruction of the Julfan khachkars, which occurred in three phases in 1998, 2003, and 2005, is documented in newspapers. See Kévonian 2007.
  7. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 137.
  8. Baghdiantz McCabe 2005. For the royal edict gifting the suburb, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 87.
  9. Most scholars working on New Julfa hold this view, except Bhaswati Bhattacharya for the eighteenth century; see Bhattacharya 2008.
  10. Baghdiantz McCabe 2007b. Their networks are explored in Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 199–294, and most recently in Aslanian 2011, pp. 44–86.
  11. From the late fifteenth century onward, the term designated the local official (mayor) in charge of the town's administration; see Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 82–84; Floor 2011. The 1660 date is debated.
  12. See this edict in Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, app. B, p. 369. Khoja Nazar had an equivalent title to shah in Armenian; it is found in a 1623 Bible (cat. 109) in which he is referred to as “prince of princes”; Baghdiantz McCabe 1998–2000. The Armenian title excludes the hypothesis that “shah” was sometimes used for very wealthy merchants in Asia.
  13. The Safavids considered New Julfa to be an independent *mustaghni*. See the royal edict in Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, app. C, pp. 373–75.
  14. For the internal organization of New Julfa, see *ibid.*, pp. 79–114. This internal organization closely tied to their trading organization was first researched and described by Shushanik Levoni Khach'ikyan; see S. L. Khach'ikyan 1988. For the collapse of New Julfa's central administrative role, see Aslanian 2011, pp. 202–14.
  15. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 88. For a history of the Church in New Julfa, see Ghougassian 1998; for a translated royal decree, see p. 204.
  16. “Here at the Foot of the Bridge waited to bid us Welcome the *Jelfaline* Christians, with the several *Europe* Residents, as *Dutch, French, Portugal, and Russian*, with their respective Trains, Trumpeters with their Ensigns, and Led Horses richly Trapped, with *Shotters* and Pages, besides those of our own, appearing in their greatest Glory.” Fryer 1909–15, vol. 2 (1912), p. 240.
  17. For a well-known example, see Herbette 1907. The Persian delegation, which included several Armenians, even left an Armenian consul, Hakopjan, as a Safavid representative in France. The first ambassador for Shah 'Abbas I to Venice in 1607 was also an Armenian.
  18. This observation dates to 1677, but the situation did not change after the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. As John Fryer explains, the ornate neck of the bottle denoted rank: the more ornate, the higher the rank; Fryer 1909–15, vol. 2 (1912), p. 259.
  19. Many sources indicate this fact but the best description is by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who

had been asked to follow the Armenians by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) and Louis XIV, king of France (r. 1643–1715): “So all the gold and silver of Persia comes from foreign lands, and particularly from Europe. . . . Since the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I to the reign of Shah ‘Abbas II, one saw more silver in Persia than presently; and the Armenian merchants brought it from Europe to Persia, where it was reduced to local money. But since a few years they only bring ducats and sequins as being more portable.” Tavernier 1981, vol. 2, pp. 95–96.

20. For the political importance of this elite class, see Babaie et al. 2004; for the role of silver imports in supporting this new elite, see pp. 49–79. See also Baghdiantz McCabe 1994–95.
21. Baghdiantz McCabe 2007a.
22. The royal household, or *khassa-yi-sharifā*, was a branch of the government that controlled the revenues of crown provinces and workshops. The term *ghulam-i khassa-yi-sharifā* (royal household slave) enters Safavid discourse at the end of Shah Tahmasb’s reign. For the organization of Safavid administration and the *ghulams*, see Babayan 2002. For the New Julfan merchants, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 141–70, and for the royal edict spelling this out, app. A, pp. 365–67.
23. For the political rise and power of the *ghulams*, see Babaie et al. 2004. Several names of mint masters and customs officials are cited in a seventeenth-century diary; see Zak’aria of Agulis 2003, pp. 2, 63, 66, 78, 87–88, 100–101, 128–29.
24. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 173–78.
25. For religious policy, see Gregorian 1974. For Khalifeh Sultan and his policies, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 171–94. For major changes in the suburb New Julfa, see Baghdiantz McCabe 2005.
26. For the forced conversion of one of their provosts, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1996–97. See also Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 170–98.

#### ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE IN NEW JULFA

1. See Baghdiantz McCabe 1999; Aslanian 2011.
2. For a survey of these churches, see Carswell 1968; *Nor/Djulfa* 1991.
3. See Landau and Van Lint 2015.
4. See Landau 2012.

#### CAT. 122

1. Carswell 1968, pls. 16a, d, 17b, d, e.
2. Ioanna Rapti in Ballian 2002a, p. 106, no. 2, fig. 23; Dickran Kouymjian in Dadoyan 2015, p. 282, no. 101.

#### CAT. 123

1. Ayvazyan 1984, p. 37.
2. Alishan 1895, p. 424.
3. Ayvazyan 1984, pp. 34–35.
4. Harut’yunyan 2014, p. 22.
5. For more information relating to this khachkar, see Ayvazyan 2004, pp. 165–66, 298; Khatcherian 2017, pp. 486–87.
6. *Book of Hours of the Holy Church of Armenia* 1915, p. 224.

#### ARMENIAN SCRIPTORIA IN NEW JULFA

1. They will often state something to the effect that the manuscript was copied in “Shosh, which is Isfahan.” Isfahan was apparently mistakenly identified with the ancient city of Shush or Shushan, leading to this designation; Ghougassian 1998, p. 19.
2. See MS 396 (105) copied and illuminated by Hakob of Julfa, and MS 412 (106) copied by Sargis the monk (artist not named); both manuscripts are located in the collection of All Savior’s Monastery (Surb Amenap’rkich Vank’) in New Julfa. See Ter-Avetisyan 1970, pp. 149–51, no. 105, pp. 151–53, no. 106; Arpag Mekhitarian in S. Der Nersessian and Mekhitarian 1986, pp. 200–201, 202–3. See also cats. 96, 97 in this volume for other manuscripts by Hakob of Julfa.
3. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arm. d. 13, a Gospel book by the scribe Step’anos and the artist Mesrop of Khizan; see Baronian and Conybeare 1918, cols. 107–12, no. 53; Sylvie L. Merian in Van Lint and Meyer 2015, pp. 74–75, no. 2.
4. The earliest church built in New Julfa was All Savior’s in 1606—the current structure was built over this site and consecrated in 1664. The next church built was Surb Hakob, consecrated in 1607. Two more churches were consecrated in 1611, Surb Georg and Surb Nazaret. Other churches were known, but many of them were destroyed and there is little information about them. At least two destroyed churches were named Surb Astuatsatsin. There were over thirty churches in New Julfa (including Catholic); today only thirteen churches remain, all Apostolic. Armen Hakhnazaryan and Vahan Mehrabeian in *Nor/Djulfa* 1991, pp. 14–15, 24.
5. M. Arakelyan 2011a. As New Julfa’s reputation as a center of tremendous wealth became recognized over the course of the seventeenth century, it is perhaps also possible that some itinerant artists chose to immigrate there in hopes of acquiring commissions from the *khojas*.
6. For architecture, see Landau and Van Lint 2015.
7. Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 112–15.

#### CAT. 124

1. I thank Tork Dalalyan, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography/Institute of Linguistics, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan.

#### CAT. 125

1. M. Arakelyan 2012, pp. 139–64.
2. Sargis Mazman Mokats’i died in 1602 (see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 663–66, no. 409); the scribe and miniaturist Martiros Khizants’i died in 1607 (see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 384–86, no. 225).
3. There is evidence of their collaboration in at least three other books: Gospels from 1619 (All Savior’s Monastery, New Julfa, MS 110) and 1624 (Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 3598), and the *Book of Questions* by Gregory of Tat’ev (Grigor Tat’evats’i), copy from 1627 (Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS 3425).

4. Four of the sixteen removed folios have been found: The Baptism of Christ in the river of Jordan is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (MS Ludwig II.7a), and three others are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin: the Betrayal of Christ, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and the Cross of Christ’s Second Coming (MS CBL Arm. 576).
5. See V. Kazarian 1995, pp. 36–37, 52–61, 66–67, 74–79.
6. See M. Arakelyan 2012, pp. 70–74, figs. 59–64, pl. 41.

#### CAT. 126

1. The printed catalogue describing this manuscript states a total of 659 folios; Sargisean 1914, col. 25. Notes from my examination of this manuscript indicate that there are 699 folios. Colophon on fol. 699r; Sargisean 1914, col. 40, states that this is located on folio 658v. Armen Hakhnazaryan and Vahan Mehrabeian in *Nor/Djulfa* 1991, p. 14, list “Gask” as a district in New Julfa. Note that the colophon of MS 623 spells it “Gazk.” Landau and Van Lint 2015, p. 316, state that “Gask” was established after 1655, but this does not correspond with MS 623’s date of 1648.
2. It is not clear why Aghap’ir is differentiated from the other artists by the designation *nkarich*; the others are called *tsaghkogh*, the word most commonly used to designate a manuscript illuminator or artist. Perhaps Aghap’ir painted the European-influenced Old Testament images and Revelation illustrations?
3. The artist of a Gospel book produced in New Julfa in 1628 (formerly MS 18 in the collection of Haroutune Hazarian, New York; Sotheby’s 1985, lot 148) copied the portrait of the evangelist John with Prochoros from the Gladzor Gospel (University of California, Los Angeles, Armenian MS 1; cat. 43) with excruciating attention to detail (Avedis K. Sanjian in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 6; Thomas F. Mathews in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, p. 178; see, for comparison, in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, the full-page illustration of page 460 from the Gladzor Gospel and fig. 460i). Since it is certain that the Gladzor Gospel was the model, this confirms that it was already in New Julfa by 1628. It remained there until its last owner, Dr. Caro Minassian, gifted it to UCLA in 1968. For example, the canon tables were copied in a Bible produced in New Julfa in 1637–38 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig I.14) and illuminated by the brothers Malnazar and Aghap’ir (probably the same Aghap’ir who illuminated MS 623); Alice Taylor in Mathews and Wieck 1994, pp. 174–75, no. 39. The fourteenth-century artists of Gladzor replicated very similar canon table headpieces in several other manuscripts, such as Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 206 (Bible dated 1318, fol. 438r; cat. 44), and MS 6289 (Gospels from 1323, fol. 8; cat. 45). However, the model for the canon tables of seventeenth-century New Julfa manuscripts such as MS 623 in San Lazzaro must have been UCLA Armenian MS 1, as we have established its presence in New Julfa since at least 1628.
4. For reproductions of selected Revelation illuminations in MS 623 and their corresponding De Bry engravings, see Merian 2014.

## CAT. 127

1. Eganyan, Zeyt'unyan, and Ant'abyan 1970, no. 6665, col. 368.
2. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (VR-1011, fol. 88v); S. Der Nersessian 1993, vol. 1, pp. 139–41, 150, vol. 2, fig. 581.
3. Evans and Merian 1994, p. 106.

## CATS. 128, 129

1. For a full description including all colophons of MS 189, see Eganyan, Zeyt'unyan, and Ant'abyan 1984, no. 189, cols. 803–14.
2. It is difficult to discern whether the De Bry prints are engravings or etchings; I have called them engravings to be consistent.
3. For visual examples of the transition of specific Apocalypse illustrations from Dürer to De Bry to the L'vov Bible and continuing to later Armenian Bible manuscripts produced in New Julfa, see Merian 2014.
4. The L'vov Bible is MS 351 in the Matenadaran, Yerevan. Mikayel Arakelyan has suggested that some of the illuminations in the L'vov Bible may have been painted by an unnamed Western European artist; see M. Arakelyan 2011b. For information on Ghazar Baberdats'i, see Cowe 1986. Other mid-seventeenth-century Bibles including illuminations inspired by De Bry engravings but copied from the L'vov Bible (MS 351, Matenadaran) include MS 229 and MS 623 in the Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation, Library of San Lazzaro Abbey, Venice; MS OR.14101 in the British Library, London; and MS 1928, MS 1933, and MS 1934 in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem. According to Astghik Gevorgyan's list of illuminations for MS 2587 and MS 201 in the Matenadaran, these two manuscripts probably also belong to this group, although to my knowledge the relevant illuminations from these manuscripts have not been published; see Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 329–30 (MS 2587), 333–34 (MS 201), under no. 188. See also the description of Matenadaran MS 189 in Gevorgyan 1998, pp. 330–31, under no. 188. Unpublished MS 200 and MS 201 in the Matenadaran probably also include De Bry inspired illuminations, according to the descriptions in the Matenadaran catalogue (Eganyan, Zeyt'unyan, and Ant'abyan 1984, no. 200, cols. 863–70, no. 201, cols. 871–84.) A Hymnal dated 1651–52 in the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (MS F1937.19), and a seventeenth-century Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (MS 591), also include illuminations inspired by De Bry engravings.
5. An important Armenian community had lived in L'vov since at least the thirteenth century. An Armenian printing press was founded in L'vov by the priest Yovhannes K'armatanents' in 1616. He printed an Armenian psalter in 1616 and a Christian prayer book in Armeno-Kipchak (a Turkic dialect written with Armenian letters) in 1618. A third book, a medical handbook, was also believed to have been published there but the only known copy burned in a fire at the San

- Lazzaro Abbey, Venice, in 1815. Kévorkian 1986, pp. 30–31.
6. Both title pages also give the date of production both in the Armenian era and in the Common Era.
  7. Genesis 1:26–28, 2:7, and 2:19–23.
  8. I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and thanks to Abraham Samuel Shiff for translating the Hebrew inscriptions and for his helpful comments and observations.

## CAT. 130

1. He also signs his name “Mir Afzal Tuni,” indicating that he or his ancestors came from the city of Tun in Khurasan province, northeastern Iran.
2. See Canby 1996, p. 197, no. 107, p. 200, nos. 124–28.
3. Stchoukine 1964, p. 42.
4. Ghougassian 1998, pp. 89–92, 214.
5. Personal communication between Michael Daniel Findikyan and Helen C. Evans, August 14, 2017. Father Daniel attributes the identification of the significance of the staff to Vardan Hats'uni.

## ARMENIAN LITURGICAL VESTMENTS

1. Step'anos Siwnets'i, *Commentary on the Daily Office*, VII:1–4; Findikyan 2004, pp. 98–101, 140–44, 443.
2. Hats'uni 1923, p. 366.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

## CAT. 131

1. Davt'yan 1981, p. 85.
2. For more information on this vakas, see *Treasures of Armenian Church* 1997, p. 103, nos. 59, 59a; *Treasures of Armenian Church* 2000, p. 78, no. 52; *Treasures of Holy Etchmiadzin* 2008, p. 103; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, pp. 226–27, no. 139.
3. Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia (N 55, N 493).

## CAT. 132

1. For more information on this vakas, see *Treasures of Etchmiadzin* 1984, n.p., ill.; *Tesouros de Etchmiadzin* 2004, pp. 84, 115, 125; *Armenia: The Legend of Being* 2016, pp. 226–27, no. 140.

## ARMENIANS AND TRADE ROUTES ACROSS THE GLOBE

1. Julfa is cited as Chinla on map 49 in Ortelius 1570. See Herzig 1996, pp. 308, 320, n. 20.
2. Sanjian 1965, pp. 48–49.
3. Bautier 1970, pp. 290–92, gives an even earlier date for the drying up of Chinese supplies of raw silk.
4. See Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 197–293, for their organization, international trade, and the Ottoman and Russian routes and networks. See also Aslanian 2011, pp. 44–86.
5. İnalçık 1997, pp. 218–55.
6. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 186. The treaty with Louis XIV is described in Richard 1995, vol. 1, p. 86.
7. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 243. The main source on the Russian treaty and route is S. L. Khach'ikyan 1988.
8. Bhattacharya 2008.
9. Braudel 1966, vol. 2, p. 70. Braudel relies on observations made by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.

See also Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 25–28; Baghdiantz McCabe 2013, pp. 154–57.

10. There is evidence suggesting the existence of a school for merchants in New Julfa. This was described by Ter Hovhaneants' 1880–81, vol. 2, pp. 274–75. This author found references to a manual composed by an educator named Konstand. He writes of 250 students who were taught arithmetic, reading, bookkeeping, and the rules of commerce from a commercial handbook. Because he gives no reference for the actual school building, the existence of the school has been debated.
11. Tavernier 1981, vol. 2, p. 150. See Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 206–13, for the importance of Tavernier's observations at the end of the seventeenth century.
12. For the legislation that allowed them to trade in these major European ports, see Baghdiantz McCabe 2012.
13. For a description of Russian, Turkish, and maritime routes and networks, see Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 241–93.
14. See, for example, Baghdiantz McCabe 2010b.
15. For the Europeans as carriers of Asian trade, see Keay 1991.
16. The flag is reproduced on the cover of Chaudhury and Kévonian 2007. Many of the essays in this work provide evidence of Armenian ship owners.
17. Baghdiantz McCabe 2010b, pp. 139–44. For the *Quedagh Merchant*, see also Zacks 2002.
18. Ferrier 1970.
19. Baghdiantz McCabe 2010b, pp. 151–53.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–57.
21. “You cannot compare the situation of Marseille to Livorno, because the Italians do not do the sea transportation and all the sea transportation is done by foreigners. In Marseille the commerce with the Levant was done by the Marseillais; to give Marseille a franchise would be to ruin French navigation. In Livorno the Italians have to resort to foreigners to arm a ship for the Levant.” Report of 1667, archives, Chambre de Commerce, Marseille, ACCM, B22, 1667.
22. Bhattacharya 2008; see also Bhattacharya 2005.
23. The act was introduced in October 1651 in the wake of an unsuccessful diplomatic attempt by Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland to negotiate an alliance between the English Commonwealth and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It was intended to cripple the freight trade upon which Dutch commerce depended.
24. See Panzac 1992/1996.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
26. Baghdiantz McCabe 2010b, p. 138.
27. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 32.
28. Attman 1981, p. 111; Matthee 1994.
29. Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, p. 292.
30. L. S. Khach'ikyan 1967. More than 180 goods are enumerated, some for interior trade in India.
31. The manual, written in Armenian by Lukas Vanandets'i for use by other merchants, is titled *A Treasury of Measures, Weights, Numbers, and Moneys of the Whole World . . . Published under the Direction of the Sublime Doctor Bishop Thomas of Vanand . . . in Amsterdam in*

*the Year 1699 on January 16*. See Kévonian 1975; Baghdiantz McCabe 1999, pp. 278–81. A copy of the manual is in the Nubar Library, Armenian General Benevolent Union, Paris, no. 19859.

32. Kévorkian 1986 gives a complete list of the printers' names, locations, and dates. See also Baghdiantz McCabe 1998.

CAT. 133

1. A textile—partially hidden by the embroidered orphrey—with a striped pattern is attached along the cope's straight edge. Safavid textiles of this type were used for clothing; see Neumann and Murza 1988, pp. 117–18. I thank Janina Poskrobko, Conservator in Charge, Department of Textile Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for sharing her technical analysis. For additional information on this cope, see Daniel Walker in Ekhtiar et al. 2011, pp. 251–53, no. 175; Marika Sardar in Peck 2013, pp. 218–19, no. 64. For a thorough discussion on Safavid velvets, see Sunday 1987.
2. A second cope, now lost, was constructed from pieces of the same velvet; Sarre and Martin 1912, vol. 3, pl. 202. A fragment, also of the same velvet, in the David Collection, Copenhagen (8/1986), displays a different degree of color preservation, in particular along the right edge from a previous function, possibly when part of a garment; Folsach and Bernsted 1993, p. 113, no. 35. A wall painting, *Meeting of Shah 'Abbas and Wali Muhammad Khan Uzbek*, ca. 1647, Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, portrays the shah wearing tailored clothing made of a fabric similar in design to the velvet used for the copes; Canby 2009, p. 25, fig. 7.
3. Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków (XIX-10141; Paulina Banas in Langer 2013, pp. 134–35, no. 49); Majnun Cope, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (IR-2327; Mackie 2015, pp. 342, 343, fig. 9.2); Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (1994.27.2; Krody 2006); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (477-1894; Kite 2005).
4. For the painting in New Julfa, see Mary Anderson McWilliams in Bier 1987, p. 172.

CAT. 134

1. Marielle Martiniani-Reber in Dadoyan 2015, pp. 304–5. The oldest surviving embroidered altar cloths and curtains are from the early seventeenth century and were embroidered in Constantinople; see Narkiss 1979b, pp. 134–37, figs. 179–81. See also Guelton 2007; Kouymjian 2007b; Martiniani-Reber 2007; Privat-Savigny and Berthod 2007, p. 64, nos. 1, 2 (catalogue entries by Anelka Grigoryan), pp. 68–69, no. 8 (catalogue entry by Marielle Martiniani-Reber, Georgette Cornu, and Dickran Kouymjian).
2. Carswell 1968, pls. 8b, 13, 52; Privat-Savigny and Berthod 2007, p. 64, no. 3 (catalogue entry by Anelka Grigoryan), pp. 67–68, no. 7 (catalogue entry by Martiniani-Reber, Cornu, and Kouymjian).
3. Mackie 2015, p. 382, fig. 9.42.

CAT. 135

1. See Sardar 2011, p. 148.
2. Marika Sardar in Haidar and Sardar 2015, p. 274.
3. Ibid.; see also the essay “Armenians and Trade Routes across the Globe” by Ina Baghdiantz McCabe in this volume.
4. Sardar 2011, pp. 157–58.
5. Ibid., p. 158.

CAT. 136

1. Rosenthal and Jones 2008, pp. 16, 19.
2. See Vecellio 1590, pp. 440–45, for the descriptions of Armenians; English trans., Vecellio 2008, pp. 492–97.
3. Vecellio 1590, pp. 440–41; English trans., Vecellio 2008, pp. 492–93.
4. Vecellio 1590, pp. 440–41; English trans., Vecellio 2008, pp. 492–93.

ARMENIAN PRINTED BOOKS

1. The first appearance of Armenian letters in a printed book, however, is found in the German edition of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, June 21, 1486). It is a woodcut of the alphabet in the form of a chart and was not printed with movable type. Pehlivanian 2002, p. 80.
2. Kévorkian 1986; N. Der-Nersessian 1989; Sivazliyan 1989; Pehlivanian 2002; Kévorkian 2011; Lane 2012; Aslanian 2014a.
3. Pehlivanian 2002, p. 57.

CAT. 137

1. Only one of Hakob Meghapat's five books was dated (*Pataragatetr*, or Missal, from 1513). Scholars have deduced the estimated date of the *Urbat'agirik'* by establishing the printing order of these books from a close examination of how worn the decorative frames at the top of each page were. The experts agree that the *Urbat'agirik'* was produced first, but there is still debate as to whether it was printed in 1511 or 1512; see Kévorkian 1986, pp. 23–25; Orengo 2011, p. 264.
2. Although the text uses the word “Psalm,” the *Harts'* actually refers to the Canticle of Azarias from Daniel 3:26–45. I am grateful to Michael Daniel Findikyan for his explanation of this text. See also Orengo 1991, pp. 391–92 and n. 1.
3. Mahé 1986, p. x. For a facsimile of the *Urbat'agirik'*, see *Urbat'agirik'* 1975.
4. For the texts of a number of *hmayil*, see Feydit 1986. Alessandro Orengo has compared the text of some scrolls to the *Urbat'agirik'* in Orengo 1991, pp. 371–91.
5. The five books printed at this press are *Urbat'agirik'*; *Pataragatetr* (Missal, printed in 1513); *Aght'ark'* (book of horoscopes, astrology, and information on medicinal plants); *Parzatumar* (simplified calendar of Armenian feasts, along with a key to dream interpretation); and *Tagharan* (collection of writings and poems by Armenian saints and lay poets).

CATS. 138, 139

1. Darlow and Moule 1911, p. 86, no. 1779.
2. Baghdiantz McCabe 1998.

3. For further details, see Kévorkian 1986, pp. 39–79; Lane 2012, pp. 61–99.
4. There were four generations of artists named Christoffel van Sichem, all of whom used the same CvS monogram; it is believed that most of the woodcuts used in the Armenian Bible were probably made by Christoffel van Sichem II. This discussion, however, refers to the artist simply as Christoffel van Sichem. For more information on the Van Sichem family, see Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 2 (1910), p. 620; Lehmann-Haupt 1975; Lehmann-Haupt 1977, pp. 39–72.
5. *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines . . .* by the Jesuit priest Jerome Nadal, published posthumously in Antwerp in 1593, was a model for Van Sichem. It consisted of 153 engravings by five or six Flemish engravers, including the renowned Wierix brothers.
6. Darlow and Moule 1911, pp. 310–11, no. 3314; Van der Coelen 1996, p. 168, no. 69.
7. The woodblocks were acquired by Oskan Erevants'i's predecessor, Matt'eos Tsarets'i (who died in early 1661), before Oskan arrived in Amsterdam. Almost a hundred of these woodcuts were used in the first book printed by the Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press in 1660–61, *Yisus Ordi* (Jesus the Son), a religious poem written by the famed twelfth-century Catholicos Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali). For an example, see the copy in the New York Public Library (Spencer Coll. Neth. 1661 94-174). Either the Paets printing house no longer wanted them as they had been reused many times in Dutch books, or, as John Lane has suggested, perhaps they were bought from Paets's estate after his death in about 1657; Lane 2012, p. 87.
8. For more on Resurrection imagery used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Armenian manuscripts, see Merian forthcoming b.
9. Van Sichem probably got the idea of using captions with corresponding letters from Jerome Nadal's book of engravings *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines . . .*, published in 1593 (see note 5, above).
10. There are two different Last Supper woodcuts on page 58 of the Dutch Biblia Sacra; the one reused on page 466 (second pagination) of the 1666 Armenian Bible is printed on the upper right. I am grateful to Annemieke Howsepian for these translations. The woodcut includes an interesting detail that was not reproduced in the small Armenian gold pyx: a tiny, ratlike winged creature climbs up the leg of the apostle in the left foreground. This creature perhaps symbolizes Satan tempting Judas to betray Christ.
11. Merian forthcoming a. Grigor Marzuanets'i was also a printer and lived from about 1664 to about 1734; see Kouymjian 2015b.

CAT. 140

1. The Mekhitarist library at San Lazzaro is one of the major repositories of Armenian manuscripts today. Newly published archival documents indicate that the Mekhitarists initially leased the island; see translations of these documents in Dal Borgo 2011. For a brief history of the Mekhitarists, see Lane 2012, pp. 133–41.

2. Haroutyunian 2011; Lucca 2011; Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 326–29, nos. 127–31, pp. 332–33, nos. 134–35 (catalogue entries by Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Levon Zekiyan, and Vartan Karapetian), p. 330, no. 132 (catalogue entry by Andrea Pelizza), p. 331, no. 133 (catalogue entry by Michela dal Borgo).
3. Nersessian 1980, p. 67, no. 118; Ohanian 2000; Vahan Ohanian in Pelusi 2000, pp. 148–49, no. 74. The second edition of the Bible in Armenian was printed in 1705–7 in Constantinople at the Surb Etchmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar Press.
4. The Mekhitarists received official permission to print books on San Lazzaro in 1789; Sivazliyan 1989, pp. 32–34; Sivazliyan 2011, p. 313.
5. Oskanyan, Korkotyan, and Savalyan 1988, pp. 311–13, no. 399.
6. Inscriptions underneath engravings, p. 639, top left: “I beseeched the Lord with prayers and he gave me understanding; I called and the spirit of wisdom came to me” (Wisdom of Solomon 7:7); top right: “And the Queen of Sheba heard the wisdom of Solomon, and she came to test him in parables/proverbs” (3 Kings 10:1).
7. Ohanian 2000, p. 102; Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and V. Karapetian 2011, p. 326, no. 127. The San Lazzaro Abbey informed the Metropolitan Museum that the copy sent to the pope was hand-colored (written communication to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March 8, 2018). The Morgan Library and Museum’s copy (PML 128171) is also hand-colored, as is a copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Near East Section Cage); see Avdoyan 2012, pp. 30–31. Note that the engravings could have been hand colored long after the books were printed.

#### CAT. 141

1. Ormanean 2001, p. 3580.
2. Ghukas I 1984, p. 482.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 539.
4. Josephus 1787, p. 494.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 488.
6. Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 1909; Ter-Vardanean 2012, pp. 489–92.
7. Devrikyan 2016, p. 386.

#### MAPS INCLUDING ARMENIA

1. The tablet is in the Department of the Middle East, British Museum, London (92687); Galichian 2014, p. 35, fig. 1a/1b; Galichian 2015, p. 66, fig. 1a/1b.
2. Hewsens 2001, pp. 1, 92, who identifies Anania as educated by the Byzantine scholar Tikhos in Trebizond; Nersessian 2012, vol. 2, p. 994, explains the debate over the attribution of the map to Anania Shirakats’i or Movses Khorenats’i.
3. Saint Jerome’s Map of Asia is in the British Library, London (Add. MS 10049, fol. 64; Galichian 2014, pp. 40–41, fig. 06/06a; Galichian 2015, pp. 72–73, fig. 8/8a). Other Western manuscripts with Noah’s Ark include a Map of the World by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), 11th-century

copy, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Clm 10058, fol. 154v; Galichian 2014, p. 45, fig. 10; Galichian 2015, p. 81, fig. 14); the “Cottonian Map,” 10th or 11th century, British Library (Cotton MS Tiberius BV, fol. 56v; Galichian 2015, p. 80, fig. 13); a Psalter map from a Book of Psalms, British Library (Add. MS 28681, fol. 9; Barber and Harper 2010, p. 78, where the map is dated to about 1265 and the folio identified; Galichian 2014, pp. 50–51, fig. 15/15a; Galichian 2015, pp. 88–89, fig. 18/18a); and Mappa Mundi, ca. 1300, Hereford Cathedral, England. See Hewsens 2001, p. 36, map 22, for the boundaries of the countries in about the third century BC, and pp. 71–161 for maps and text on their boundaries over the medieval centuries.

4. Angelino Dulcert, 1339 portolan of the Mediterranean Sea, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Rés. Ge. B 696); Galichian 2015, pp. 96–97, fig. 22.
5. Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Mohammad al Farsi, known as al-Istakhri (d. 957), *Kitab ul-Masalik wa al-Mamalik* (Book of Routes and Realms; ca. 950), 1836 Persian translation, British Library (Add. MS 23542, fig. 36a; Galichian 2015, p. 75, fig. 10). For other Islamic manuscripts including Armenia but not Noah’s Ark, see the map of Aran, Azerbaijan, and Armenia from al-Istakhri’s *Kitab ul-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, 19th-century copy, British Library (MS OIOC Or. 5305, fol. 45r; Galichian 2014, p. 42, fig. 07; Galichian 2015, pp. 76–77, fig. 11); a map of 1154 by Abu Abdullah Mohammad Ibn al-Sharif al-Idrisi (1099–1166), British Library (856.11); Galichian 2015, pp. 84–85, fig. 16); Abu Zakariya Ibn Muhammad al-Kazwini (1208–1283), *Athar-al Bilad wa Akhbar al Ibad* (Monuments of Places and History of God’s Bondsmen), 1329 copy, British Library (MS Or. 3623, fol. 5a; Galichian 2015, pp. 90–91, fig. 19).
6. T-O map in Armenian, MS 1242 in the Matenadaran, Yerevan; Galichian 2014, p. 49, fig. 14; Galichian 2015, pp. 86–87, fig. 17.
7. Galichian 2015, pp. 184–85, fig. 83/83a.
8. Barber and Harper 2010, pp. 124–25; Galichian 2015, pp. 186–87, fig. 84/84a.

#### CAT. 142

1. Uluhogian 2000, p. 51.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–27.

#### CAT. 143

1. Koeman 1967; Nersessian 1980, p. 150, no. 677 (map) and p. 58, no. 63 (key to map published in 1696); Kévorkian 1986, pp. 80–101, no. 59 (key), ill. p. 87; Oskanyan, Korkotyan, and Savalyan 1988, p. 116, no. 156 (map), pp. 121–22, no. 164 (key); Raymond H. Kévorkian in Kévorkian 1996, p. 246, nos. 204 (key), 205 (map), ill. p. 151; Claude Mutafian in Mutafian 2007, p. 321, no. 5.32; Barber and Harper 2010, pp. 124–25; Melania Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and

V. Karapetian 2011, pp. 304–5, no. 126, ill. p. 274; Lane 2012, pp. 114–17; Galichian 2014, pp. 78–79, fig. 36; Robin Meyer in Van Lint and Meyer 2015, pp. 214–15, no. 77.

2. The eight copper plates are said to have been rediscovered in 1715 in Constantinople by the Mekhitarist priest Zak’ariay Alek’sanian “in the possession of a wealthy Armenian woman. With some difficulty, he managed to purchase the plates and then sent them to San Lazzaro in 1753. The first series of the map was reprinted in Venice in 1754 and sent to Constantinople to the benefactors of the Congregation.” See Melania Karapetian in Uluhogian, Zekiyan, and V. Karapetian 2011, p. 304. It is not clear if the date of 1715 is correct; the Vanandets’i press was active until 1718. Why would they have disposed of them before 1718? If that date is correct, why would Father Alek’sanian have waited almost forty years to send them to San Lazzaro, Venice?
3. I am grateful to Sheila R. Canby for translating this Persian inscription.
4. Polk 1991.
5. In addition to the map exhibited here, copies are reported in the collections of the Armenian National Library and the Matenadaran (two copies), Yerevan; Etchmiadzin; British Library, London; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; Leiden University Library Special Collections; Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem; the museum of All Savior’s cathedral in New Julfa (according to Koeman 1967, although he incorrectly calls it the museum of All Saints cathedral in New Julfa); and two private collections listed in Oskanyan, Korkotyan, and Savalyan 1988, p. 116, no. 156: Geworg Adamyan in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, and Zatik Khansatyan in Paris. It is not known if these last two exemplars are still owned by those collectors. In 1707, T’ovmas Vanandets’i visited both the University of Oxford and the University of Cambridge and presented copies of books printed at the press to their libraries. He definitely donated a map to Cambridge (now apparently missing) as there is an extant invoice from 1708–9 to a “Mr. Cole for fitting up the Armenian map of the World pasting cloth and rollers.” Nersessian 2012, vol. 1, p. 13.
6. The copies at the Armenian National Library (caption at top), Matenadaran (one copy with caption at the bottom, the other with the caption at the top), and British Library (caption at top) all use the same lettering. The Etchmiadzin title is at the top but the lettering is different than the other four. According to available photographs, it seems that these captions were copied by hand and were not printed with movable type. It also appears that the long strip of paper on which the title was written was glued or pasted onto the top or bottom of the map and consisted of multiple pieces of paper and not one long continuous strip of paper.
7. Kévorkian 1986, pp. 80–101.



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This catalogue is published in conjunction with “Armenia!” on view at  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from September 22, 2018, through January 13, 2019.

The exhibition is made possible by The Hagop Kevorkian Fund.

Additional support is provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Armenian General Benevolent Union,  
The Giorgi Family Foundation, the Karagheusian Foundation, The Nazar and Artemis Nazarian Family, the Ruddock Foundation for the Arts,  
The Strauch Kulhanjian Family and The Paros Foundation, Aso O. Tavitian, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

The catalogue is made possible by generous grants from the Dolores Zohrab Liebmann Fund, the Michel David-Weill Fund,  
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ruben Vardanyan and Veronika Zonabend Family Foundation, Joanne A. Peterson, The Tianaderrah Foundation,  
The Armenian Center at Columbia University, Elizabeth and Jean-Marie Eveillard, and Souren G. and Carol R. K. Ouzounian.

**Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York**

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief  
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications  
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager  
Michael Sittenfeld, Senior Managing Editor

Edited by Anne Rebecca Blood  
Designed by Laura Lindgren  
Production by Lauren Knighton  
Bibliography edited by Jayne Kuchna  
Image acquisitions and permissions by Josephine Rodriguez-Massop  
Translations from Armenian by Hovannes Khosdeghian  
Map by Adrian Kitzinger

Site, architectural, and object photographs are by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian,  
assisted by Lilit Khachatryan, unless otherwise noted. Photographs of  
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Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted.

Additional photography credits appear on page 351.

Typeset in Casus Pro, Waters Titling, Gandur Alte Mager,  
and Reforma by Laura Lindgren  
Printed on Perigord 135 gsm  
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois  
Printed by Brizzolis, Madrid  
Bound by Ramos, Madrid

Jacket illustrations: front, Gospel Book, 1615 (detail of cat. 125, fol. 193v);  
back, Carved Door, 1486 (detail of cat. 79)  
Endpapers: World Map, 1695 (detail of cat. 143) and *Tabula Chorographica  
Armenica*, 1691 (detail of cat. 142)  
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The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
1000 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10028  
metmuseum.org

Distributed by  
Yale University Press, New Haven and London  
yalebooks.com/art  
yalebooks.co.uk

Cataloguing-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.  
ISBN 978-1-58839-660-0





Armenian text in various locations, including decorative scrollwork and circular frames. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical form of Armenian.

Armenian text in decorative scrollwork on the left side of the page.

Armenian text in decorative scrollwork in the upper middle section.

Armenian text in decorative scrollwork on the right side, including a circular diagram.

Armenian text in decorative scrollwork on the far right side.



Armenian text at the bottom left corner.

Armenian text at the bottom middle section.

Armenian text at the bottom right section.

Armenian text in a decorative scroll on the right side.



**HELEN C. EVANS** is the Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator for Byzantine Art in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Jacket illustrations: (front) Gospel Book, detail of cat. 125, fol. 193v; (back) Carved Door, detail of cat. 79

Jacket design by Laura Lindgren

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
1000 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10028  
[metmuseum.org](http://metmuseum.org)

Distributed by  
Yale University Press, New Haven and London  
[yalebooks.com/art](http://yalebooks.com/art)  
[yalebooks.co.uk](http://yalebooks.co.uk)

PRINTED IN SPAIN



ISBN 978-1-58839-660-0



9 781588 396600

PRINTED IN SPAIN