THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY
A CATALOGUE OF THE
ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS
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A CATALOGUE OF THE ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON THE HISTORY OF ARMENIAN ART

BY

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Member of the Faculty of Arts and Letters at Harvard University

With 67 plates

VOLUME I - TEXT

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of
James Vere Stewart Wilkinson
late librarian of the Chester Beatty Library
whose scholarship and courtesy will be long remembered
MY interest in Armenian illustrated manuscripts was first aroused by the fact that the impressive achievements of Armenia in the book arts, forming an important link between East and West, have been comparatively little studied in Europe. I was fortunate in being able to collect a number of representative Armenian manuscripts and miniatures, dating from the twelfth century onwards, and certainly no less fortunate in securing so eminent a scholar as Professor S. Der Nersessian to catalogue them. She has done this as a labour of love, and her catalogue, which is much more than a mere catalogue, will, I feel, be recognized as a most distinguished work of scholarship.

Messrs. Emery Walker Ltd. have again, under the personal direction of Mr. Wilfred Merton, added greatly to the value of the catalogue by the admirable plates, in the preparation of which no care has been spared.

A. CHESTER BEATTY
PREFACE

ARMENIAN illustrated manuscripts form one of the most important groups among the codices of the Christian East both from their artistic quality and the number of surviving examples. Next to the Greek manuscripts they are in fact the only ones which provide us with an uninterrupted series of examples dating from the late ninth to the early eighteenth centuries. The study of Armenian painting, important for its intrinsic interest, is also essential for a better understanding of the expansion of late Classical and Byzantine art to the East, and of the counter-influence of Near Eastern art on that of Byzantium and even of western Europe.

Art historians of the medieval period have become increasingly aware of this, but the material available for a serious consideration of many of these problems is all too inadequate. Only a relatively small number of illustrated Armenian manuscripts have been published and a great deal of the information concerning them is scattered in books and articles in Armenian, which are often inaccessible. There is no proper inventory of the largest collection, that of Etchmiadzin, now at Erivan; the Catalogue of the Jerusalem Library is only beginning to appear, those of the Mekhitarist libraries of Venice and Vienna are incomplete. The systematic study of Armenian manuscripts is therefore a difficult though greatly needed task, and I am very happy to have been offered the opportunity of publishing those in Sir Chester Beatty’s Library. This is the richest among the private collections in Europe, and from the point of view of the illustrations it surpasses in importance all but a few of the holdings in European public libraries. The early period, from which only a few examples have survived, is not represented, but beginning with the twelfth century there are significant examples from all the important centres and several works of outstanding quality by the leading artists of their time. The collection is especially rich in manuscripts of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries written in the monasteries around Lake Van and near Ispahan.

This representative group of manuscripts offers possibilities to study the art of miniature painting in Great Armenia, in Cilicia, and in other national centres. It seemed, therefore, advisable to add a fairly long Introduction to the Catalogue proper in order to present a coherent picture of the character and trends of Armenian painting; and a general background for the individual examples considered in greater detail in the Catalogue. This survey is particularly necessary for the later centuries which have not yet been properly studied and during which the centres of activity are far removed from one another; more attention has therefore been devoted, in the Introduction, to this late period, while the early centuries have been summarily treated. Problems requiring a detailed demonstration, such as the specific relations with the arts of the neighbouring countries, have been purposely avoided since they would have entailed the reproduction of comparative material selected from the illustrated manuscripts of those countries as well as of examples in other media.

In the Catalogue proper the ‘remarks’ after the description of each manuscript bring out the significant features of the illustration, the style of the paintings, the unusual or interesting aspects of the iconography and of miniature-cycles. Whenever the scribe
and painter were known, or could be identified, I have tried to collect all the information available about them, and to give a list of their other works.

The Catalogue and the Introduction were completed in the summer of 1951; a year spent in the Near East enabled me to add information based on the manuscripts I studied in the different libraries and collections, but no important changes were made. The manuscripts and fragments acquired since 1951 are described in a Supplement. In the Catalogue, as well as in the Supplement, the manuscripts are grouped by categories, according to the texts, and arranged chronologically within each group. The illustrations follow the chronological order, regardless of the textual content, so as to give a clearer idea of the evolution of Armenian painting.

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who facilitated my work. I wish to offer my very special thanks to Sir Chester Beatty for giving me the privilege of publishing his important collection, for his gracious hospitality while I was studying the manuscripts, and for his readiness to include reproductions of so many examples. I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson for his unfailing kindness and constant assistance, without which this work could not have been done. My thanks are also due to Mr. Wilfred Merton for many helpful suggestions and for his personal care in producing the very fine plates. I found valuable information in a brief catalogue of the Collection prepared by Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan while he was the primate of the Armenian Church in England. I am very grateful to the curators of manuscripts in different libraries and museums and to the dignitaries of the Armenian Church for their assistance, especially to Archbishop Yeghishe Derderian, locum tenens of the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem, and to Bishop Norayr Bogharian, Keeper of the Manuscripts, who during my stay of six months gave me every possible facility for my studies; to Archbishop Garegin Khatchaturian, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, owing to whose personal interest and help I was able to study the manuscripts preserved in various churches; to Bishop Zareh Paysalian and the governing board of the Church of Aleppo who gave me permission to study the manuscripts kept at the Church of the Forty Martyrs. I owe a very special debt of gratitude to the late Catholicos of Cilicia, Garegin I Hovsep’ian who most generously allowed me to consult his rich collection of unpublished material, as well as to study the manuscripts of Antilias. I am also indebted to the private owners who let me have access to their collections and gave me photographs of their manuscripts, in particular Messrs. H. Kevorkian, H. Hazarian, and D. K. Deyrmenjian in New York, and Messrs. J. Pozzi, P. Esmerian, and L. Cartier in Paris. Mr. Bernard Berenson very kindly sent me photographs of four important miniatures in his possession; through the courtesy of Professor A. Boeckler of Munich I was able to obtain a microfilm of a manuscript in Berlin; my friends and colleagues at Dumbarton Oaks and in Paris have given me assistance of various kinds for which I am most grateful. Finally I wish to express my thanks to the staff of the Oxford University Press for the fine printing of this volume, and to my sister Mrs. A. Der Nersessian for her help throughout my work.

S. DER NERSSSIONAN

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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The earliest extant Armenian manuscripts belong to the late ninth and tenth centuries, but the history of illumination should no doubt be traced back to the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the fifth century. In the schools that were established in different parts of Armenia, apart from the select group of scholars who translated the Bible and other sacred and liturgical texts, there were numerous scribes who copied these translations destined for the churches and smaller monasteries throughout the country. Some of these manuscripts must have been sumptuous copies, for a writer of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh, speaks of books written on purple vellum, painted with gold and silver, and bound in ivory, as well-known examples in his time.¹

Large collections of manuscripts are sometimes mentioned by the historians in their accounts of wars and invasions. Thus Stephen Orbelian relates that in 1170, when the Seljuk Turks captured the fortress of Baghaberd, they destroyed more than ten thousand manuscripts and other treasures brought there for safe-keeping from Tat'ev and other monasteries and churches of Siunik.² Many valuable works were destroyed at Edessa in 1144 when ʻImad al-Dīn Zengi burned the archives of the city; others perished in Cilicia in 1292 when the Sultan of Egypt captured the patriarchal see of Hromkla. At the time of the joint expedition of Baiju and the Armenians against the Turks, the Mongols seized many liturgical books, Bibles, and New Testaments ‘in gilt letters and richly executed’, some of which the Armenians were able to save and carry to the monasteries in the eastern provinces.³

But it is particularly in the colophons of the manuscripts that such destructions are more frequently recalled. The significance of these long notices for the history of palaeography and art is self-evident, since they give us the date and place of writing, the names of the owners, those of the scribes and painters, sometimes together with the names of their teachers or pupils. We have thus a sure and purely factual basis for grouping the works of a particular school and even of an individual scribe. Other indications concerning the binder, the various assistants who prepared the vellum, the ink, and colours, throw light on the methods of work. Sometimes the scribes write the exact dates of the beginning and completion of their work, or the owners mention the price paid for the manuscript. Information given by owners also shows that the patrons were not always high dignitaries or wealthy persons; men of very humble origin, for whom the possession of a handsome manuscript was the aim of a lifetime, saved with great pains the necessary sum; and they were helped in their efforts by relatives and friends.

There is often a very personal touch in the brief comments added at random. The scribes complain about the length of the text, about the heat and the flies which annoy

² Step’annos Orbelian, History of the House of Siunik (in Armenian), Moscow, 1861, p. 245.
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them in the summer, or the extreme cold of the winter when their fingers are numbed and the ink freezes in the pots. The complaints are sometimes humorously expressed in doggerel verse; there are also other verses which, if collected, would constitute an interesting anthology of the popular poetry of the Middle Ages.

But the principal complaints are about the difficulties of the times, the insecurity and the poverty caused by the recurrent wars and invasions, destruction and plunder, religious persecutions, the heavy exactions of foreign rulers. These are not idle words, and the difficult circumstances under which the work was carried on are abundantly proved when a manuscript begun in one monastery is continued in a second or even a third, the scribe having been forced to flee before the invading armies or to seek refuge elsewhere when his monastery was destroyed. Some of these colophons provide us with contemporary evidence of historical events. A scribe who worked at the monastery of Saint Barlaam on Mount Casius gives an eyewitness account of the siege of Antioch by the Crusaders in 1098; another, writing in 1193, relates the death of Frederick Barbarossa. Much could be learnt about the history of the Mongols, and in particular of the Ilkhans of Persia, from the colophons of the manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; those of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries give us particulars about the campaigns of Tamerlane; those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain valuable information on the wars between Persia and Turkey.

Finally, these colophons show the place held by the manuscripts in Armenian life. A copy of the Scriptures or of a liturgical book is an imperishable treasure set by the owner in heaven, and the scribes repeatedly quote the words of Isaiah: 'Blessed is he who has children in Sion and a family in Jerusalem.' By offering a manuscript to a church or to a monastery the donor increases his hopes for salvation, since his name is henceforth recalled in the daily prayers, and gifts of manuscripts are mentioned in the inscriptions carved on the walls of churches. The act of writing or of commissioning a manuscript was a worthy deed comparable to that of erecting a church or of fashioning a cross. In the colophon of the Armenian translation of the History of Michael the Syrian we read:

'God constantly prompts human beings to good deeds and acts of faith, that is to the love and glorification of His most holy name. . . . And what are the fruits of goodness if not the cross, the church and the book, through which God-loving men are encouraged to perform good deeds and to love goodness. . . . For some erect churches, the dwelling of angels and the place of atonement for men. Others fashion crosses of gold, and they adorn them with precious and brilliant stones in memory and in love of our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified and who, by shedding His blood on the cross, brought peace in heaven and on earth. Others make books, that is they write the lives of the martyrs so as to have their intercession before the awe-inspiring tribunal of Christ. Others again record the victories and the battles of conquering kings, remembering that the rule of mortal kings endures but for a while among mortal men, while the kingdom of our immortal king, Jesus Christ, is without end and eternal.'

Given the tangible and intangible values of manuscripts, their preservation was a matter of great concern, and the scribes, especially in the later centuries, beg the

1 New Julfa, no. 131: P. Peeters, 'Un témoignage autographe sur le siège d'Antioche par les Croisés', Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti De Meyer, Louvain, 1946, pp. 373-90. The entire colophon was published by N. Akinian in Handes Amsorya, xlv (1939), 561-64.

2 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 538: Gospel written at the monastery of Katen in Cilicia.

3 A. Surmeyan, Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem (in Armenian), Venice, 1948, pp. 141-3, manuscript no. 32, A.D. 1273.
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readers not to scribble in the margins, not to cut the pictures or thumb the pages; they instruct them not to let the wax drop on the book and to hold it with a cloth. But good care was not sufficient, and a scribe writes: 'In times of wars and invasions carry the manuscripts to the cities and bury them, but in times of peace take them out and read them, for closed books are like idols.'

One may wonder whether in comparing closed books to idols the writer had in mind some extreme forms of veneration. In speaking of the honour paid to manuscripts Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh wrote: 'When we bow down before the Holy Gospel or when we kiss it, we do not bow before the ivory or the purple . . . but before the word of the Saviour written on the vellum.' However, the common people did not always make this fine distinction; manuscripts were venerated for themselves, and miraculous powers were sometimes attributed to them. The place held by manuscripts among the Armenians is in some ways comparable to the one held by icons among the Greeks. Just as the Byzantine emperors sometimes carried an icon, as a palladium, during their military campaigns, the Armenians took with them the Holy Gospel. The practice, already attested in the fifth century, was still in use in the tenth century. Manuscripts, especially those endowed with miraculous powers, were designated by a special name, for instance Amenap'rkitch (Saviour of All) or Merelaharoyts (Resurrector of the Dead), just as special names were attached to particular icons. The capture and destruction of manuscripts are recorded, as we have seen, by the historians in the same way as the Greek and especially the Russian chroniclers record the fate of celebrated icons. A manuscript which falls into the hands of the infidels is referred to as being a 'captive', and it is the duty of every faithful Christian to redeem it as he would redeem a prisoner.

All this helps us to understand why, in spite of the numerous difficulties, so many manuscripts were written and illustrated. The production must have been vast indeed, for about twenty thousand still survive after the destructions caused by time and man.

The oldest manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Collection belong to the end of the twelfth century. The Seljuk invasion of Armenia in 1064 had interrupted the long period of artistic activity which had produced such outstanding works as the Gospel of Queen Mk'e of A.D. 902, the Etchmiadzin Gospel of A.D. 989, the handsome Gospels of King Gagik, and of Trebizond, of the middle of the eleventh century. Devastated by the Byzantine as well as the Turkish armies, having lost many of its feudal lords and large groups of the population, subjected moreover to heavy taxations, the country was in a state of extreme poverty. Conditions began to improve only in the latter part of the twelfth century when the Georgian kings, having freed themselves from the Seljuk yoke, initiated a more aggressive policy and gradually conquered the northern and central provinces of Armenia. These territories were assigned to the Armenian princes who had led the Georgian armies, the Zak'arians and the Orbelians; these in turn ceded fiefs to other feudal families, and thus for more than a century a major part of Armenia was once again under the direct control of its national leaders. For the Mongol conquest did not immediately alter the situation; the relations between the

1 S. Der Nersessian, Une apologie des images, p. 65.
2 V. Hatsuni, 'The Bible and Armenia' (in Armenian), Pazmaveb, Venice, 1935, nos. 9-12, pp. 329, 331.
Ilkhans and the Armenian feudal lords were those of sovereign and vassal, and in the internal affairs of their principalities the latter enjoyed a considerable degree of independence.

The artistic history closely follows the trend of political events. Numerous churches begin to be erected or restored in the late twelfth century, donations are made to the monasteries, and with the return of a period of relative security scribes resume their activities. The impoverished state of the monasteries, the break in the artistic traditions, the isolation from the important centres of Christian art are discernible in the poorer quality and the archaic character of most of the manuscripts written at Horomos, near Ani, and in the monasteries of the northern provinces. The gold backgrounds are usually replaced by a yellow wash or bright colours, as in Codex no. 555 (Pl. 2); figure representations are often limited to the portraits of the Evangelists, seated or standing under decorative arcades, in conformity with the earlier tradition.

There had been a strong Byzantine influence during the first part of the eleventh century when the small Armenian kingdoms and principalities were taken over, one by one, by the Byzantine emperors. This influence is apparent in the miniatures of the Trebizond Gospel which rank with the finest Byzantine examples, and some of which may even be by the hand of a Greek artist; it is noticeable in the illustrations of the Gospel of King Gagik of Kars, where the Byzantine elements are subtly blended with the Armenian style. But there was an equally strong Eastern trend in Armenia, based on the earlier Sasanian tradition, and it is this trend which predominates in the works of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Codex no. 556 is a very good example of the simpler type of decoration used during this period (Pls. 3-5). Three- or five-lobed leaves, half-palmettes, and rosettes are inscribed in roundels or drawn inside a lozenge trellis; the floral scrolls are reduced to linear interlaces and retain the leaves only at the extremities. The geometric designs consist chiefly of intersecting lozenges which determine a five-point star, or of star-patterns formed by the circumvolutions of a single strand. In the decoration of the Canon tables the architectural framework provided by an arch inscribed in a rectangle begins to be disregarded; the rectangles are considered as a uniform area which can be covered with an all-over pattern or a series of roundels. This disregard for the architectonic character of the Canon arcade is also apparent in the ornamental design of the columns, knotted at the centre, and in the use of interlaces and roundels for the capitals and bases.

The ornaments are richer and more varied in other manuscripts of the thirteenth century.

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century. 1 The rainbow motif, coloured disks, chevrons, the favourite motifs of the tenth century, reappear as well as the bands imitating Kufic inscriptions already used in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The simplified contours of the peacocks and other birds drawn around the Canon tables and occasionally in the margins of the text, their striped plumage, the bands around their necks, ally these representations with the drawings of the early eleventh-century manuscripts and show the continued survival of Sasanian forms. Addorsed elephants or confronted lions appear in the lunettes of some Canon tables. 2 The griffons with a tail ending in an animal head recall the contemporary examples of Seljuk art and even better perhaps the paintings of a Coptic manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century. 3

The selected scenes from the life of Christ, which the artists of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries had grouped at the beginning of the Gospels, reappear in an exceptionally fine manuscript of the late twelfth century, 4 and are more frequently used in the thirteenth. The painters sometimes introduce new scenes into the cycle or new iconographic variants. Thus in a Gospel illustrated in 1236 by the scribe Ignatios, the most prominent artist of this period, the soldiers guarding the sepulchre are represented separately from the visit of the Holy Women: the men are grouped around the sarcophagus, and one of them stretches his arm across the lid as if he were trying to keep it closed. 5 In the Raising of Lazarus the tomb is not represented and one of the sisters, seated on the ground, embraces the shrouded body of Lazarus. 6 Familiar interpretations may be seen in other manuscripts. In the Entry into Jerusalem a woman dressed in the contemporary costume looks on from the window of a high building like the bell-towers of Armenian churches; her companions stand on the flat roof of the adjoining house, while an old turbaned man takes the place of the Jews before the city gate. 7 In another example of the same scene young boys sound their trumpets and the women watch from behind the city walls. 8 Contemporary figures are also


2 Svirine, La Miniature, p. 85; J. Baltrušaitis, Art sumérien, art roman, Paris, 1934, fig. 39.

3 G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakiants, i, figs. 68–70; Paris, Coptique, no. 120; W. de Gruneisen, Caractéristiques de l’art copte, Florence, 1922, pl. xlviii.

4 Erivan, no. 207: Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 27, 42, 45, 47; G. Hovsep’ian, The Saviour of Havuts Tar, fig. 31; S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxx i.


6 Ibid., fig. 18; S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxx 2.

7 Etchmiadzin, no. 6288, Gospel of Haghbat, a.d. 1211: Svirine, La Miniature, p. 89; G. Hovsep’ian, Materials and Studies, i, p. 51, fig. 3; S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxxii.

8 Chicago University, no. 949, Gospel of a.d. 1237: G. Hovsep’ian, Materials and Studies, ii, p. 47, fig. 3.
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represented next to the Canon tables: a young man playing a musical instrument; two priests designated as the abbot of the monastery and the binder of the manuscript; a young man holding a water-jug, another carrying a large fish at the end of a stick. Next to the last figure the scribe has written: 'Sherenik, bring the fish whenever you come.'

There is marked improvement in the course of the thirteenth century; the higher quality of the work is noticeable in the harmonious ornamental compositions of Codex no. 557 (Pl. 7), in the accuracy of the drawing, and in the fine colours set off by the gold background. The range of ornamental motifs is, however, still restricted, and this is quite surprising when one considers the sculpture of this period, the variety of birds and quadrupeds carved on the façades of churches like the church of St. Gregory erected by Tigran Honents at Ani, the delicate floral scrolls, the intricate polygonal interlaces which decorate the portals and windows of other churches and cover the entire surface of the tombstones.

The relative simplicity of the manuscripts of Great Armenia also contrasts with the rich illuminations of those written in the new kingdom of Cilicia. The geographical position of this region, settled and conquered by the Armenians in the course of the twelfth century, had significant consequences for its historical and artistic development. Though separated from the Byzantine Empire by the Seljuk kingdom of Iconium, the Armenians were now in a country partly inhabited by the Greeks, and where the monuments erected by the latter could still be seen. Their establishment in Cilicia coincided with the Crusades, and the political connexions with the Latin kingdoms of the Levant, strengthened by family ties, contributed to the introduction of Western customs and Western thought. Moreover, the new kingdom had an outlet on the Mediterranean, and the Armenians thus came into closer contact with other countries. The port of Ayas, or Lajazzo, was one of the principal trading-centres between East and West, and the starting-point of one of the principal land routes into Asia. According to Marco Polo, 'all the spicery and the cloths of silk and of gold and of wool from inland are carried to this town ...; and all men and merchants who wish to go farther inland through the regions of the east, come first to the said port of Laias and take their way from this town.' The kings of Cilicia had been the first Christian rulers to form an alliance with the Mongols, and in the course of the thirteenth century they and other members of the royal family went several times to the Mongol court in distant Caracorum, and later to the capital of the Ilkhans in Persia.

All these connexions played their part in the formation and evolution of the art of Cilicia, which we know primarily through the illuminated manuscripts. The Eastern trend of Great Armenia predominates in the earliest products of the twelfth century.

1 Etchmiadzin, no. 6288: G. Hovsep’ian, Materials and Studies, i, p. 46, fig. 1; S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxi, 2; Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 86–87.
3 Ibid., pls. xiv–xix, lxxi, lxxvii; G. Hovsep’ian, The Saviour of Havuts Tar, figs. 36–37, 40–42, 44.
5 J. Strzygowski, Kleinarmenische Miniaturmalerei. Die Miniaturen des Tübingen Evangeliiars MA XIII. 1 vom Jahre 1113 bezw. 893 n. Chr., Tübingen, 1907. The Gospel was written and illuminated at Drazark in 1113; the copy of the colophon stating that the model had been written in 893 has since been proved to have been a forgery, cf. G. Hovsep’ian, Album of Paleography, p. 48 and pl. 92. Gospel written in Hromkla in 1166: G. Hovsep’ian, ‘Relics of the Past’ (in Armenian), Ararat, 1910, pp. 251–7. London,
but during the latter part of the century we observe a marked preference for the more refined style influenced by Byzantine art. The major works illustrated for the catholicos Nerses the Gracious, for Het'um prince of Lambron, for his brother bishop Nerses, and for other high dignitaries of the Church are derived from the Byzantinizing manuscripts such as the Gospels of King Gagik and of Trebizond, previously mentioned, or a Gospel written in 1066 in Sebastia and later brought to Cilicia. The patronage of the kings of the Het'umian dynasty who ascended the throne in 1226, that of the catholicos Constantine I, the owner of Codex no. 558 of this collection, gave a further impetus to the arts, and the manuscripts of the thirteenth century mark one of the highest points of Armenian illumination.

In the decorations of the Canon tables, of the dedicatory pages and headpieces, in the numerous ornaments drawn in the margins, the repertory of earlier Armenian manuscripts is enriched by the addition of elements derived from various sources and skilfully combined into a harmonious unity (Pls. 8–13).

The complex polygonal interlaces recall the carvings on the churches and tombstones of Great Armenia; the principles of the interlace also modify the floral design, transforming the scrolls into floral arabesques, or resulting in polygonal interlaces framed by a circle. Many motifs belong to the late Classical tradition, adopted by the artists of the Early Christian period and by those who decorated the palaces and mosques of the Umayyad caliphs. Vine and acanthus scrolls, springing from vases or cornucopiae, often replace the palm scrolls; birds, real and imaginary animals, run or chase one another in these scrolls; human masks appear in the acanthus whorls, and the fret is more frequently used than in the preceding period. The vine scroll animated with human and animal figures had been carved in the tenth century on the facades of the church of Aght'amarn, and in a.d. 1134 around the door of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Mush; similar representations appear frequently on contemporary Muslim ceramics and metal works, but the greater freedom in the compositions and in the movement of the animals, the graceful lines of their supple bodies ally the Cilician paintings more closely with those works of the Early Christian period which still retained the naturalism of late Classical art.

Brit. Mus. Or. 81, Gospel written at Drazark in 1181–2.


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Other motifs, ultimately derived from ancient oriental types known throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean world, are treated with the same elegance and thus differ from the earlier Armenian examples. Such are the birds or quadrupeds with interlocking necks or the animals attacking one another. The same remark holds true for the fantastic animals which were also in great favour among the Seljuk artists, for instance the griffons, sphinxes, human-headed birds, winged dragons with serpents' bodies, winged female centaurs, whose graceful forms appear in and around the Canon tables and headpieces.

New elements or new modes of representation show the influence of artistic worlds which the Armenians came to know during this period. Lions, with their manes rising in flame-like haloes and spirals covering their bodies and faces, recall Chinese examples; the birds are drawn with sweeping lines, their tails and wings swinging upwards like those of the Chinese flying cranes; the trees have gnarled and twisted trunks; the mount of a rider thrusts out its neck and head in the characteristic attitude of the water buffalo. The sinuous bodies of the animals in a hunting scene again remind us of Chinese paintings, and one of the riders wears a wide-brimmed hat like the hats of the Mongols.

Other motifs or ornaments are derived from the art of western Europe. The nude female figures with long cows' tails drawn next to a Canon table find their closest parallels in Latin manuscripts of the Marvels of the East; they are the strange women who, according to these stories, lived near the Red Sea and had 'hair to their heels, boars' teeth, tails as of oxen, camels' feet'. Other nude figures who ride on a lion or a horse, and those who kneel at the foot of a tree or a floral motif, are comparable to the figures combined with the initials in Latin manuscripts or to those represented in metal works such as the Gloucester candlestick. The floral scrolls punctuated with human heads, or combined with them, seem closer in conception and execution to the Latin examples than to those of Muslim art, for instance to the letters terminating in human heads in the so-called animated Kufic script, or to the small figures with pointed bonnets which are drawn in the floral scrolls, although compositions similar to the Armenian examples may be seen on a few Muslim metal works of the thirteenth century.

The analysis of the component parts of all these ornaments reveals the diversity of the sources of inspiration, but the total effect is one of great unity, and the decorations are original creations which surpass in richness and variety the contemporary examples of the Christian East. The same composition is never repeated; even on the opposite pages of a manuscript the artists often introduce slight changes. They also display their imaginative powers in the numerous variations of the elegant marginal ornaments.
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and of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic letters. The beauty of the designs, executed with the greatest precision, is enhanced by the harmony of the colours.

The painters of Cilicia display the same skill and originality in their figure representations. There are few miniatures in the older manuscripts, but the Gospels, Lec-tionaries, and Bibles of the thirteenth century are richly illustrated with full-page compositions, with miniatures introduced in the text or painted in the margins. The centre of this school appears to have been the patriarchal see of Hromkla, especially during the primacy of Constantine I, and among the artists known to us by name Kirakos and T’oros Roslin stand out as the leading painters, though there are other equally gifted men whose names have unfortunately not been preserved.

Byzantine iconography forms the basis of the Gospel illustration, but the Greek examples served as a guide which the Armenian painters felt free to modify. The changes sometimes consist in the addition of secondary figures; for instance, a group of servants standing behind the Magi in the scene of the Adoration, or a company of soldiers who accompany them on their way home. A prophet is occasionally introduced into the scene, and the words inscribed on his scroll help to emphasize the parallelism of the Old and New Testaments. Minor episodes replace at times the principal event or, being represented separately, are given greater prominence. Thus instead of the Betrayal we see Judas leading the Jews, or the young man who fled leaving his linen cloth behind him; instead of the healing of Jairus’ daughter we see the servant running to tell his master that the young girl has died; the judgement of Pilate is preceded by a miniature representing Pilate’s wife, waking from her sleep and sending a messenger to her husband. Familiar interpretations appear in other compositions: in the Entry into Jerusalem Christ has already entered the city and only the hind legs of the ass are visible inside the gate; in representations of the Jews paying the soldiers or giving the thirty pieces of silver to Judas, the Jews, seated on the ground, weigh the money like old merchants in a bazaar, while Judas carries in a cloth actual ‘pieces of silver’.

1 For the manuscripts illustrated by Kirakos and T’oros Roslin see below pp. 29, 179-80.
2 For instance the painters who illustrated the Gospels of Queen Keran and Prince Vasak (Jerusalem, nos. 2565 and 2566), and the Gospel of the Freer Gallery in Washington, no. 32.18.
3 Servants behind the Magi in Jerusalem, no. 251, fol. 120; Riders accompanying the Magi in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, fol. 19.
4 For instance in the Gospel of the Freer Gallery in Washington, no. 32.18, when Christ appears to the apostles after the Resurrection, a prophet holds a scroll with the words taken from Zechariah xiii. 6: ‘these wounds ... in (my) hands ... with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.’ (S. Der Nersessian, ‘Armenian Gospel Illustration as seen in Manuscripts in American Collections’, New Testament Manuscript Studies, edited by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, Chicago, 1959, pl. vi). Next to the healing of the sick on p. 43 8 a prophet holds a scroll with the words of Isaiah: ‘and with his stripes we are healed’; in the Mocking of Christ on p. 516 the words written on the scroll held by Isaiah are: ‘I hid not my face from shame and spitting’ (Isa. 1. 6). In the Entry into Jerusalem of the Gospel of the Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, a prophet holds a scroll with the words: ‘Rejoice greatly O daughter’ (Zech. ix. 9). Apart from the early Greek Gospels of Rossano and Sinope, where prophets are figured below or at the sides of the Gospel scenes, the only Byzantine example where a prophet is introduced into the composition appears in the Entry into Jerusalem of Berlin, qu. 66: G. Millet, Recherches sur l’iconographie de l’Evangile, Paris, 1916, p. 265, fig. 244.
6 Entry into Jerusalem: Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, p. 489; S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxix. 1. The Jews and soldiers, or the Jews and Judas: Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, pp. 168, 196.
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The freshness of imagination which thus renewed a secular tradition is often accompanied by the liveliness of the style: the figures run swiftly, the sudden turns of the body and the billowing folds of the drapery accentuating the movement. The portraits of the Evangelists of Codex no. 558 (Pls. 14–17) show the fine balance of stylization and naturalism achieved by some Cilician painters. The solid, weighty figures are comfortably seated, the ample draperies are arranged according to a definite pattern, but the principal folds bring out the forms of the body; the faces, hands, and feet are delicately modelled, and the slight patterning of the areas of light and shade helps to enhance the expressive character. Other painters show greater interest in linear forms: the smooth surfaces of the garments contrast with the narrow pleats which are gathered between the limbs, or drawn tightly across them, and open at the ends like a fan. They also exaggerate the sinuous contours of the body and give greater intensity to the gestures and expressions. The stylization is carried through to the landscape: the mountains are reduced to steep pinnacles, twisted into fantastic forms, with jagged contours and deep crags.

The refined style of the thirteenth century can still be seen in some manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, but another trend, already noticeable in a number of works of the late thirteenth century, comes to the fore and prevails in the fourteenth century. Sargis Pidsak, represented in the present collection by Codices nos. 561, 613, and 614 (Pls. 19–23), is the best exponent of this style. In the numerous manuscripts illustrated by this prolific painter we no longer find the rich variety and elegance which characterized the ornamental compositions of the preceding period. There is a rigidity and a certain monotony in his decorations in spite of his real skill as a draughtsman. The principal motifs are the palmette, the rainbow motif and polychrome disks, simple geometric interlaces or cartouches of floral interlaces, and a few animal forms and sirens (Pls. 19, 22–23). The scale of the individual elements is much larger, thus diminishing the possibilities of different combinations.

The detailed narrative cycle and the novel interpretations of the Gospel scenes have also disappeared. The major episodes of the life of Christ, sometimes represented in full-page miniatures or grouped on a single page, are generally simplified and composed with a marked interest in symmetry. The marginal miniatures, reduced to one or two figures, are frequently combined with the floral designs, a figure in bust being drawn above the ornament. A comparison of the portraits of the Evangelists in the

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1 Jerusalem, no. 2563, Gospel of Queen Keran, a.d. 1272; Jerusalem, no. 2568, Gospel of Prince Vasak. The names of the painters are not known. Cf. Buchthal and Kurz, Hand List, nos. 408 and 419.
2 See especially the Transfiguration in Jerusalem, no. 2563; Tchobanian, Roseraie, ii, opp. p. xviii.
3 In the Canon tables of Jerusalem, no. 2566, Gospel of a.d. 1301, in Jerusalem, no. 1346, a.d. 1310, and especially in Jerusalem, no. 1350, illustrated in 1316 by the scribe Levon Lazrtsi with rich Canon tables, headpieces, the portraits of the Evangelists, and a bishop (the owner of the manuscript) kneeling before Christ.
4 Erivan, no. 211, Gospel written for the Constable Smbat (1276); the new style appears in the miniatures but not the ornaments: Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 53–55; id., 'Iskusstvo knigi v drevnei Armenii', Iskusstvo, 1940, fasc. 2, p. 54; G. Hovsep’ian, The Saviour of Havuts T’ar, fig. 33.
6 For a fuller discussion of the art of Sargis Pidsak see S. Der Neressian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 137–66, pl. lxxvi–ciii. Several manuscripts, not mentioned in this study, are listed in the Catalogue: Codex no. 561, p. 37, note 2.
7 S. Der Neressian, op. cit., pls. lxxxvi-xciii.
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Gospels nos. 561, 614, and 558 (Pls. 20, 22-23, 14-17) will clearly show the differences in style. The work of Sargis is very easily recognizable: the rather heavy figures stand or sit in rigid attitudes; dark lines and deep shadows outline the features; the large ears look like shells; the feet form a wide rectangle awkwardly attached to the thin ankles. The precision of the line, the bright colours among which red is frequently used, give, however, a definite quality to his paintings, even though they cannot compare with those of the thirteenth century.

Sargis Pidsak was held in high esteem by his contemporaries; his reputation had gone beyond the limits of Cilicia, and his miniatures were acquired by men living in different parts of Armenia. The portraits of the Evangelists painted by Sargis were taken to the province of Taron in 1312 and placed in a Gospel written there; other miniatures, including his own portrait, were added to a Bible written in Erzincan in 1338.1

In the fourteenth century the influence of Cilician painting spreads to the different provinces of Great Armenia. The cultural and artistic centre at this time was the monastery of Gladzor, situated in the Vayots dzor, a district in the south-western part of Siunik. Students and scribes came there from all the provinces to study with the famous abbot, Esayi Ntchetsi.2 Among these scribes there were men who had already been trained in Cilicia, and through their personal example, as well as through the manuscripts which had been sent as gifts by the kings and prelates of Cilicia, the Cilician style became known and was imitated by some of the painters of Siunik. This influence is noticeable in the work of T’oros of Taron, the leading scribe of Gladzor, especially in his ornamental compositions, in his use of the symbol of the Evangelist for the first initial of each Gospel instead of the ornate letters preferred by earlier artists of this region.3 However, in the miniatures T’oros remains faithful to the traditions of Great Armenia. The figures are more stylized than those of Cilician manuscripts, the illustration is restricted to the major episodes of the Gospel, represented in full-page miniatures, and we find some of the iconographic variants introduced in the thirteenth century by the painters of Great Armenia. T’oros shows, for instance, in a separate composition, the soldiers seated around the sarcophagus, as the painter Ignatios had done in his Gospel of A.D. 1236,4 or he represents contemporary figures next to the Canon tables. In one of his manuscripts the abbot of Gladzor, Esayi Ntchetsi, is figured on one page, and on the opposite page we see the scribe himself.

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2 Hovsep’ian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 5-6; and especially Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, ii, 189-280.
3 G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, ii, fig. 215-19; Etchmiadzin, no. 505/560, Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1345; Bible of A.D. 1327-8 and Gospel of A.D. 1330, formerly at Baghesh; Etchmiadzin, no. 2239/2187, Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1346; ibid., ii, pp. 236-7 and 239; and San Lazzaro, no. 1444/193, Taghavan, not dated. A New Testament written at Mush in 1284, Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1444/193, has also been assigned to T’oros by H. Kurdian, T’oros of Taron (in Armenian), New York, 1943, pp. 4-8, but the reasons given are not sufficiently valid.
4 S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pl. lii, fig. 112; H. Kurdian, The Miniaturist Ignatios, fig. 22.
writing on a large sheet of paper propped against his knees. Iconographic themes of Western origin occasionally appear in the works of Toros, such as the crowned Virgin nursing the child, the Tree of Jesse, the seven days of the Creation, figured in small medallions which fill the vertical band of the initial of the Book of Genesis. These were probably directly inspired by Latin manuscripts rather than transmitted by Cilician models, for they do not occur in the Cilician manuscripts known so far, or when they do appear, like the Tree of Jesse, they follow a different type.°

The work of Toros is not represented in the Chester Beatty Collection, but the continued influence of this master may be seen in a Gospel of the sixteenth century, Codex no. 568, some of the miniatures of which copy the compositions of Toros (Pl. 42).

Until recent years Toros of Taron was the only artist of Siunik' to be known, but the manuscripts illustrated by several other painters such as Sargis, Momik, Kirakos of Tabriz, Mkhit'ar of Ani, and especially the deacon Toros and Avag, throw new light on the art of the province of Siunik' and of the neighbouring regions beyond the borders of Armenia.

Two leaves which originally belonged to a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1311 by the deacon Toros (who is not to be confused with Toros of Taron) are now in the Beatty Collection, listed as Codex no. 559 (Frontispiece). Four other miniatures—the Ascension, the Pentecost, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the portrait of the painter presented to Christ by the Virgin—had previously been reproduced by Macler; on the basis of the figure style we can now add to this group four miniatures in the collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson, representing the prophet Isaiah, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Annunciation, and the Nativity. This partial reconstruction of ten out of the original eighteen compositions gives us the beginning and end of the ‘Feast’ cycle—from the Annunciation to the Dormition—plus two Old Testament scenes, two others connected, as we shall see, with the Second Coming of Christ, and, finally, the Dedication scene. The missing miniatures must have comprised several of the scenes between the Nativity and the Ascension, but even in this fragmentary state the manuscript illustrated by the deacon Toros, the only work by him known so far, is of great importance. It gives us one of the early stages in the development of the Gospel cycle, and the new themes or the new interpretations which we find in some of these miniatures prove that the artists of Great Armenia were not all conservative men who repeated, with few changes, the compositions painted by their elders.

The Sacrifice of Isaac, the symbolic image of Christ's Passion, represented at the beginning of the Gospel manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and omitted in the following centuries, reappears in the fourteenth century, as we can see from the miniature in the Berenson Collection and from a slightly earlier example. The second

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1 G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, ii, fig. 212.
2 S. Der Nersessian, Western Iconographic Themes, pp. 71-94.
3 F. Macler, Documents d'art armenien, Paris, 1924, pls. xcix-c. See below, p. 31, for the dating of the manuscript.
4 The old examples are: Etchmiadzin, no. 229, Gospel of A.D. 999; Jerusalem, no. 2555; Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, no. 697. Among the Gospels of the 14th century, the earliest example known to me is in a manuscript dated 1304-5, Oxford, Bodleian, d.3: A. Baumstark, 'Der Bilderschmuck eines arménischen Evangeliensbuches vom Jahre 1305', Oriens Christianus, xvii. 2 (1939), 214-24. The order of the folios is disturbed and the composition is now on fol. 12v, instead of being at the beginning.
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Old Testament scene in the Berenson Collection, a simplified version of the first vision of Isaiah, is more unusual: an angel flies down and places the live coal on the prophet's lips, but the text written on the scroll held by Isaiah does not give the words uttered by the angel, it reproduces instead the famous prophecy: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel, which means the Lord is with us' (vii. 14).

From a very early period on, the Greek Church Fathers had seen in the live coal an image of the Incarnation. This interpretation was also known to the Armenians; they found it, for instance, in their translation of the scholia of Cyril of Alexandria, who wrote: 'and we declare the coal to fulfill for us the type and image of the incarnate word'. By reproducing the prophecy of Isaiah on the scroll our painter has clarified and emphasized for the readers this symbolism of the live coal.

The two miniatures, symbolizing the Incarnation and the Passion, present a summary of the entire 'economy of Salvation', developed in the Gospel scenes which follow. The Deesis (Frontispiece) (discussed in the Catalogue)—which represents Christ come for Judgement—and the Resurrection of the Dead must have come after the Gospel cycle. The second of these scenes, reproduced by Macler, is again most unusual. A ciborium-like construction rests on a high mound in which are buried the dead, in three rows of three tombs each; three seraphim appear in the sky and three angels, blowing trumpets, fly towards the mound. A young man, probably the painter, kneels in the foreground.

The explanation of this composition must be sought in the Book of Revelation. The dead lying in their tombs under the ciborium are those whom John saw 'under the altar' after the opening of the fifth seal; they are 'the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held' (vii. 9). Seven angels sounding their trumpets appeared when all the seven seals had been opened, while there are only three in the miniature. The painter may have wished to represent the three angels who announced that the hour of judgement had come (xiv. 7), in order to recall the words heard at that moment: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them' (xiv. 3). If this interpretation is correct, the comfort of the approaching judgement is thus suggested to the dead lying under the altar, who cried: 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on earth?' (vii. 10).

To these elements directly inspired by the Apocalypse are added the seraphim from

1 Cyril of Alexandria, In Isaiah, i, Orat. iv: Migne, Patrologia Graeca, lxx. 181. Basilii, In Jesaiam, vi. 184, ed. Pietro Trevisan (Corona Patrum Salesiana), vol. v, p. 147. See also the explanations in the Greek Menae on 2 February and 23 December. The simplified composition of the vision occurs also in a few Byzantine examples, and in one instance the angel is substituted for the seraph: Mount Athos, Vatopedi, Cod. 760, cf. K. Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex, Princeton, 1947, fig. 139. An entirely different type has been represented by the Armenian scribe Avag as the frontispiece of the Book of Isaiah in a Bible illustrated, in part, in 1338. According to the description given by the catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian (Mkhit'ar of Ani', Hash, i, p. 206), 'the Holy Trinity figures in the centre; the Holy Ghost is drawn with red lines, and the Son is seated on the cherubic throne with the six-winged seraphim at the four corners. The seraph on the lower left side approaches, with the tongs, the live coal to the lips of the standing prophet.'


3 See below, pp. 31-33.

4 F. Macler, Documents d'art arménien, pl. c, fig. 253.
the vision of Isaiah, who are also figured in the Deesis. The two compositions must be considered together and may even have been on opposite pages: one of them announcing the Judgement, the other showing the appearance of the Judge. We have no way of knowing whether or not the actual Judgement figured among the lost miniatures, but these two scenes already give us part of an eschatological cycle which will be further developed in the following centuries. However, the actual compositions themselves were never repeated, to my knowledge, and these original creations of the deacon Toros also differ from all other illustrations of the Apocalypse, both in the Christian East and in the Western world.

The work of the painter Avag, who was active between the years 1329 and 1358, principally at Sultaniya, the newly founded capital of the Ilkhans, shows some stylistic and iconographic similarities with the paintings of the deacon Toros. Avag was, however, much more influenced by the art of Cilicia. He sometimes illustrates the Gospel story in great detail, and the miniatures introduced into the text repeat the compositions of the Cilician manuscripts of the thirteenth century. He also imitates occasionally the elegant and lively style of the Cilician painters as well as the rich ornamental designs painted by them. Codex no. 572 (Pls. 44–45), which was directly copied in 1574 from one of the manuscripts of Avag, gives only a faint idea of the style of this gifted painter in whose works the traditions of Great Armenia and of Cilicia are skilfully blended.

Although Avag resided in Persia he was hardly influenced by the art of that country, and this is particularly surprising when we consider the work of Mkhit’ar of Ani, with whom he collaborated many a time. Mkhit’ar imitated so faithfully the Persian paintings of the Mongol period that, were his miniatures separated from the Gospel text, one would never suspect that they have been painted by an Armenian.

Political events once more interrupted the activities of the monasteries of Sionik’ and neighbouring regions. Relations with the Mongols had already deteriorated when the latter adopted the Muslim religion, and the general situation became far worse after the death of Abu Sa’id in 1335. The rivalries between the leaders of different Mongol tribes, the revolts of local rulers caused constant struggles of which Armenia was often the battlefield. These were followed by the terrific ravages of Tamerlane and, after his death, by the wars between the Turkoman tribes of the ‘White’ and the ‘Black Sheep’. Monasteries and churches were destroyed, priests and monks persecuted, many of them suffering martyrdom in defence of their faith; the heads of the feudal families were killed or carried into captivity and their possessions appropriated by the conquerors. It is not surprising that under these conditions no work of any importance should have been produced in the northern provinces, and the major

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1 For the work of Avag see: G. Hovsep’ian, ‘Mkhit’ar of Ani, scribe and painter’, Haskh, i (1948), 192–219, where most of the miniatures of the Gospel of Jerusalem, no. 1941, are reproduced; Etchmiadzin, nos. 99 and 6230: id., Khaghbakians, ii. 243–6, figs. 227–8. Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 96–101, erroneously considers Avag a native of Crimea, while we can see from the colophons of the manuscripts that he came from Mushaghbour, a locality in the western section of the Vayots dzor, in the province of Siunik’. Two manuscripts of Avag, not mentioned in the above studies, should be added to the list: Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 935/8, Bible of the year 1341: Pazmaveb, Venice, 1935, nos. 9–12, p. 362, fig. 30, and Brit. Mus. Or. 5314, New Testament, without date. The name of the scribe Avag is written at the end of the letter of Eusebius and his style is unmistakable; thus the date of 13th century given by Conybeare (Catalogue, pp. 27–28) should be corrected to the 14th century.

2 Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 104–5.
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scriptoria are to be found henceforth in the relatively more peaceful regions around Lake Van.

The manuscripts illustrated in this area can be roughly divided into two groups. The first, which we may call the 'Van school', comprises the works executed at Van, Aght'amar, and in the monasteries along the northern and eastern shores of Lake Van; the second, which may be called the 'Khizan school', comprises the manuscripts written at Khizan, south of Lake Van, and in the neighbouring canton of Mok's.

The paintings of the Van school have the more conservative character. In keeping with the practice introduced in Great Armenia during the fourteenth century, the major episodes of the life of Christ, grouped in a multiple frontispiece, are preceded by symbolical scenes of the Old Testament, and they are followed by representations connected with the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgement. However, the Old Testament scenes are not those which we saw in the Gospel illustrated by the deacon Toros. The Sacrifice of Isaac is rarely represented, and the portrait of Isaiah does not occur in any of the known examples; we find instead the Vision of Ezekiel as the symbol of the Second Coming, and the Tree of Jesse as the symbol of the Incarnation.

The Vision of Ezekiel had been included in the Bibles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a direct illustration of the book of this prophet. The composition adopted by the Van school, and by other painters working in different regions, is derived from the iconographic type used by Avag. Christ is enthroned in the innermost part of three concentric circles which represent 'the wheel within the wheel'; the tetrarmorphs are drawn in the diagonal axes, or at right angles to one another, their bodies awkwardly cut by the second circle and their wings projecting beyond the outer circle. Ezekiel lies in the foreground, by the banks of the river Chebar, and the open scroll is held by a hand emerging from under the outermost circle.

The Tree of Jesse differs both from the composition represented by Toros of Taron and from the marginal miniatures of the Cilician manuscripts. The tree, coming out of Jesse's side, separates at the top into two branches which frame the bust figures of the Virgin and Child; six ancestors stand one above the other next to the trunk of the tree, while the others are represented in bust under small arches or inside small medallions which cover the entire field.

At the end of the Gospel cycle we find, almost invariably, the image of the Second Coming of Christ or Christ in Glory on the Cross (Pl. 54a). This composition is based on the text of Matthew xxiv. 30-31: 'And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man


1 For a partial list of manuscripts written at Van and vicinity see Macler, "Miniatures arméniennes", pp. 4-11.
3 Erivan, no. 4429, A.D. 1338: Christ is enthroned in a mandorla, the tetrarmorphs are placed at right angles to one another, diagonal lines project from the innermost circle like the spokes of a wheel. Ezekiel lies prostrate by the river Chebar, opposite him is the open scroll, suspended in mid-air. This composition differs from the earlier type represented in a Bible written at Erzinjan in 1269. Jerusalem, no. 1925; Tchobanian, Roseraie, ii, p. 164.
4 See pl. 54a for a later example of the same type. Earlier examples in Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1347, A.D. 1475; S. Der Nersessian, An Armenian Gospel, fig. 1; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542.
5 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 286/10, Bible illustrated by Mkrtitch Naghash in A.D. 1418-22, the miniature is placed at the beginning of the Gospel cycle; Keqhoum, Venice, 1945, p. 22; Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1347, A.D. 1475; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542.
in heaven . . . and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. A large ornate cross, 'the sign of the Son of man', is raised on a pedestal; the 'Son of man', usually the youthful beardless Christ, appears in a medallion at the intersection of the arms of the cross, and four trumpeting angels fill the spaces between the arms of the cross. The donors of the manuscript, and sometimes the scribe, kneel at the foot of the cross. This representation is a development of the simpler marginal miniature of some Cilician manuscripts, where the large cross and a throne or altar are drawn inside an aureole held by angels.

The Last Judgement usually occupies the opposite page (Pl. 54b). The Deesis forms the central group, as in the Byzantine representations, but Christ or, more often, the Ancient of Days is seated on the tetramorphic throne. The remaining parts of the composition also differ from the Byzantine examples. The apostles, having in their midst, in the most prominent place, St. Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church, stand in the second zone. The scales hang from the narrow band below the apostles; one of the trays rests on the back of a demon, and angels pierce with their lances the demons who try to lower the other tray. Other demons carry on their back loads which are designated as 'sins'. This typically Armenian version of the Last Judgement will continue to be represented until the end of the seventeenth century, though in certain schools the Byzantine type is preferred.

Connexions with the art of Cilicia may be seen in the marginal miniatures of some Gospels, in the iconography of the Gospel scenes, and to a certain extent in the figure style. In the paintings of Minas, in those of Karapet of Berkri, well-known artists of the fifteenth century, the tall and slender figures, with the draperies pleated into narrow folds, imitate in a more rigid manner the representations of the Cilician artists. The work of the scribe Parsam, who illustrated Codex no. 567, shows a further step in the stylization of the figures; the main appeal of these miniatures resides in their rich colouring and in the decorative effects of the compositions (Pls. 38-39).

The Khizan school is exceptionally well represented in the present Collection. The

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1 Earlier examples in Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 749, A.D. 1461; Boston, no. 1397, A.D. 1475 (S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., fig. 7); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 540, A.D. 1475; Oxford, Bodleian e. t, A.D. 1497; Chester Beatty, no. 567, fol. 100; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1540; Paris Syr. 344; Macler, *Miniatures armeniennes*, pl. xxvi, fig. 61; Sevadjian, no. 1, Macler, *Documents*, pl. xxvi, fig. 57; Gospel of Khorodik, ibid., pl. 111, fig. 112.


3 Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Boston, no. 1397, A.D. 1475; S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., figs. 7 and 8; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 540, A.D. 1475; Oxford, Bodleian e. t, A.D. 1497; Chester Beatty, no. 567, fol. 11; Brit. Mus. Or. 2707, A.D. 1542; Par. Syr. 344; Macler, *Miniatures armeniennes*, pl. xxvii, fig. 62; Sevadjian, no. 1: Macler, *Documents*, pl. xxv, fig. 56; Gospel of Khorodik; ibid., pl. liv, fig. 113. A. Baumstark, 'Die karolinsch-romanische Maiestas Domini und ihre orientalischen Parallelen', *Oriens Christianus*, xxiii (1927), 242-60.


5 F. Macler, *Miniatures armeniennes*, pl. xvi-xix.

6 The following manuscripts are written at Khizan or are connected with the Khizan school: nos. 555 (new part), 565, 566, 573, 574, 576, 599, 593, 599. For other manuscripts of the Khizan school see G. Hovsepian, 'A Page from the Artistic History of Khizan' (in Armenian), *Hayastanyaitz Yegehetzy*, New York, vi, 1 (1944), 7-27; E. Nykolskaia, 'I I l l u s t r a t s y y r u k o p i s e t m a s t e r a O v a n e s a i z G i z a n a ', *M y s t e t s v o e n o v o -Zbirnykh*, i, Kharkov, 1928-9, pp. 37-52, pls. xlvii-l; H. Kurdian, 'An Important Armenian MS. from A.D. 1330', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1939.
paintings of these manuscripts, especially those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are much more interesting, and some of the miniaturists were men of real ability who created highly original compositions.

The multiple frontispiece of the Gospels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries begins with the symbolic scenes of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Tree of Jesse; the Vision of Ezekiel is hardly ever represented. The eschatological cycle, though greatly developed in some manuscripts, rarely includes the Last Judgement or the ornate cross with the image of Christ and the trumpeting angels; we find instead Christ enthroned on the tetramorphs. The painters of Khizan love to dwell on the joys of the righteous in paradise and the torments of the sinners in hell. These are first shown by means of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, sometimes also by the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Pl. 48a). In the images of Paradise and Hell the apostles are gathered before Christ; the archangels Michael and Gabriel stand in the foreground, or Gabriel sounds the trumpet and the sinners are swallowed by monsters (Pl. 48a). The contrast between the rewards and punishments is shown in other miniatures where the apostles are seated with Christ around a table, or Christ blesses Peter and Paul, while below the sinners are subjected to various torments (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543, foll. 13v, 14). The punishment of the wicked sometimes fills the entire page: serpents coil around the bodies of the damned, who stand in the black abyss, at the sides of the river of fire.

Important differences from the manuscripts illustrated in other parts of Armenia appear also in the Gospel cycle, which includes several miracles, and in the iconography of some of the scenes.

The miracles most commonly represented are the Healing of the Paralytic (Pl. 33a) and the Marriage at Cana. The latter presents us with an interesting example of the intrusion of secular elements into a religious composition. The scene is sometimes developed on two pages, more often it is represented on a single page separated into two parts (Pl. 33b): in the upper half Christ is seated, accompanied by one or two apostles pp. 604-6, pls. xii-xiii; Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 107-16.

1 See Codex no. 566 and other examples listed on p. 55, note 3.
2 A partial representation of the Last Judgement occurs in the Gospel of Etchmiadzin, no. 754, written at Khizan in 1417. The page is divided into two registers; in the upper part an angel points to the scales hanging from the frame, demons push the scales from above and below; a man kneeling on the right is probably the owner of the manuscript. In the lower half serpents coil around nude men painted against a black background: Nykolskaia, op. cit., p. 42.
3 See Codices nos. 555 and 566 and other examples listed on pp. 48 n. 5, 6, 49 n. 1, 2, 53.
4 For other examples of these two scenes see pp. 53, 83, 85.
5 For other examples of these scenes see pp. 47-9, 53, 80, 83, 85.
6 See pp. 47-8, 52, 55, 80, 82, 84, 126 for other examples. In some Gospels we also find other miracles: the Raising of the Widow's Son at Nain (Paris, Arm. 333, A.D. 1335); the Healing of the Demoniac and the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Aleppo, no. 33, A.D. 1338); Christ walking on the Waters (Aleppo, no. 33; Jerusalem, nos. 2663 [A.D. 1414], 2784 [A.D. 1434], and 2769 [A.D. 1577-9]). In Greek and other manuscripts of the Christian East the miracles are included in the narrative cycles, or they appear in Lectionaries whenever miracles are celebrated on a special feast-day. The prominence given to the miracles in the Khizan manuscripts, where they are ranked with the important scenes from the life of Christ, is quite exceptional. As parallel examples we may mention two Georgian Gospels. In the Gospel of the monastery of Djurci, dated A.D. 936-40, full-page miniatures of the Healing of the Blind Man, of the Demoniac and the Paralytic, face the portraits of Mark, Luke, and John (Amiranashvili, Istoriia gruzinskogo iskusstva, Moscow, 1950, pp. 199-201, pl. 92). In another Georgian Gospel of the 11th-12th century, the Healing of the Blind Man and of the Paralytic are included in the cycle of selected scenes from the life of Christ (Amiranashvili, op. cit., p. 265, pl. 94).
and occasionally by the Virgin, and He blesses the cup presented to Him by the master of the feast. In the lower half the bridegroom, crowned and dressed in rich robes, sits aloof on one side holding a handkerchief, a sword, or a fan, while the guests, seated on the ground, partake freely of the refreshments and sometimes listen to a musician. In the true Oriental fashion, followed also at this time in Armenia, the bride is never present, and the exclusion of all the female participants is sometimes extended even to the Virgin.¹

There is no connexion whatsoever between these compositions and the traditional iconography with which the Armenian artists were familiar. Only the raised hand of Christ recalls the miracle; the six stone jars, usually drawn in a narrow band, are treated as a decorative element and we rarely see the servant pouring water into them. The emphasis is entirely on the festivity, and we are reminded of the banqueting or court scenes so frequently represented in Islamic manuscripts.²

The characteristic iconography of several other scenes is discussed in the Catalogue, in connexion with Codex no. 566; the most interesting innovation appears in the Baptism. An angel holding a bottle flies down and pours its contents; or else, kneeling, he looks up to the hand of God which seems to be blessing the bottle. The explanatory inscription reads: ‘the bottle of oil’, and it is clear that the miniaturists wished to represent the anointment as well as the baptism of Christ (Pl. 34d).³

In his catechetical orations Cyril of Jerusalem explains the symbolism of the confirmation by the chrism which, in the ritual of the baptism, replaced the ceremony of the laying of hands. The chrism, given after the baptism, is the symbol of the Holy Ghost which anointed Christ.⁴ In his scholia, translated into Armenian, Cyril of Alexandria devotes an entire chapter to the explanation of the anointment. The Son ‘is anointed in human wise like us with the praise of sinlessness. There having been made illustrious in him man’s nature, having become worthy of the portion of anointing of the holy Spirit... He is anointed in human wise according to the flesh but anoints in divine wise with his own spirit that in him have believed.’⁵

These ideas, expressed also by other Church Fathers, had been translated into pictorial form in the art of western Europe where the dove of the Holy Ghost sometimes pours the contents of a beaker over the head of Christ.⁶ The painters of Khizan

¹ The Marriage at Cana is represented in: Chester Beatty, nos. 565, 566, and 574; Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 754; Nykolskaina, op. cit., pl. l and p. 42; New York, Kevoorian Collection, nos. 10 and 11: Hovsep’yan, op. cit., fig. 1; Jerusalem, nos. 2569 and 2663; Aleppo, nos. 33 and 44; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543. The secular character is much more marked than in the Syriac Lectionaries of the 13th century: J. de Jerphanion, Les Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, pl. x, no. 10; H. Buchthal, 'The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art', Syria, xx (1939), pl. xxii.1. Paris, arab. 5847: see H. Buchthal, l. c. in Syria, xx (1939), pl. xxii. 2; A. U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art, vol. v, pl. 861a, 999b; F. R. Martin, The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia... pl. 47.

² This typical detail appears also in a number of other Gospels. New Julfa, no. 491, a.d. 1390: H. Kuri-
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adopted a different interpretation; the anointment is performed by an angel, perhaps in imitation of the baptism ritual when the priest, after preparing the oil, prays 'for the descent into this holy oil of the grace of the all-powerful holy Spirit' and pours some of it into the font.1

As in other manuscripts of the period, the Magi, the children in the Entry into Jerusalem, and other secondary figures wear the contemporary secular dress; the saints are also occasionally dressed in this manner. Except for his crown the portrait of St. Sargis (Pl. 31a) is identical with that of the donor of a Gospel, a young nobleman armed with a mace, carrying a quiver filled with arrows attached to his belt, and riding proudly on his horse.2 The armour and the dress follow the Mongolian fashions adopted by the Armenians, and these portraits recall the representations of riders in Islamic manuscripts, for instance those who are figured in a Treatise on Military Horsemanship by Mohammed Ibn Issa Ismail Ibn Hanafi, in the Chester Beatty Collection, dated A.H. 767 (A.D. 1365-6).

The imitation of contemporary dress is carried even farther by two outstanding artists of the fifteenth century, Khatchatur and Mkrtitch, who probably illustrated Codex no. 566.3 Instead of the usual classical costume, Christ occasionally wears a tight-fitting tunic which comes below the waist, a belt decorated with round metal disks, wide trousers, and high yellow boots, their soles studded with nails (Pl. 36a).4 Moses and Elijah, Pilate, Abraham, Adam, and sometimes the apostles, are dressed in the same manner; the wide trousers and high boots can be seen under the tunic of the archangel Gabriel, and the Virgin also wears these nail-studded boots (Pl. 34a).

We had occasion to refer to Muslim works in discussing the composition of the Marriage at Cana and in mentioning the secular costume worn by some of the saints, the Magi, or other secondary figures. Connexions with Islamic art also appear in the style of these miniatures. In the manuscripts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the short heavy figures, with round faces (Pis. 27 and 33), recall the paintings of the so-called Baghdad school and, better still, those of a number of manuscripts of the Ilkhanid period.5

The slender proportions of the figures may be partly due to the changes which take place in the art of the Timurid period, but whereas in the Persian miniatures the figures usually stand in graceful attitudes, those painted by Mkrtitch and especially by Khatchatur are often animated by lively movement. For instance, in the Harrowing of Hell Christ, striding forward, turns sharply back to seize Adam by the hand (Pl. 36a); in the Nativity the shepherd seems to be climbing up the rocky hill (Pl. 34a); a servant

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1 F. C. Conybeare, Rituale Armenorum, Oxford, 1905, pp. 95 and 104.
2 New Julfa, no. 481: H. Kurdian, An Important Armenian M.S., pl. xiib.
4 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543: S. Der Nersessian, Armenian Gospel Illustration, pl. vii; same costume in Berlin, Or. Minut. 291. In a Serbian manuscript of the 13th century, and in several Coptic works Christ and other Biblical figures also wear trousers. See A. Grabar, Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique, Paris, 1928, pl. vi, 2, 19, and pp. 105-6.
runs forward to pour the water on Pilate’s hands. Expressive gestures accentuate the
dramatic character: the Virgin bends in sorrow over the dead body of her Son
(Pl. 35a); the servant woman points two long, accusing fingers at Peter; the rich man
burning in hell points in the same way at Lazarus in Abraham’s bosom; Malchus,
with his mouth wide open, violently protests as Peter cuts his ear. Compositional
devices stress the meaning or the intensity of some miniatures. In the Baptism a
diagonal band, with sinuous contours, descends from the Hand of God and frames the
figures of Jesus and John the Baptist (Pl. 34a); in the Harrowing of Hell a similar
white area separates Christ and Adam from the black expanses of hell where the other
dead stretch out their hands begging to be freed (Pl. 36a).

Acquaintance with Persian manuscripts influenced by Chinese art may perhaps
explain the wavy and broken lines of these bands and the figuration of the cave of the
Nativity (Pl. 34a). Other examples of Persian influence can also be discerned in the
work of Khatchatur. But these foreign elements are thoroughly assimilated and re-
translated, as it were, into an original style.

The works of Khatchatur and Mkrtitch, of the illustrators of Codex no. 599 and of the
Gospel of Jerusalem no. 2663, mark a high point in the history of illumination in Khizan.
Numerous manuscripts continued to be written in this general area, but most of them
are either lost or inaccessible at present, and we cannot follow the artistic evolution
step by step. When we can again study the products of the Khizan school, in the late
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we observe a notable change.

Two brothers, Martiros and Sargis, the sons of the scribe and painter Sargis, were
the heads of an active scriptorium where they trained numerous scribes. Some pupils
went later to different Armenian centres, thus spreading the influence of the Khizan
school, and the masters themselves occasionally worked in other cities. For instance,
Martiros was in Jerusalem in 1590–91 and again in 1596; he went to Constantinople that
same year and there illustrated Codex no. 573.

Despite individual differences among the members of this scriptorium, there is a
great unity in the manuscripts of the late Khizan school, and the pupils sometimes
copy exactly the compositions of their masters. The Gospel cycle is modified, the
characteristic compositions of the earlier Khizan school are often omitted, or they are
represented side by side with the scenes common to the Van school. Thus we find the
Vision of Ezekiel instead of the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Last Judgement and Christ in
Glory on the cross take the place of the scenes of Paradise and Hell, or they are added
to these scenes. The traditional iconographic types are frequently used instead of
the more original compositions of the earlier artists of Khizan. Finally, the figure style
is much closer to that of the Van painters; the lively action has given place to static
poses, the folds of the drapery form regular parallel bands, and simple symmetrical
compositions are generally preferred (Pl. 46).

The connexions with the Van school may partly be explained by the fact that the

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1 The late school of Khizan is represented in this collection by Codices nos. 573, 574, 576, 592, 593.
2 New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11; Jerusalem, nos. 2569, 2670.
3 Jerusalem, nos. 1944 and 1968; Gospels of A.D. 1589 and 1611; Gospel, property of Mr. Deyrunian
of New York, A.D. 1668; Last Judgement only in Chester Beatty, no. 573, and Jerusalem, no. 2625,
Gospel of A.D. 1612–16.
4 Jerusalem, no. 2569; New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11.
father of the scribes Martiros and Sargis, who was also a painter, had been trained by
an artist of Aght'amar; moreover, the scribes of Khizan occasionally worked at Van
and in the monasteries on the northern shores of Lake Van, and became acquainted
with the models used there. It is also probably through their contacts with Armenian
centres in other regions that the painters of Khizan came to know, directly or indirectly,
the western European models which had spread throughout the East Christian world.
In some of the compositions painted by the miniaturists of Khizan the action takes
place in a room covered by a barrel vault drawn with a very clumsy attempt at per­
spective; the apostles sometimes kneel in the Ascension and the Pentecost, and in the
Crucifixion Christ’s feet are nailed with one nail.

The painters of the Khizan school also imitated occasionally the works of a much
earlier period. There is a very interesting remark in the colophon of a Gospel illustrated
by Martiros in a.D. 1577–9 (Jerusalem, no. 2569). He writes that he copied the text from
a good and trustworthy model, as for the illustrations, he adds, ‘I took them from
different Gospels, and some I invented. For I collected four and five Gospels, some
were from Sis, some from the eastern provinces’. The illustrations corroborate these
remarks and in several instances we can point to the exact types which have been
copied. The Annunciation, Presentation, and Ascension are derived from the composi­
tions of the Gospel written for Queen Keran in a.D. 1272 (Jerusalem, no. 2563). Among
the marginal vignettes we find seven out of the eight small miniatures painted in a
Gospel of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; the Last Judgement repeats
the unusual composition of a late twelfth century manuscript.¹

Martiros was not the only one to imitate the Cilician models. His collaborator
Khatchatur of Khizan, who was with him in Jerusalem in 1591 and illustrated a Meno­
logium (Jerusalem, no. 1920), copied the representation of the Nativity from the Gospel
of Queen Keran, even attempting to imitate the style and technique of the Cilician
master. We can be sure in this case that the direct model was the Gospel of Queen
Keran, for the manuscript was already in Jerusalem in the sixteenth century.

The activities of the Khizan scriptoria diminish after the first quarter of the seven­
teneth century, though the scribes continue to work in the neighbouring province of
Mok’s. The wars between the Turks and the Persians, the mass deportations carried
out by Shah Abbas in 1604–5, caused havoc among the population. Those who could
flee sought work elsewhere, many were carried by force to Persia, and others may have
gone there attracted by the opportunities provided by wealthy patrons.

The most important settlement of the Armenians was in the suburbs of Ispahan, the
new capital of Persia. Almost the entire population of the wealthy commercial city of
Julfa, numbering about 2,000 families, was established south of the river Zinda-rud, at
a village which in memory of their former home the settlers called New Julfa. Shah
Abbas granted them special privileges, and through their industry and enterprise the

¹ Sargis, the father of Martiros and Sargis, gives
the information in the colophon of a Ritual written in
a.D. 1526: Srvandzian, Toros Aghbar, ii. 254; for the
correct date see H. Oskian, The Monasteries of Van,
vol. iii, p. 851. In 1553 Sargis painted the ornaments
of a Gospel which was illustrated by Kirakos in 1623
(Jerus. no. 1594); his work is best seen in the Gospel
he illustrated in 1571 (Jerus. no. 868).
² Venice, no. 888; S. Der Nersessian, Manuscript
armeniens, pp. 96–99, pls. xxxviii–xxxix, figs. 78–83
and 85; the corresponding miniatures of Jerusalem,
no. 2569 are on fol. 201, 207, 207r, 208, 209, 218, 267.
The Last Judgement on fol. 122 repeats the composi­
Armenians of the New Julfa laid the foundations of Ispahan’s great trade and wealth. In addition to the accounts of the contemporary Armenian historian Arak’el of Tabriz, to the long colophons of the manuscripts, a vast amount of information may be gleaned from the writings of the European travellers who visited Persia during the seventeenth century, in particular Herbert, Olearius, Tavernier, Chardin, Pietro della Valle, as well as from the records of the Catholic missions such as those of the Carmelites.

The mixed population of New Julfa included scribes who had been trained in different parts of Armenia. During the early period of the settlement the leading painter was Mesrop, the pupil of Martiros of Khizan and Sargsis of Mok’s, who brought to New Julfa the traditions of the late school of Khizan, as we can see from his Gospel of A.D. 1615 (Codex no. 576) and several other manuscripts which have survived. In the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century there developed at New Julfa an eclectic style in which the local traditions of different scriptoria merge together and are often superseded by the deliberate imitation of older works. The colophons added by later owners show that the wealthy merchants of New Julfa had brought with them or had acquired a number of fine manuscripts written in Cilicia or Great Armenia during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The ornamental designs of the sumptuous Gospels or Bibles illustrated by the new generation of painters often copy those of the Cilician manuscripts with the utmost fidelity, and only a certain rigidity of the line and the occasional inclusion of other motifs betray a later hand. These scribes are less successful in their imitation of the figure style of the Cilician painters, and their attempts to give convincing form sometimes result in figures with bulging hips and swollen knees. A comparison of the miniatures of Codex no. 578, written at Ispahan in 1655, with the paintings of Mesrop or Martiros of Khizan will show, however, the changes which have taken place (Pls. 46–47, 52–54).

The more carefully modelled forms which the scribes of New Julfa had learnt to paint through the imitation of Cilician manuscripts also made them more receptive to European influence. Entire sets of compositions are reproduced with a skill which contrasts with the crude attempts made by Mesrop of Khizan and some of his contemporaries. These miniatures appear primarily in the Bibles; the scenes of the Creation, the episodes of the life of David and of Jonah, the illustrations of the Apocalypse, are based on the engravings of European Bibles. This is not an isolated phenomenon. We shall see that in other Armenian scriptoria as well the compositions of European Bibles were copied, and the spread of these models throughout the Near

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1 The following are some of the illustrated manuscripts which we know to have been at New Julfa in the 17th century: New Julfa, no. 27, Gospel illustrated in 1195 by Kostandin, probably at Skevra in Cilicia; Brit. Mus. Add. 18,549, Gospel illustrated in 1280 at Sis; Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 151 and New Julfa, no. 36, Gospels illustrated in Great Armenia in 1214 and 1296 by Ignatios; Brit. Mus. Add. 15,411, Gospel illustrated in 1341 at Gladzor by Toros of Taron.

2 See, for instance, Etchmiadzin, no. 189/167, Bible of A.D. 1649: Svirine, La Miniature, p. 123.

3 Numerous Bibles were illustrated at Ispahan-New Julfa during the second and third quarters of the 17th century; some of the most important are: New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 1, A.D. 1638; Jerusalem, no. 1933, A.D. 1645, no. 1934, A.D. 1641–6; Venice, no. 623/3, A.D. 1648; Etchmiadzin, no. 189/167, A.D. 1649; Etchmiadzin, Bibles of A.D. 1657, 1658, 1655–61, 1660, and 1663. In most of these some of the Old Testament illustrations and the miniatures of the Apocalypse are derived from European engravings. Other manuscripts which, on stylistic grounds, can be assigned to this region, are not included in the above list, since the place of origin is not mentioned in the colophon.
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East is attested by the paintings of the Apocalypse in the monasteries of Mount Athos as well as by the miniatures in Greek and Russian manuscripts of this late period.¹

We cannot enter here into the discussion of these Biblical illustrations, nor try to determine the prototypes from which they proceed. The information available at present seems to indicate that there was an Armenian intermediary between the manuscripts of New Julfa and the European Bibles, and this intermediary may have been the Bible illustrated in Poland by the scribe Ghazar Baberdtsi.² We need only point here to the great popularity enjoyed by these copies of European models which, from the Bibles, passed to other types of manuscripts, as can be seen from the four scenes of the life of David represented in the Psalter no. 591 (Pl. 55). This manuscript is also an excellent example of the eclectic character of the art of New Julfa, since we find, next to these European compositions, other miniatures which imitate the representations of the Cilician painters.

The manuscripts of New Julfa are among the finest examples of this period, but those which were written in other Armenian centres show that there was a general revival in the seventeenth century. We shall only consider those scriptoria which are represented in the Chester Beatty Collection.

We have little information about the early work done at Amida, though we know that in the fifteenth century the scribes had enjoyed the protection of Mkrtitch Naghash, the poet and painter, who was the bishop of Amida.³ We are better acquainted with the artistic activities of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the prelacy of two learned men, Serapion of Edessa and his spiritual son Barsegh. The scribe Hohannes, who illustrated for Serapion of Edessa the Abridged Bible no. 551 (Pls. 49–50), was the leader of this school. This manuscript, as well as several others which have been preserved, show that, like the artists of New Julfa, Hohannes was also attracted by the earlier works of Cilicia and was very successful in his imitations of the decorative compositions as well as of the figure representations.⁴ The influence of Muslim manuscripts appears occasionally in some of the ornaments (Pl. 49), but in general Hohannes and his school retain the compositions of the Cilician painters. European models also seem to have been known at Amida, though the compositions of a Bible illustrated in 1622–31 by the scribes Minas and Mik’ayel, the pupils of Hohannes (Jerusalem, no. 2559), differ both from the engravings of the European Bibles and from the miniatures of the Bibles illustrated at Constantinople.⁵ But we can at least be sure

² Etchmiadzin, no. 179/173, a.d. 1619. The only information available at present is that the miniatures are in the style of the Italian Renaissance and include the illustrations of the Apocalypse (Uvarov, Skornik, i. 210). That this Bible may have served as a model to the artists of New Julfa is suggested by the fact that many of the Bibles reproduce the colophon of the scribe Ghazar Baberdtsi.
³ The work of Mkrtitch Naghash may be seen in the Bible of Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 280/10, which he illustrated in 1418–22: Pazmaveb, Venice, 1935, nos. 9–12, fig. 33, and Keghount, 1947, p. 22.
⁴ For a fuller discussion of the work of Hohannes see pp. 5–7.
⁵ For brief descriptions and transcriptions of the colophons of manuscripts which were still at, or near, Amida in the late nineteenth century, see Srvandztian, T’oros Agkbar, ii. 380–488. In a Gospel written in 1624 the scribe states that he had previously illustrated for bishop Barsegh a Bible with ‘gilt paintings of the Old and New Testaments, the Visions of the prophets, the scenes of the life of Christ’ (ibid. 430–2). This Bible was sent to Jerusalem, and it is probably the one listed as no. 2559. Another Bible, illustrated by Minas, was offered to Etchmiadzin in a.d. 1603 (Karenian Cat., no. 166).
that a European artist resided for a while at Amida, since he illustrated in 1668 the first quire of the Gospel no. 581.

The Armenian community of Constantinople greatly increased after the establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in 1461. Armenian scribes had been at work there even during the Byzantine period, as may be seen from a Gospel written in A.D. 909, but it is only after the fifteenth century that regular scriptoria were founded. Many of the scribes were natives of other cities and some sojourned in the capital for only a short time. We have already seen that Martiros of Khizan had worked there in 1596; before him, the bishop Zak’aria of Gnunik’, well known as a poet and a painter, had spent some time in Constantinople. In 1544 Zak’aria copied and illustrated for the patriarch Astvadsatur the Romance of Alexander which is now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

The works of the seventeenth century have the same eclectic character as those of New Julfa. The early Cilician manuscripts were also greatly prized at Constantinople and imitated by the scribes. Mik’ayel of Tokat, who illustrated Codex no. 577, even specifies in one instance that he was copying a model written at Sis in 1295. The ornamental compositions of the manuscripts written in Constantinople are often very rich and the headpieces take up more than half the height of the page (Pl. 56). Decorative motifs of a later date mingle with the elements borrowed from Cilician examples, and small medallions with the image of the Virgin and Child or other figures are sometimes introduced into the headpieces, as they had been by the painters of Great Armenia beginning with the fourteenth century.

The old Armenian custom of grouping the important scenes at the beginning of the Gospel manuscripts still prevails, though the cycle is often enlarged by the addition of secondary episodes. Western iconographic types are sometimes used as in other Armenian centres: for instance in the Resurrection Christ rises from the tomb holding a banded cross, though we also find the Byzantine composition of the Harrowing of Hell. It was perhaps through the influence of Greek works which they could see in Constantinople that the scribes of Constantinople adopted the Byzantine type of Last Judgement—also known to the Cilician artists of the thirteenth century—rather than the Armenian composition favoured by the painters of the Van school and by their followers.

Numerous vignettes are painted in the margins of the Gospels, as well as in the Bibles, Lectionaries, Menologiums, and Hymnals. These small compositions do not vary much from one manuscript to another, and they are a common feature of the work done in the seventeenth century in different centres.

The illustrated European Bible, directly or indirectly imitated by the painters of New Julfa, was also known in Constantinople. The model may have again been transmitted by the Armenians of Poland, for in a Psalter written at Constantinople in A.D. 1629 and illustrated by the deacon Hakob, a native of Lwów, the composition of Adam and Eve

1 M. Ormanian, Azgapatum, ii, col. 2133-8.
2 Gospel formerly at Medshen; written for the general Ashot by the scribe Tut'ayel: Garegin I Hovsep'ian, Colophons of Manuscripts, col. 105-8.
3 Arm. MS. no. 3. A few of the miniatures are reproduced in G. Hovsep'ian, Khaghbakians, i, fig. 104-7.
4 See p. 92.
5 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539: S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxviii.
at the sides of the tree with the serpent, and the Destruction of the Walls of Jericho are identical with those miniatures in the Bibles of New Julfa. But other Western cycles had also reached Constantinople. In the Bible of Jerusalem no. 1927, written in 1649 by the scribe Astvadsatur, the Genesis scenes grouped at the beginning, the Judgement of Solomon, the single miniature illustrating the Apocalypse—Christ enthroned, surrounded by the twenty-four elders and seven deacons—belong to a different tradition. Other types again appear in a handsome Bible completed in 1647. In this manuscript the New Testament scenes imitate not only the iconographic types but also the style and composition of Western models: the Baptism and the Marriage at Cana are figured in a landscape setting which extends far into the background, the table of the Last Supper is placed diagonally in the picture space as in the paintings of Tintoretto.

A few words should also be said about the manuscripts written at Tokat, represented by Codices nos. 586, 603, 604 (Pls. 57, 62). The scribe Mkrtitch and his son Astvadsatur show greater skill in the ornamental compositions, in the fine designs of floral scrolls and the delicate linear interlaces, than they do in the figure representations. The full-page miniatures and the numerous marginal figures repeat the current types of the seventeenth century: the Western models do not seem to have enjoyed great popularity in this provincial town of Asia Minor. Their pupil Mik’ayel, son of the scribe Bargham, who worked at Tokat and Sebastia, was a more gifted painter. He sometimes repeats the ornamental compositions of his masters, but he also imitated the Cilician models of the thirteenth century. The most interesting example in this respect is the Gospel of the Freer Gallery, no. 36.15, written and illustrated at Sebastia in 1668–70. Mik’ayel specifies in the colophon that he copied the Gospel illustrated by T’oros Roslin in 1256; the skill with which he reproduced the Canon tables of his model can easily be seen, since this model is preserved, and is now at the Walters Art Gallery, no. 539.

During this late period when the most active centres were in the colonies settled outside Armenia, when the scribes were no longer connected with monastic schools which had their own artistic traditions, the regional differences are no longer as sharply marked as in the preceding centuries. Despite the real skill displayed by some of the scribes and the fine quality of many a manuscript, we can see that the creative power has greatly diminished. Time and again the miniaturists turn to the earlier models, and when they wish to renew their repertory they imitate the engravings of European books. These foreign elements are no longer assimilated, as they had been in the creative periods of Armenian art, they are reproduced as faithfully as possible; this results in stylistic discrepancies between the different compositions within the manuscript and destroys the unity of the entire work.

In this general survey of Armenian illumination I have attempted to show the characteristic traits of the different schools and their connexions with one another. As one considers this long history one realizes that the high points of achievement coincide

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1 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1238/43.
2 Ibid., no. 1865: Keghouni, Venice, 1947, plate facing p. 18. See also the Judgement of Solomon reproduced in Pazmaveb, 1935, nos. 9–12, fig. 39.
3 The following manuscripts, signed by Mik’ayel, were written at Tokat: Gospel, a.d. 1684, Jerusalem, no. 3144; Ritual, a.d. 1696, Jerusalem, no. 2385. A Menologium written at Etchmiadzin in 1698 by the scribe Grigor was illustrated by Mik’ayel at Tokat in 1700: Jerusalem, no. 1918.
with the periods of national independence. The finest works were produced in Armenia during the Bagratid rule from the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century; in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, especially in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and in Great Armenia again during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the northern and central provinces were governed by national leaders. Interesting and even original works also appear later, for instance at Khizan in the fifteenth century; handsome manuscripts were illuminated for some of the prosperous communities of the seventeenth century, but these are not truly creative periods comparable to the preceding.

Armenian illumination is basically a Christian and Mediterranean art developed in contact with the non-Christian civilizations of the Near East. It has its roots in the late Classical tradition, from which it inherited many decorative motifs and an interest in the natural appearance of human figures and of animal and plant forms. In common with the Mediterranean peoples, the Armenians seek the clarity of harmonious compositions; even the richest decorations are not overcrowded or confused; the component parts are easily discernible, and they are arranged according to a simple scheme.

From the art which developed in Syria, Palestine, Alexandria, and Constantinople the Armenian, like the other Christian nations, borrowed the illustrations of the Old and New Testaments, preferring sometimes the types used in one region, sometimes those of another, and often modifying them according to their own temperament. The Armenian compositions have a less hieratic and transcendental character than the Byzantine representations; the restraint gives place to a dramatic or, at times, to a more familiar or human interpretation. New types are also created and new themes added to the customary repertory.

But Armenian art developed, as stated above, in contact with the non-Christian civilizations of the Near East. From the first to the fifth century Armenia was ruled by a minor branch of the Parthian dynasty; during the Sasanian period the major part of the country was under Persian control, and in the course of the following centuries Armenia was occupied by the Arabs, the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Persians, and the Turks. These various occupations left their mark on the arts. Iranian elements which had already penetrated into the Classical and early Christian art are more numerous in Armenia; Islamic motifs were also borrowed, and the tendencies of the Armenians towards stylized forms were strengthened through these contacts with the arts of the Near East. But throughout the centuries the basically Mediterranean spirit was never submerged and the Christian content prevented Armenian art from being assimilated with that of its neighbours or conquerors. The subtle blending of different, and sometimes conflicting, trends resulted in creations which also differ from the Byzantine paintings, and those of the other Christian nations of the East, and give to Armenian art its own individual character.
CATALOGUE
SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. The author explains the contents and purpose of his book in a short preface on page 3: ‘Recalling the length and difficulty of the Biblical work, and the laziness of pupils or readers concerning those matters which are as the foundation of the divine writings, also the ignorance of some because of the scarcity of books, I wished to clarify, according to my ability, and briefly to explain the varied discourses, gathering in a small book the genealogy of the holy fathers and their works, in order to show from what Levite and royal family Christ was born. And so that the followers of the divine words should not be wearied by the length of the writings, but might easily learn and profit by them, with great labour and attention I set myself the task of composing this explanatory abridgement. I began with Adam and the forefathers, continued with the judges, kings, prophets, priests and their contemporaries, and carried it through to Christ.’

On page 5, which is the beginning of the book, the author gives a further explanation: ‘According to the great philosopher Aristotle, it is proper to proceed from the general to the particular, for through the general we understand more easily the particular. And as I wished to speak about the families, the relations and the histories of the Old and New Testaments, it seemed more fitting to me to divide, first of all, the writings of the Old and New Testaments.’

These divisions are indicated by a diagram on page 6. The title of each main group is written inside a large circle; those of the subdivisions are written inside smaller circles, connected with the larger one by means of straight lines.

The Old Testament comprises four groups:
1st. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.
2nd. Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve prophets. Two circles after Judges have no titles; they were probably intended for Ruth and the Book of Kings.
3rd. Esdras, Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Psalms, Job.

The New Testament is in one group with the following subdivisions: the Four Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation. The Abridged Bible proper begins on page 7; the New Testament section begins on page 29.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 37 folios, each one measuring 30.5 x 17.5 cm., are attached to one another along the long sides and fold in and out, forming a continuous band with a continuous text. Written surface 26 cm. wide; 28 to 32 lines on each page, sometimes in a single column, at other times in 2, 3, or 4 columns. Narrow bands of interlacing palmettes at the sides of the text.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small regular bologir; the first line of the text and the initials of the chapters are in zoomorphic or floral letters.
CATALOGUE

BINDING. Red-brown leather over boards stamped in the centre with an ornate medallion of Persian design and a thin cord border. The first and last leaves are attached to these boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1601 at Amida by the scribe Hohannes, assisted by Aslan, for Serapion of Edessa.

COLOPHONS. Page 15, in gold letters on a blue rectangular band: ‘The steward of our Lord Jesus Christ, Serapion vardapet.’

Pages 36-37. ‘Glory to the . . . Godhead in three persons . . . The happy and thrice blessed Serapion of Edessa, a learned doctor . . ., commissioned this to be written and decorated with gold for his own enjoyment . . . and as a memorial for himself and his parents, his father Khodja Daniel . . . his mother the pilgrim (mahtesi) Atlas . . . This manuscript with gold images, called an Abridged Bible, was written and illuminated in the year of the Armenians 1050 ( = A.D. 1601), in the metropolis of Amida, at the door of St. Sargis the general, whose protection we enjoy, during the prelacy in our province of Tigranocerta of the owner of this, Serapion vardapet. (It was written) by me, the sinful . . . scribe Hohannes, and I was assisted by the adolescent Aslan for the copy and illumination both of this manuscript and of others. For he was gifted in all things and he did the greatest part of the writing. And while we were proceeding with the illustration came the terrible order from on high and, at the end of four days, my graceful Aslan, diligent and studious, passed away to Christ in an untimely death when he was but twenty years old. And then fell upon me bitter and poignant grief, lamentable anguish and heartaching sorrow; torn and mutilated I fell into profound sadness and unending misery. For great as was my delight over his studiousness and his accomplishments, a thousandfold greater were my distress and my bereavement when he departed from us. For he had learnt not only the art of painting and of writing in our language but also in that of three alien nations, Persians, Arabs and Turks, which I did not know at all. Having seen his bright intelligence I had made him study and he, loving studies and being obedient, never made me repeat what was said to him, but accomplished it in a few days; he thus became a skilled and fast scribe, and a reader of our works and those of others, and the strangers who saw him greatly marvelled. This flowering shoot, this fruit-bearing bough was stricken and withered by the parching breath of death and I was left, in this world, lamenting and cast down into abysmal sorrow, for that which I hoped to behold I did not behold. Because of this, I, the miserable scribe Hohannes, my face covered with ashes, my eyes filled with tears, I throw myself at your feet and beseech you, O holy order of priests and scholars who love to read and who are agreeable to God, remember in your pure prayers rising to heaven, Aslan, the tender and graceful scribe who before his time departed to Christ and say “God have mercy”. And for me, the unworthy, ask the forgiveness of my sins, and for all who benefit from this, for our parents and teachers say “God have mercy”, Amen.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS


Page 7. Adam and Eve stand at the sides of the tree of life, each one holding an
apple. The serpent is coiled at the foot of the tree, and between the upper two branches appears the bust of God the Father surrounded by clouds. Inscription: Adam, Eve.

A number of bust portraits, usually in medallions, with a gold background, are painted next to the passages in which these figures are mentioned. They are: p. 9, Nimrod; p. 10, Isaac; p. 11, Jacob; p. 13, Othniel; p. 14, Joshua; p. 15, David; p. 24, Eliakim; p. 27, Eleazar; p. 29, Christ Emmanuel; p. 30, Christ of sorrows; p. 31, in the left margin, Virgin orans with the Christ Child before her breast, Peter, James, John (Pl. 50); p. 32, in the left margin, James the minor, Simon, Andrew, Philip; in the middle of the page, Thaddeus, Bartholomew; p. 33, in the left margin, Matthew, Mathias, Paul; in the text, Thomas; p. 34, in the left margin, Barnabas who is Joseph, Barnabas son of Alpheus.

The genealogical tables of the personages of the Old Testament are given, wherever necessary, by means of small circles similar to those which indicated the subdivisions of the Old and New Testament. Other geometric designs should be included among the illustrations:

Pages 8 and 9. Four cross-sections of Noah's ark, with indications of the parts in which Noah and his family, the different groups of animals, the food, water, &c., were located.

Page 16. Diagram of the disposition of the Israelites around the tabernacle: in the centre, the tabernacle; on the left, 'the priests'; above, 'the Kohathites'; on the right, 'the Gershonites'; below, 'the Merarites' (see Num. iii. 23-38). The names of the twelve tribes of Israel are written in an outer circle, each name being connected by means of a line with one of the four groups around the tabernacle. The cardinal points are indicated as follows: on the left, East; above, South; on the right, West; below, North.

Page 25. Plan of the city of Jerusalem built by Nehemiah: four concentric circles with the indication of the six principal gates.

REMARKS. Serapion of Edessa, the author of this Abridged Bible who is at the same time the owner of this manuscript, is a well-known figure in Armenian Church history. His reputation as a scholar and as a teacher attracted many young men to Amida (Diyarbeir), and several learned clerics of the time were trained by him. In 1603 Serapion was elected co-catholicos, but political intrigues soon deprived him of his seat, and in 1605 he once again returned to Amida, where he died the following year.¹

The scribe Hohannes, who speaks in such moving terms of his young assistant Aslan, has not given any information about himself, but the study of his miniatures and a comparison with other manuscripts make it possible to recognize him as Hohannes, son of Tjanipek and E'tar, the head of an active scriptorium at Amida in the early 17th century.

The portraits in medallions imitate in type and figure style similar representations of the ancestors of Christ painted by the Cilician artists of the 13th century.² This

² Portraits in medallions in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539, illustrated by T'oros Roslin in A.D. 1262; and in Washington, Freer Gallery, no. 32.18, 13th century.
imitation of Cilician models and the same stylistic traits appear in two Gospels illustrated by the scribe Hohannes, son of 'Tjanipek,' and in some of the miniatures of a copy of the Lives of the Fathers (Brit. Mus. Add. 27301), which Hohannes illustrated in 1615. Hohannes also signed a few other manuscripts, the present location of which is not known: a Gospel written in A.D. 1578 and illustrated in A.D. 1605; and two other Gospels dated A.D. 1609 and 1621. He was assisted by his pupils Minas, Mel'kon', and Mik'ayel, who continued to work independently after their master's death.

The illustrations of the Abridged Bible are of a high artistic quality. The band with two cartouches at the ends, decorated with delicate scrolls and interlaces, imitates the ornaments of Islamic manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries (Pl. 49). Hohannes writes in the colophon that his assistant Aslan had learnt 'the art of painting and writing ... of three alien nations, the Persians, Arabs and Turks', and the headpiece may be the work of Aslan. Muslim influence may also be seen in the trees of the Garden of Eden painted against a yellow background (Pl. 49), and in the clouds drawn around the Trinity imitating Chinese clouds, though the winged heads of the angels are the types used in the art of western Europe beginning with the Renaissance.

The image of Paradise, with the four rivers swinging upward from the rocky foreground, is derived from a composition which, in the manuscripts of the Lives of the Fathers, illustrates the legend of six monks who set out to discover the Garden of Eden. The earliest known example occurs in Jerusalem no. 285, written at Cafa in Crimea in A.D. 1428-30, and the identical scene is repeated in later copies including the one illustrated by Hohannes in 1615. In the group of the Trinity the dove is figured above Christ's head instead of being held by Him. This variant of the old Byzantine type appears at a fairly early date in the art of western Europe, and it passed later into the East Christian world. The Ancient of Days seated on the throne from which project the symbols of the Evangelists is an iconographic type commonly used in Armenia from the 14th century on.

The schematic representation of the Israelites around the tabernacle (on p. 16) differs from the Byzantine compositions in the Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, where

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1 Paris, Collection J. Pozzi, Gospel of A.D. 1616. There must have been originally a quire with full-page miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript, for Hohannes writes in the colophon that he represented the scenes of the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Resurrection. The second Gospel, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 541, was written for a lady called Napat' and deposited at the church of St. Sargis at Amida; the part of the colophon with the date is missing. A Gospel written in 1611 for a lady Napat' and deposited at St. Sargis was still preserved at Amida in the late 19th century. The partial copy of the colophon published by Srvandzian (Toros Agibar, Constantinople, 1884, ii. 424) does not include the name of the scribe but, given the identities of owner and place, it seems probable that this is the same manuscript as the one now in Baltimore, and that it still had, at the time, the last folio of the colophon, with the date, which has since been lost.

2 Srvandzian, Toros Agibar, ii. 425 and 435 (Gospels of A.D. 1621 and 1605); E. Lalayan, Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of Vaspurakan (in Armenian), Tiflis, 1915, cols. 831-8 (Gospel of A.D. 1609).


4 These clouds appear in numerous Persian manuscripts; an excellent example may be seen in the scene of the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad represented in a Nizami in a manuscript in the British Museum: A. U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art, pl. 897.


7 S. Der Nersessian, Manuscris armeniens, pp. 131-2. An earlier example occurs in a Gospel illustrated in 1236 by the painter Ignatios: New Julfa, no. 36.
the tribes are represented by groups of armed men. It also differs from the drawings in a number of Armenian seventeenth-century copies of the Book of Questions by Gregory of Tat’ev, where the tents of the twelve tribes are placed around a larger tent which houses the tabernacle with the two cherubim.

This Abridged Bible appears to have been greatly appreciated. Another copy was written and illustrated in 1621 at the Monastery of the Virgin at Tchenk’ush, west of Amida, and although it is not stated that the manuscript of Serapion of Edessa was used as a model, this seems likely, for Serapion’s name is recalled in the colophon.

An Abridged Bible was again written and illustrated at Amida in 1693.

Both by its contents and arrangement our manuscript is a very rare example; its importance is further enhanced by the high quality of the miniatures and their excellent state of preservation.

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT.

Foll. 1–33, Genesis; foll. 33–64v, Exodus; foll. 64v.–87, Leviticus; foll. 87–116, Numbers; foll. 116–42, Deuteronomy; foll. 142v.–162, Joshua; foll. 162v.–181v, Judges; foll. 181v.–184, Ruth; foll. 184–271v, I–IV Kings; foll. 271v.–313v, I–II Chronicles; foll. 313v.–331v, I and II Ezra; foll. 331v.–340v, Nehemiah; foll. 341–8v, Esther; foll. 348v.–359, Judith; foll. 359–65v, Tobit; foll. 365v.–420v, Maccabees i–iii; foll. 421–2v, Epiphanius of Cyprus on the Psalms; foll. 422v.–462v, Psalms; foll. 462v.–480, Proverbs; foll. 480–487, Ecclesiastes; foll. 487–90v, Song of Songs; foll. 490v.–501v, Wisdom of Solomon; foll. 501v.–519v, Preface (the second part by Julian of Halicarnassus) and text of Job; foll. 519v.–554, Isaiah; foll. 554–582, Twelve minor Prophets; foll. 582–620, Jeremiah; foll. 620–3, Epistle of Baruch; foll. 623–6, Lamentation of Jeremiah; foll. 626–40v, Daniel; foll. 640v.–665, Ezekiel.

Each book of the Old Testament is preceded by a preface.

Paul and Paul's Third Epistle to the Corinthians); foll. 845-55v., Revelation, with headings and preface; foll. 855v.—856v., Colophons.

At the beginning, vellum fly-leaf from a Gospel in large erkal'agir and one from a Lectionary in bolorgir, both folded into two; at the end, two vellum fly-leaves from a Gospel in erkal'agir also folded into two.

**MEASUREMENTS.** 26.5 x 19 cm.; written surface, 20 x 15 cm.; 2 columns of 40 lines each. 857 + 10 folios, for after folio 658 the numbers go back again to 649.

**PAPER AND WRITING.** Smooth, thin paper in buff colour. Bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the initials of the books of the Old Testament and the pericope initials in the New Testament are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

**BINDING.** Brown leather over boards with flap. Stamped border and cross on front cover, rectangular ornament on end cover; flap stamped with interlacing circles and cord border. Holes for pegs and thongs.

**DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER.** Written and decorated in 1634 Zeitun by Vahan, assisted by his son Avetik' and his pupil Hohan, for Grigoris vardapet.

**COLOPHONS.** At the end of most of the books rhymed notices recall the most prominent events of the preceding book and ask for prayers for the scribe or for the owner. Brief colophons, some giving the name of the scribe, also occur on foll. 2v., 208v., 422v., 665, 668, 668v., 704; in the colophon of fol. 665 the scribe Vahan mentions that his son Ter Avetik' and his pupil Hohan assisted him for the illustrations and the binding.

Foll. 855v.—856v., principal colophon. 'This Bible is ended. Whoever reads it with his heart will become wise, whoever remembers the scribe and the illuminator and the binder may he receive from the Lord the reward he asks for. Glory to Thee, infinite and incomparable person, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.... One of the honourable and pious vardapets of the monastery, Ter Grigoris, who having searched as a wise merchant looking for precious stones and pearls, or as a doctor looking for medicines and herbs... thought of owning this Bible... and he had it written at a very great cost and adorned with gold and many colours, for the enjoyment of himself and the children of new Sion. And he gave it to be written to my humble person, the very sinful Vahan, whose name is not worthy to be remembered. And I, to the extent of my ability, I fulfilled his wish, and wrote this with fear and trembling. And it was started and completed with the assistance of God, in the city of Zeitun under the protection of Saint Sargis the general, and the Holy Archangels, and Saint Jacob of Nisibis, and the Holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Gregory the Illuminator and Parsam and Theodorus who are here for our assistance, in the year of the Armenians 1083 (= A.D. 1634), during the prelacy of Ter Simeon of Cilicia, and while the archbishop Ter Mkrtitch was the superior of our monastery.... You who encounter this remember in your hearts the owner of this, Ter Grigor vardapet, and his parents, and together with them the sinful scribe and my parents, my father Avetik' and my mother Zmrut' and my uncles... and my brothers... and my sons Ter Avetik' and my other son Prochoros and the intelligent adolescent Nerses who this year departed to Christ....'
BIBLE

Colophons by later owners: fol. 116, in notgrir. "This Bible belongs to Poghos vardapet of Aintab, he bought it in the year of the Armenians 1122 (= a.d. 1673). God grant him enjoyment of it. Our Father." The same information is repeated on fol. 67, 142, and on the last fly-leaf of the manuscript; there is a second brief notice on the preceding fly-leaf recalling that on 2 March 1132 (= a.d. 1683), the abegha Simeon, a pupil of Poghos vardapet, received the holy orders at Aintab.

Fol. 856v., at the end of the principal colophon: "This Bible is a memorial of the Church of the Holy Forty (Martyrs) in the city of Aleppo and of the entire Armenian population. In the year 1157 (= a.d. 1708)."

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. With a few exceptions, the headpieces of the books of the Old Testament and of the Gospels are narrow bands decorated with floral motifs on a gold background; there is always a marginal ornament.

Fol. 3. Π-shaped headpiece decorated with a floral scroll; over it two birds at the sides of a chalice. Moses stands on the top of a small marginal ornament; above his head are a few leaves terminated by a cross.

Fol. 669. Headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew. A multifoil arch opens into a rectangle decorated with the bust of the youthful Christ in a medallion and with two sirens. Birds stand above the rectangle at the sides of a vase; a large floral ornament fills the outer margin.

There is only one miniature in the manuscript on fol. 148, next to Joshua vi. 22; a nimbed man, painted in bust at the top of the marginal ornament, points to a rectilinear maze taking up more than a third of the first column of the text. Underneath the diagram there is a rhymed account of the fall of Jericho, "This is the city of Jericho, which has very strong walls, &c."

The Canon tables have no decorated frame.

REMARKS. This Bible is a late work of the scribe Vahan who was already active in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Two Gospels copied and illustrated by him in 1580 and 1596 are at the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo (nos. 16 and 10) where our Bible was also kept in 1708; two Hymnals dated 1592 and 1618 are now in Jerusalem (nos. 2359 and 1649), and a slightly later work, a Gospel dated 1625, is mentioned by Alishan. The few figure representations in these manuscripts are rather mediocre works and Vahan shows greater skill in his ornamental compositions. His pupil Hohan, whose name is recorded in our Bible as one of the assistants, also worked independently and several of his manuscripts have survived.

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BIBLE (incomplete)

17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-17v., Genesis; foll. 18-32, Exodus; foll. 32-44, Leviticus; foll. 44v.-58v., Numbers; foll. 58v.-71v., Deuteronomy; foll. 71v.-81v., Joshua; foll. 81v.-91, Judges; foll. 91-2v., Ruth; foll. 92v.-140, I-IV Kings; foll. 140-63, I-II Chronicles; foll. 163v.-165, Ezra.

1 A. Surmeyan, Catalogue, pp. 28-30, 46-47. 2 L. Alishan, Sissouan, p. 185-186. 3 Ibid., p. 186.
All the books, except Genesis and Exodus, have a preface and table of contents at the beginning. Fol. 33v. is left blank.

**Lacunae.** The remainder of the Bible after Ezra iv. 35.

**MEASUREMENTS, ETC.** 26.9 x 20.2 cm.; written surface, 18.8 x 13 cm.; 2 columns of 51 lines each. 165 folios.

**PAPER AND WRITING.** White, fine vellum. Small bolorgir in black ink. The first line of the principal divisions and the initials of the other books are in zoomorphic and floral letters.

**BINDING.** Brown leather over boards, frayed at the corners, stamped with border of floral scrolls.

**DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner.** 17th century. Written by Astvadsatur.

**COLOPHONS.** Fol. 72. ‘O writing which remains. O hand which becomes dust. O brother who reads. O do not forget the scribe. I beseech, I beseech and supplicate you who encounter this. I am steeped in sin and my face is darkened. Please (say) God have mercy on the scribe.’

Similar colophon on fol. 82, slightly longer.

Fol. 94. ‘And I the humble and unworthy . . . scribe misnamed Astvadsatur the cleric, laying my face on the ground I beseech you who encounter this book, remember me with a “God have mercy” or with “Father have mercy”. And whoever remembers and with full mouth utters “God have mercy”, may our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on him at His second coming. Amen.’

**ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.** Fol. 94v., Eli and Hannah. Eli, in the costume of the high priest but wearing a mitre, is seated on the left ‘by a post of the temple of the Lord’ (I Sam. i. 9), while Hannah kneels on the right, facing him. The temple is a circular construction with a high dome flanked by two turrets and, inside, a smaller construction with four columns supporting a pointed roof. Next to Eli, in line-drawing left unfinished, a young attendant seems to be introducing Hannah to the high priest. In a rectangular enclosure in the foreground, on the right, in front of a mountainous scenery, a cart drawn by oxen carries the Ark of the Covenant with the two gold cherubim; next to the cart, in line-drawing, left unfinished, there is a young man, half kneeling.

Several small vignettes are drawn in the margins: fol. 2, Cain killing Abel; in outline, unfinished (Gen. iv. 8); fol. 18v., an angel, wearing a short tunic and high boots, speaks to Moses seated on a rock and watching his flock; above the rock appears the flaming bush with the bust of the Virgin and Child (Exod. iii. 2); fol. 23v., Moses strikes the rock, a child fills his cup with water (Exod. xvii. 6); fol. 28v., the golden calf raised on a column and five men seated at a table (Exod. xxxii. 4–6); fol. 49v., two soldiers carrying a large bunch of grapes (Num. xiii. 24); fol. 52v., a serpent raised on a pole, three men standing at the side; in outline, unfinished (Num. xxi. 9); fol. 53v., Balaam on the ass, which is kneeling, looks at the angel holding a sword; in outline, unfinished; the wings, armour, and boots of the angel are in gold (Num. xxii. 31).
Narrow bands of interlace precede the tables of contents on fol. 32, 44v., 82, 91v.; larger headpieces are used for the books on fol. 1, 34, 59v., 72v., 95, 118. A blank space is left for similar headpieces on fol. 18, 107, 107v., 130, 141, 151v. There are, in addition, larger blank spaces, probably intended for miniatures, on fol. 17v., 44v., 59v., 72v., 82v., 91v., 107v., 117v., 129v., 130, 140v., 141, 151v., 164.

The headpieces of Genesis (fol. 1) and Leviticus (fol. 34) occupy the greater part of the page.

Fol. 1. Headpiece of Genesis. In the upper centre of the rectangle, Christ, with bared breast and holding a large cross, and God the Father, holding a globe, are seated on clouds; between them, a little higher up, the dove of the Holy Ghost. Six men (apostles?) appear above other clouds at the sides. Two vine scrolls fill the sides of the rectangle, and in the meanders are drawn twenty-four prophets, in bust, holding open scrolls (the colours are partly flaked off). Above the rectangle two peacocks stand at the sides of a floral motif; below, in the arched opening of the rectangle is a vase of flowers. A large ornament of interlacing palmettes fills the entire outer margin. The initial is formed by a nimbed man wearing a short tunic and high boots who stands on a column and holds an open scroll in his raised right hand; a dragon is coiled around his legs, and its lowered head forms the loop of the letter. The other letters of the first line have been carefully drawn in gold, but the colours have not been filled in.

Fol. 34. Headpiece of Leviticus. Pl. 56.

REMARKS. The frontispiece of the Book of Samuel is a composite picture: the young boy standing between Eli and Hannah is probably Samuel who ministered 'unto the Lord before Eli the priest' (I Sam. ii. 11), while the scene introduced in the lower right corner represents, no doubt, the Ark of the Covenant brought from Shiloh to the camp of the Israelites (I Sam. iv. 4).

This same composition, with only minor differences, occurs in two Bibles illustrated in Constantinople: Jerusalem, no. 1927, written by Astvadsatur and Ghazar in a.d. 1649; Jerusalem, no. 2561, written by Markos between the years 1654 and 1670. The similarity between the miniatures of these three manuscripts is particularly significant, for this composition does not occur in the Bibles written in other Armenian centres, and therefore Constantinople appears to be the place of origin of our manuscript. This is corroborated by the close connexions between the marginal illustrations and ornamental designs of these three Bibles. For instance, the headpiece of Genesis, with the Holy Trinity and the prophets, resembles the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew in Jerusalem, no. 2561; a similar composition also occurs in another manuscript written in Constantinople in 1650, by a scribe named Astvadsatur.

The name of Astvadsatur appears in several Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the seventeenth century, but in the absence of more specific information we cannot be sure that it always refers to the same person. Without attempting any closer identification, we may suggest that our manuscript is the work of a scribe called Astvadsatur who lived...
in Constantinople in the second or third quarter of the seventeenth century, rather than that of one of his namesakes from Aleppo, 1 or Isphahan. 2

The headpiece of Leviticus (Pl. 50), painted in bright colours against a gold background, is an excellent example of the rich and carefully drawn ornamental compositions of this period. The multifoil opening has been further complicated by the addition of two dragons, whose heads jut out, and whose bodies narrows into bands, interlacing at the apex of the opening, and come down again to join the frameband. A similar use of the serpent for the frame may be seen in the Abridged Bible of this Collection (Pl. 49). The central roundel with the intricate floral interlace occurs in manuscripts of an earlier date, but the roundels added at the upper angles, and which interrupt the frame, are more characteristic of the 17th century; so are the naturalistic flowers in a vase placed in the opening of the headpiece.

The representation of the Trinity which decorates the headpiece of Genesis is an iconographic type of a late date. The group of Christ and God the Father seated side by side, and the dove flying between them, was already known to the Armenian artists of the 13th century, but the clouds which surround them in this miniature, the figure of Christ nude to the waist and holding a large cross, point to a model of the Renaissance or post-Renaissance period. The twenty-four figures in the vine scroll, each one holding an open scroll, represent the prophets, the usual number of sixteen having been increased by the addition of other personages of the Old Testament who were classed among the prophets in the Middle Ages. While the number of prophets has been thus increased, that of the apostles has been reduced, and only six appear, above the clouds, in the upper part of the composition.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1174


Fly-leaf at beginning and end taken from a Gospel manuscript in erkal'agir of the 10–11th centuries.

Lacunae. After fol. 1, the end of the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables; after fol. 75, Matthew xxviii. 16–20 and the portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.5 x 16.5 cm.; written surface, 19 x 11 cm.; single column of 22 or 23 lines. 253 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper frayed at the edges and partly mended. Sloping angular erkal'agir. The first initial of each Gospel is in floral letters; the other initials are in black ink.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover with tooled cross raised on three steps and rectangular border in cord motif; end cover with tooled centre panel in interlace and rectangular border of cord motif. Back mended.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1174 at Edessa by Barsegh for the cleric Grigor.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 3v., next to the portrait of Matthew: ‘With the intercession of the Evangelist, Lord have mercy upon the cleric Grigor who received this Gospel from his rightful earnings.’

Fol. 74v. ‘Please remember the scribe hardened with sins.’

Fol. 196v. ‘Glory to the Saviour and memory to the writer. Remember, I beseech, I beseech, the scribe Barsegh, hardened with sins.’

Fol. 252v.–253v. ‘Glory to the most holy Trinity.... With the grace of the Lord I began and through His mercy I completed this holy and divine commandment... in the year of the Armenians 623 (= A.D. 1174), in the great and famous city of Edessa, under the protection of the holy prelate Vasil. You who read or copy, remember in the Lord (the scribe), sinful unto death, and my parents who have died in Christ, for the Philanthropos is wont to have mercy on one through the prayers of another. Together with them (remember) the owner of this holy Gospel, the saintly priest Grigor, who, like his namesake the Illuminator, desired this commandment of the Lord. And you who remember, may you be remembered by the Lord. Glory to the Immortal, forever and ever. Amen. Amen.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 3v.), Luke (fol. 121v., Pl. 1a), and John (fol. 197v.) are seated on a high chair, in front of a desk with a tall lectern on which is placed a book; the name of each Evangelist is written above his head in the same writing as the text.

Fol. 1v. Letter of Eusebius. The arch, inscribed in a rectangle and decorated with a stepped motif, is supported by two simple columns; small white crosses drawn against a dark blue background fill the spandrels; two graceful peacocks stand at the sides of a bowl above the rectangle. The text of the letter begins in the lunette.

Fol. 2r. and v. Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables. The rectangle, resting on three columns and with two small arches opening into it, is decorated with a simple geometric design in green and blue; the drawing is very crude. This folio, taken from another Gospel, has been reversed at the time of the rebinding so that the Letter of Eusebius
begins on the verso and ends in the first column of the recto; the second column has
the title of the first canon, but the canon itself has not been written in. There is a gap
of several lines between the text of the Letter of Eusebius on fol. 1r, and the continua-
tion on fol. 2v.; this proves that the folio was already decorated and the text written
when it was attached to our manuscript.

The *headpieces* of the three Gospels are Η-shaped or consist of narrow rectangular
bands with simple geometric designs in blue, green, or red (Pl. 1b). The marginal orna-
ments of the initial pages are formed by simple interlaces and occupy about one-third of
the height of the page; those drawn at the beginning of the pericopes are for the most
part coloured medallions framing the numbers, and occasionally small floral ornaments.
In the margin of fol. 226 Lazarus is represented in bust (Jn. xi. 1).

REFERENCES. The figures of the Evangelists, extremely thin and tall, are not very
carefully drawn; the colours, especially the whites, are blackened with age and the face
of Matthew is partly effaced. The nimb are yellow; no gold has been used in the manu-
script. A later hand has emphasized with black lines some of the folds of the draperies
and, occasionally, the outlines of the arms. The elongated proportions, the sketchy
treatment of the draperies recall the style of a Gospel illustrated in Great Armenia in
1038; however, the elegant forms of the birds drawn above the Letter of Eusebius,
are more closely allied with the contemporary Cilician paintings.3

The Armenians had come in large numbers to Edessa at the time of the general
exodus which followed the conquest of Armenia by the Seljuk Turks, and for some
years the city was held by the Armenian general Philaretus. During the 11th and 12th
centuries they formed the major part of the population; they had their own archbishop
and the churches of the city were almost equally divided between the Greeks and the
Armenians. There was still an important Armenian community after the conquest and
sack of Edessa by the Turks in 1146; among its prominent members special mention
should be made of the historian Matthew of Edessa, whose work, relating the events
between the years 951 and 1136, deals mainly with the history of Edessa.

Unfortunately very few manuscripts written in Edessa during this period have been
preserved. A single folio with part of the colophon of a Gospel written in 1144 is the
earliest record.4 The scribe of our manuscript wrote and illustrated in 1161 at Edessa
another Gospel which was formerly at Amasea.4

1 Erivan, no. 6201, A. N. Srivine, La Miniature,
p. 41 G. Hovesp'ian, The Saviour of Havuts Tar,
fig. 22.
2 Etchmiadzin, no. 1561/1568: Nareh, A.D. 1173, cf.
Srivine, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
3 Vienna, Mekhiharist Library, no. 659, see N.
Akinian, 'The Colophon dated 1144 of a Vellum
Gospel' (in Armenian), in *Handes Amsorya*, xxii
(1908), pp. 62-63. The manuscript was copied by
the priest Karapet for Bishop Ste'pannos of the
monastery of Dsovuts vank' near Hromkla, in Cilicia:
Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, *Colophons of Manu-
scripts*, I, cols. 335-8.
4 Catholicos Garegin I Hovsep'ian, op. cit., cols.
377-80.
SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two fragmentary manuscripts of different dates.

Old part: Fol. 1, Colophon; foll. 12v–42v, Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; foll. 5–72v, Gospel of Matthew i–ii. ii.


Lacunae. Canons 2, 3, and 10; Matthew ii. 12–iii. 2; ix. 23–xii. ii; Luke xxii. 48 to end, and the entire Gospel of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. Old part: 24 × 17 cm.; written surface, 18.5 × 11.3 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 7 folios. New part: 24 × 17 cm.; written surface, 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 137 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Stout, polished, dark yellow paper, partly mended. Bolorgr. In the old part the first line of Matthew is written in ornate letters. In the new part the first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; ornate letters are used on the first page of each Gospel and for the pericope initials.

BINDING. Brown calf with gilt border and small panel.


COLOPHONS. Old part: Fol. 1, part of a colophon in the same writing as the text. ‘... This honourable man Aprelus and his wife Kher khat'un, received this holy Gospel from their honest earnings, in memory of themselves, of their parents Sargis and Aziz Tikin and all their relatives. ... For this honourable man, Aprelus, having heard the divine command which says “Blessed is he who has children in Sion and whose family is in Jerusalem”... received this imperishable treasure.... Praise be to the King forever.’

Fol. 2, in a later hand: ‘Mirzi, son of Amir, asks for prayers for himself and the members of his family.’

Fol. 5, under the headpiece of Matthew in the same writing as the text: ‘Holy Ghost help the unworthy scribe Hakob.’

New part: Fol. 68, ‘Christ son of God... have mercy on the owner of this, Tank khat’un, and on her parents, and on Hohannes her husband....’

Similar colophon on fol. 131v.

Fol. 118, in a later hand: ‘The last owner of this holy Gospel... the woman Herik'naz, who had it repaired in memory of herself and of her parents, her father Khudaverdi, her mother Melik'aghi and her sons Murat and Hakob.... This holy Gospel was
CATALOGUE

renovated during the reign in Persia of Shah Abbas the minor, the catholicosate at Etchmiadzin of lord Filippos, and while the archbishop Khatchatur was the superior of the holy monastery of Tuma (Thomas). It was renovated in the year 1102 (= A.D. 1653) by the hand of the sinful elder Simon. I beg you to remember me also, the very sinful one, and may you also be remembered by Christ. Amen.

Fol. 1274v., in the lower margin. ‘My heart was very sad here, (far?) from my nation and my home. O, O, me miserable.’

Inspector’s seal in Persian dated 1307 A.H. on foll. 5 and 130v.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Old part. Foll. 2v.–4v. Canon tables. Small horse-shoe arches, decorated with a twisted rope motif or a palmette scroll, rest on an architrave also decorated with a twisted rope motif separated into short segments. The columns, with a plain rectangular capital and no base, are covered with the same ornaments as the arches. Pl. 2a.

Fol. 5. Headpiece of Matthew, Pl. 2b. The birds and the oval frames are painted in black; the background is a rich dark red.

New part: Fol. 68v. (a) Baptism. John, standing half-way up in the miniature, baptizes Christ; the water, in which three large fish are swimming, rises in a cone to Christ’s shoulders. In front of John is the tree with the axe, the hand of God comes out of the segment of sky in the left corner; behind Christ stands an angel, hands covered, another comes out of the segment of sky on the right. Inscription: ‘Baptism.’

(b) Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by an apostle, approaches from the left; Martha and Mary kneel at His feet. In the centre is a small arched frame with the body of Lazarus; one of the three Jews standing at the right unwinds his shroud; two young men in short tunics carry a large stone slab. Inscriptions: ‘Jesus Christ.’ ‘The tomb of Lazarus.’

Fol. 69. (a) Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, followed by three disciples, is greeted by three men; one of them holds the trunk of a tree on which is seated a child holding an axe; another child climbs on a tree between Christ and the apostles; garments are spread under the ass’s feet. Only one of the three apostles is seen in full; the head of the second is drawn above that of the first, in inverted perspective, while that of the third is drawn in front of the bust of the first apostle; this is a very awkward rendering of a figure who was supposed to be standing in the front row. Inscriptions: ‘Jesus Christ.’ ‘The arrival of the Lord at Jerusalem.’

(b) Washing of the Feet. Christ, kneeling before a large vase, touches the right foot of Peter, who, seated on a high stool, points to his head. Seven other apostles stand behind Peter; the remaining four stand on the left. In the middle of the composition, three large leaves are drawn under the frame. Inscriptions: ‘Jesus Christ.’ ‘Washing of the Feet.’

Fol. 118v. (a) Transfiguration and Betrayal. Pl. 26a. Inscriptions: (a) ‘The Transfiguration; Elijah, Jesus Christ, Moses.’ (b) ‘The Kiss of Judas, Jesus Christ.’

Fol. 123r. (a) Crucifixion and Entombment. Pl. 26b. Inscriptions: (a) ‘And having bent His head He gave up the ghost.’ (b) ‘The tomb of the Lord.’

The square opening in the Entombment, with the head of a man gazing at the Holy Women, is obviously an erroneous interpretation of part of the Crucifixion scene.
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represented above. In the model the skull of Adam must have been figured inside the hill on which the cross was raised, a well-known iconographic feature; the copyist misunderstood this, and by introducing the base of the cross into the lower register made it into a part of the composition of the Entombment.

Mark (fol. 69v) meditating, and Luke (fol. 119v) writing, are seated on an ornate arm-chair, in front of a desk placed under a ciborium; a drapery hangs from a hook in the upper frame. In the portrait of Mark rays descend from a segment of sky on the left, and the Hand of God comes out from the segment of sky on the right. In the portrait of Luke an angel comes out from the segment of sky on the right.

The headpiece of Mark (fol. 70) consists of a rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, and decorated with a leaf scroll and floral interlaces in three roundels. Above the rectangle is a rampant lion holding a book. Interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the outer margin. The headpiece of Luke (fol. 120) is T-shaped and decorated with leaves disposed to form a geometric pattern; a small multifoil arch is drawn in the opening. Above the rectangle is a crouching ox; the book has not been represented. Marginal ornament like the preceding. The upper margins of both pages have been trimmed, cutting off the top of the animals' heads.

The marginal ornaments, consisting of small interlacing palmettes, birds, and lions, are occasionally replaced by figures or other motifs connected with the text. Fol. 11, Christ, seated (Mt. v. 1); fol. 217v, the centurion kneeling (Mt. ix. 19); fol. 123, The Virgin of the Annunciation (Lk. i. 39); fol. 125v, a shepherd blowing a reed pipe (Lk. ii. 8); fol. 41, 42v, 99v, 141v, trees (Mt. xx. 29, xxii. 19; Mk. x. 46; Lk. xix. 29); fol. 50, 59v, temples (Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1); fol. 62 and 113v, crosses (Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1).

REMARKS. The arcades of the Canon tables belong to a type intermediary between the practice of the 10th-11th centuries, when a free standing arch was used, and that of the 13th century when the arch is inscribed in a rectangle. The simple geometric motifs, the ornate initials consisting of a narrow knotted band, the use of yellow instead of gold, point to Great Armenia and the second half of the 12th century.

The second part of the manuscript is of considerably later date. Bright colours have been used with blue, green, and red predominating; the nimbs are yellow. The garments of the young men in the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem are painted in two different colours, one half green, the other half red. Such costumes appear in the manuscripts illustrated in Cilicia in the 14th century by Sargis Pidsak, but the figure style is entirely different. The broad round faces, the ugly, pointed profile of Judas, the manner of representing the hair with a band of vertical lines in the middle of the head, and of lengthening the eyes and eyebrows, recall the style of the artists who worked in the vicinity of Lake Van during the 14th and early 15th centuries, particularly those of Khizan, south-west of Lake Van. Some of these stylistic traits may be seen in a Gospel illustrated in 1335 at Khizan (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arm. 333), in another illustrated in 1338 at Ardske (Aleppo no. 33), in the Gospel no. 565 of this Collection, written in 1439 at Bastay Vank in the district of Khizan (Pl. 33), in a Gospel of the year 1435 in the province of Mok's (New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 10).¹ But some

¹ G. Hovsep'ian, Artistic History of Khizan, p. 8, fig. 1.
of the iconographic peculiarities of this school, such as the angel with a bottle of oil in
the Baptism, or Lazarus lying in a sarcophagus instead of standing in a rock-cut tomb,¹
do not occur in our manuscript and the traditional types are preferred. The proportions
of the figures are also more slender than those of the manuscripts of Khizan of the 14th
and early 15th centuries, though less elongated than those of the manuscripts of Khizan
of the middle of the 15th century, such as the Gospel no. 566 of this collection.

The similarities and the differences suggest a work done in the late 14th or in the
early 15th centuries in a scriptorium in the general area of Lake Van, where the influence
of Khizan was felt, but which was more conservative in its representation of Gospel
scenes.

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12TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–2, Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus;
foll. 2v–6v, Canon tables; foll. 7, Colophon in a later hand; foll. 7v, Ornate rectangle;
foll. 8v, Ornate arch; foll. 9–82, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 82v, Ornate arch; foll. 83–128v,
Gospel of Mark; foll. 129v, Ornate arch; foll. 130–216v, Gospel of Luke; foll. 217v,
Ornate rectangle; foll. 218v–280v, Gospel of John; foll. 280v, Colophon. Blue paper fly­
leaf at the end with colophon of late date. Paper pasted inside the covers with a list
of the holy places of Palestine written in notrgir.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21.8 x 16 cm.; written surface, 15.5 x 10.5 cm.; 2 columns of
20 lines each. 280 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum; small, sloping, angular erkat'agir in brown ink,
except on the initial page of each Gospel where the writing is in larger, slightly rounded
erkat'agir. The first letter of each Gospel is composed of geometric interlaces; simple
initials are used for the pericopes.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards with two straps stamped with simple floral
motifs.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 12th century; written by Avetis and bound by
Abraham.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 9, on the left side of the ornate initial, in erkat'agir: 'Christ, Jesus,
with Thy ineffable birth have mercy on him who worked on the painting, and on the
binder Abra(ham).'

Fol. 82, at the end of the Gospel of Matthew: 'A certain sinner, called Avetis, un­
worthy of these divine writings, begs to be remembered in Christ.'

Fol. 216v, at the end of the Gospel of Luke: 'Remember, Lord, the sinful scribe
Avetis, together with T'ovma (Thomas) and Khatchatur and K'ristap'or. Grant us Thy
mercy at Thy (second) coming. Amen.'

¹ See pp. xxxvi, 48–49.
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Fol. 280v., at the end of the Gospel of John: ‘Glory to the (Son?) of God with His Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever, Amen. Remember in Christ-Jesus the writer of this holy Gospel, the very sinful Avetis and Khatchatur and Kristap’or and T’ovma who passed away to Christ and the child Step’annos and our parents.’

Short sentences are written inside some of the marginal ornaments; two of these bear names: fol. 40, ‘Lord God, have mercy on David and his brother’; fol. 103v., ‘Lord God, have mercy on Abr(aham)’.

Fol. 7. Colophon, in bolorgir, dated 20 March 1809, relating the purchase and restoration of the manuscript. The manuscript was bought in Constantinople by the priest Karapet, son of Vard(a)n and Taparuk’, and taken to Armenia, where he had it repaired. Three lines are added in notrgir by the priest Karapet, who states that he came from the land of the Medes now called Haghbak.

Colophon in a later hand written on coarse blue paper bound in at the end of the volume. The writer, a certain Melk’on, relates that he had long desired to ascertain the date of the manuscript and that of the scribe, and, having searched, he discovered that the latter was the vardapet Avetis, a pupil of the pupils of St. Sahak the Parthian and that the date was the year 290 of the Armenian era.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Letter of Eusebius. On fol. 1 an arch is inscribed in a rectangle; the spandrels are decorated with floral scrolls, and roundels enclosing floral motifs fill the lunettes; two birds are perched on the rectangle. The decoration of foll. 1v–2 is somewhat simpler. The lunette has not been filled in with ornaments, the writing begins immediately under the arch on fol. 1v. and under a tripartite angular opening on fol. 2. The Canon tables (foll. 2v–6v) consist of narrow rectangles, sometimes with two arches opening into them, resting on simple columns; the decorative motifs are similar to those of the Letter of Eusebius. No trees or flowers have been drawn in the margins.

The ornate rectangles and arches (Pls. 3a and 4a) were no doubt intended to frame the dedicatory inscription on fol. 7v. and the portraits of the Evangelists on foll. 8v., 82v., 129v., 217v. The rectangle or arch is always filled with a floral or geometric interlace painted in blue and green against a reddish-gold background. The columns are knotted in the middle, the capitals are formed by large roundels framing geometric interlaces; semicircles, with a floral motif, form the bases.

The headpieces of the Gospels consist of fairly narrow rectangular bands decorated with geometric and floral motifs in roundels, or with an all-over design. The symbol of Matthew is a bearded man, painted, in bust, inside a roundel placed at the top of the marginal ornament (fol. 9). The lion of Mark fills the rectangular headpiece, which takes up only half the width of the page; the ornate initial, instead of being drawn next to the text, is drawn in the upper part of the page, in the space left empty by the small headpiece (Pl. 3b). The ox appears to be climbing the tree-like ornament in the margin (Pl. 4b); the eagle is perched over the headpiece (Pl. 5).

The pericope ornaments consist of small roundels or simple floral interlaces; crosses are drawn next to the Passion readings on foll. 71, 75, 76v., 120, 121, 122, 204, 208v., 269v., 271v.
REMARKS. The information given by a later owner, according to which the manuscript had been written in the year 290 of the Armenians, is incorrect. If this is the usual Armenian era the date would be A.D. 841, which is far too early; if it is the short era, known as that of Sarkavag, the date would be 1374, which is too late. Both the palaeography and the style of the decoration point to the latter part of the 12th century, not later than the beginning of the 13th century.

The scribe Avetis is not known to me through other illustrated manuscripts of this period, but a binder by the name of Abraham worked at the monastery of Horomos, near Ani. He found there a Gospel which had been written in 1211 at the monastery of Haghbat, in the northern part of Great Armenia, by the scribe Hakob and illustrated by Margaré. The date of the binding is not indicated; however, it should be placed shortly after the copy of the manuscript, for, in 1223, the manuscript had already been removed from Ani to the eastern province of Artsakh.

The style of the decoration is typical of the work done in Great Armenia in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Ornate arches or rectangles similar to those which precede each Gospel book in this manuscript are used as frames for the portraits of the Evangelists in a Gospel written at the monastery of Horomos in 1181 (Venice, no. 961), in the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211, and in the Gospel of the T'argmantchats monastery of the year 1232. This type of frame had already been used at an earlier period since it may be seen in a Gospel illuminated at Drazark, in Cilicia, in 1113, but which copied a model brought from Great Armenia. The initials of the Gospels and the simple marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes recall those of the manuscripts mentioned above and of other works of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. In the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211, and in another Gospel written in the province of Khatchen c. 1212, roundels and semicircles are sometimes used for the capitals and the bases of the columns, as in our manuscript.

The place assigned to the symbols of the Evangelists is not consistent with the practice of the artists of Great Armenia, who usually represent each symbol next to the first letter of the Gospel, or, less frequently, in the lunette of the headpiece. In a Gospel illustrated in 1200 at Avag Vank, at Erzinjan, the angel is represented in the outer margin (New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 6), but I know of no other example

1 The scribe of our manuscript should not be confused with his namesake who lived in Cilicia and copied several manuscripts illustrated by T'oros Roslin, for the script is entirely different (see Jerusalem, no. 2666, dated A.D. 1262; Jerus. no. 2037, dated A.D. 1266; Jerus. no. 2553, dated A.D. 1272; Erivan, no. 211, Gospel written for the Constable Smbat, [1276]). One of the assistants of our scribe is named Khatchatur; a scribe Khatchatur worked at the monastery of Haghbat in 1195, but the name is a very common one and the two men cannot be identified without further information concerning them (L. Alishan, Hayapatum [in Armenian], Venice, 1901, p. 393).

2 Etchmiadzin, no. 6268, see G. Hovsep'ian, Materials and Studies, vol. i, pp. 41-75; A. N. Svirine, Miniature, pp. 84-89.

3 Hovsep'ian, op. cit., p. 56, fig. 6.

4 Etchmiadzin, no. 2743/1058; Tchobanian, Rnumber.

5 Tubingen, MA XIII. 1; see J. Strzygowski, Kleinaarmenische Miniaturmalerei, pls. vii, viii, x. The colophon with the statement that the model was written in A.D. 893 has since been recognized as a forgery. In another Gospel written at Drazark in 1181 one of the Evangelists also sits under an arched frame: Brit. Mus. Or. 81, fol. 11iv.

6 S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 15-29, pls. vi-vii, ix.

7 Hovsep'ian, Materials, figs. 1 and 2; Etchmiadzin, no. 232/378; Svirine, Miniature, p. 85; G. Hovsep'ian, Palaeographic Album (in Armenian), Vagharshapat, 1913, pl. xi, fig. 75; see also p. 32 for the date of the manuscript.

8 S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 42-43, 89-90. See also Codex no. 557, Pl. 7.
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where the symbols are combined with the marginal ornament as they are in this manuscript (Pl. 46). The type adopted for the symbol of Matthew, a bearded man clothed as a deacon, instead of an angel, is also unusual.

Stylistically the Gospel of Haghbat of the year 1211 comes closest to our manuscript, and this corroborates the identity of the two binders, named Abraham, mentioned in the colophon of both manuscripts. Our manuscript is therefore a product of the scriptorium of Haghbat or of that of Horomos. The greater simplicity of the decoration, the fact that the trees at the sides of the Canon tables have been omitted, as in many manuscripts of the 12th century, suggest that this manuscript was executed shortly before the Gospel of Haghbat, in the last years of the 12th century.

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13TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-50, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 50a, Portrait of Mark; foll. 51-110a, Gospel of Mark; foll. 111-99, Gospel of Luke; foll. 199a, Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 200-71v, Gospel of John; foll. 271v-272v, Colophons.

Lacunae. Before foll. 1, Mt. i-ix. 27; between foll. 11 and 12, Mt. xii. 45-xiii. 6; between foll. 17 and 18, Mt. xiv. 13-23; between foll. 19 and 20, Mt. xv. 12-xix. 8; between foll. 31 and 32, Mt. xxii. 21-xxiv. 43; between foll. 73 and 74, Mk. vii. 2-12; between foll. 110 and 111, Mk. xvi. 15-20 and Lk. i-iii. 2; between foll. 178 and 179, Lk. xx. 2-14. Two leaves have been added later: foll. 50 with Mt. xxviii. 19-20 in bolorgir, and the portrait of Mark on the verso; foll. 199 with Lk. xxiv. 52-53 in bolorgir, and the portraits of John and Prochoros on the verso.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 33.5 × 24 cm.; written surface, 25 × 15.5 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 272 folios. The outer and especially upper margins are trimmed off.

PAPER AND WRITING. Heavy vellum. Upright, rounded erkal’agir in brownish ink. The first line of the Gospel of Mark, the first page of the Gospel of John, and the pericope initials are in floral letters. The first line of each pericope and the words ‘Jesus’, ‘God’, ‘Lord’ are in gold letters. Added leaves: foll. 50 and 199 in bolorgir. On some pages where the writing is slightly effaced the text has been rewritten between the lines in notrgir.

BINDING. Modern, brown leather over boards. Half of the cover of the original binding, in brown stamped leather, is preserved separately.

Another unusual representation may be seen in the Gospel of the University of Chicago, no. 949, written in 1237 at Gandzasar, in the province of Khatchen. The symbols, each time doubled, are drawn in a separate compartment above the portrait of the Evangelist; for Matthew the artist has represented two men in contemporary costume, seated at either side of a sash; one of them holds a lance, the other a spear. The inscription reads: ‘The man according to Matthew.’ G. Hovsep’ian, Materials and Studies, New York, 1943, vol. ii, pp. 51, 54, 56, 58, figs. 5, 7, 9, 13.
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DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 13th century. Written by Sargis and Step’annos for the congregation of the monastery, and bound at Hohannuvank’ by Arta, pupil of the great Hohannes.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 2717v.-2727v. ‘Glory to the most holy Trinity who allowed the miserable scribe to see the last line. Amen. Remember in Christ the holy vardapet Mkhit’ar and all the brethren of this holy monastery who helped and contributed to this holy Gospel. Remember Sadun, the pious prince, who provided the funds; remember Serovb and Hovasap’ and their brothers and parents, who prepared the vellum and had the manuscript bound. Remember Sargis, the learned rhetor and holy cleric, the writer of this, and Step’annos his pupil, who assisted him. And to those whom you remember may Christ God grant the reward of goodness, and Glory to Him forever, Amen. This holy Gospel was bound at Hohannu Vank’, under the shelter of Saint Karapet, by the hand of the skilled cleric Arta(?), the pupil of the great Hohannes; with full mouth say “Lord have mercy on Hohannes; and on his pupil (?) who worked at the binding”. Amen.’

On foll. 2727v., in a much later hand, in notrgir: ‘This Gospel is a memorial of Saint George.’

In a rough bolorgir on the same page; some of the words have been cut off with the margin, others are partly effaced: ‘With the will and the grace of Jesus Christ and of the holy Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and of all the saints on heaven and earth, in bitter and difficult times of the loss (or death) of the lawless ghan Ashrap’ during the rule of Djan . . . ghan (?) and in Georgia (?) the reign of Melk’isedek; when Ivané, son of the pious prince baron Burt’el came and, having restored (?) his paternal monastery of Getik, was established over us; Mik’ayel and my sons Arghut’a, Umek and Grigor. . . . We beg of this holy Gospel the prosperity (?) and progress (?) of this place for the glory of Him who is blessed forever. Amen. In the year of the Armenians 850 (= A.D. 1401) this was written in Tiflis.’

On the paper fly-leaf at the end this colophon has been recopied by a modern hand who has made a mistake in transcribing the date and has written the two letters « that correspond to 800 and 100.


Fol. 199v. Portrait of John and Prochoros. John stands on the edge of a pond, in front of a rocky background; his head is turned to the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky in the upper left corner, and he dictates to Prochoros seated on a bench at the right, in the opening of a cave. His mantle has been slightly retouched. Prochoros holds a paper in his right hand and a pen in his left hand. Gold background.

The headpieces consist of rectangles filled with floral motifs. On fol. 51 two concentric arches decorated one with a zigzag motif, the other with coloured disks, are inscribed in the rectangle; the lion, the symbol of Mark, is drawn in a roundel in the lunette; on fol. 200 the eagle, the symbol of John, standing full face on the book, is drawn inside a quatrefoil. Pl. 7.

The large marginal ornaments of the initial pages terminate in an ornate cross formed by interlacing lines. The pericope ornaments consist of interlacing palmettes (Pl. 6), or medallions with birds perched on them; these are replaced by crosses or temples when
required by the text. Crosses: foll. 36v., 39v., 41v., 43v., 101v., 189v., 208v., 260v.; Mt. xxvi. 3, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. iii. 13, xviii. 28. Temples: foll. 95v., 181v., 237v.; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. x. 22.

REMARKS. The name of one of the benefactors mentioned in the colophon. ‘Sadun, the pious prince’, helps us to establish the approximate date of the manuscript. Three princes of this name are known in Armenian history: Sadun I, appointed governor of Ani in 1160 by the Georgian king Giorgi III; Sadun II, who in 1191–5 assisted Mkhit’ar Gosh in the construction of the new monastery of Getik, north of Lake Sevan; and his grandson Sadun III, amir spasalar and atabek of the Georgian rulers, who died in 1285. This last-named Sadun must be the one mentioned in our manuscript which, for stylistic and palaeographic reasons, cannot be dated before the 13th century. The date of Sadun’s death, the year 1285, gives us therefore a terminus ante quern.

Sadun was prince of Kayen, and he and his family were primarily interested in the monastery of Haghbat, where they were all buried, while our manuscript was bound at the famous monastery of John the Baptist, or Hohannuvank, in the province of Airarat, close to the equally celebrated monastery of Saghmosavank. During the 13th century the princes of this region were the Vatchutians; Vatche restored Saghmosavank in 1215 and two years later he made important donations to Hohannuvank; his son Kurd built the porch of the church of Hohannuvank in 1251; Hasan, the son of Kurd, gave two villages to Hohannuvank in 1283, and a reliquary adorned with gold and silver. It was not unusual, however, for princes to make donations to monasteries situated outside their immediate domains, and the assistance given by Sadun does not preclude the possibility that our Gospel was written as well as bound at Hohannuvank. For instance, Sadun had made a donation to the monastery of Aghdjots Surb Step’annos, situated in the domains of the Khaghbakians; in a manuscript begun at Khor Virap, continued at Saghmosavank, and completed in 1268 at Aghdjots Surb Step’annos, the scribe Vardan thanks, amongst other patrons, Sadun and Kurd Vatchutian. (Jerusalem, no. 1681, p. 148.)

The name of Mkhit’ar vardapet, cited at the beginning of the colophon, and who appears to be the abbot of the monastery where the manuscript was written, also makes it more probable that this monastery was Hohannuvank rather than Haghbat. The abbots of Haghbat are all known during this period and none of them is named Mkhit’ar. We are less well informed about the abbots of Hohannuvank, and only two


2 The portrait of Sadun’s son is painted on the south wall of the church of Haghbat: Christianski Vostok, 1912, i, pl. xxii.


5 In his Colophons of Manuscripts, col. 1018, the catholicos Garegin assigns this manuscript to the monastery of Getik, on the assumption that the words ‘the holy vardapet Mkhit’ar’ refer to the founder of this monastery, who had died in 1213. But the argument is not conclusive, for the epithet ‘holy’ can be used for living persons (see for instance: Colophons of Manuscripts, col. 932, ‘the holy vardapet Markos’ for the owner of the manuscript); moreover, the first sentence is worded in such a way that the vardapet Mkhit’ar cannot be separated from the other members of the monastery who contributed to the Gospel.

names are recorded during this period: Mkrtitch in 1243; Hamazasp in 1279 and again in 1300. Our manuscript cannot be later than 1300, since Sadun died in 1285, and if Mkhit’ar is actually the name of the abbot our Gospel should be dated before 1279, during the interim for which no abbot’s name is recorded.

If the manuscript was written as well as bound at Hohannuvank’ the assistance given by Sadun might be explained by the personal connexions the scribes may have had with the monastery of Hagbat. The persons named in the colophon are: the scribe Sargis, ‘the learned rhetor and holy cleric’; his pupil and assistant Step’annos; and the binder Arta(?), a pupil of the ‘great Hohannes’. The words ‘great Hohannes’ could easily apply to Hohannes IV Dop’ian, abbot of Hagbat between the years 1257 and 1285, well known for his building activities and cultural interests. On a sculptured stele he erected in 1273 Hohannes mentions, among his benefactors, the prince Sadun, and he also records, in the inscription, the name of his spiritual son Sargs vardapet.1 We learn from the colophon of a manuscript written a few years earlier that Sargis was not only the spiritual son but also the nephew of the abbot Hohannes, and at that time still a student.2 If this Sargis is, as I believe, the scribe and ‘learned rhetor’ of our manuscript, the date must be very close to 1273, when Sargis had already been awarded the degree of vardapet, and the fact that he copied the manuscript also explains the assistance given by Sadun, the benefactor of Hagbat and of Sargis’s uncle, the abbot Hohannes.

The colophon added by a later hand raises several problems, for the date given at the end, namely, A.D. 1401, does not agree with the dates of some of the persons who are mentioned. ‘Ivané, son of the pious prince Burt’el’, is Ivané Orbelian, prince of Siunik’. In an inscription dated 1322 he is called a young child; he was still living in 1367, but he seems to have died before the invasion of Tamerlane.3 In 1401 the prince of Siunik’ was Ivané’s son Burt’el, who, shortly after, was forced to abjure his faith and was sent to exile by Mirza Omar, the son of Miranshah and grandson of Timur.

The date of 1401 does not agree either with the mention of Ashrap’ or Ashraf. The passage referring to him reads: ‘in the bitter and difficult times of the loss (or death) of the lawless ghan Ashrap’ and the rule of Djan ... ghan.’ A few letters of the last name are illegible.

Khan Ashrap’ or Ashraf must be the son of Timurtash, the real ruler of the western provinces of the Mongol Empire during the puppet reign of Suliman and Anushirvan.4 His tyrannical rule caused him to be hated by all his subjects, and his destructions in Armenia are recalled in an inscription carved on the church of Bdjni.5 The inscription, dated 1358, commemorates the reconstruction, and the destruction must have taken place some years earlier, for we know from other sources that Ashraf was killed in 1357 by Janibeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde. Janibeg took over the possession of the provinces which had been ruled by Ashraf, but he died shortly after, in the autumn of 1357.6

1 K. Kostaniants, Vinakan Targir, p. 115.
2 Etchmiadzin, no. 2604, cf. G. Hovsep’ian, The Saviour of Havuts T’ar, p. 64.
5 Kostaniants, Vinakan Targir, p. 169.
6 Howorth, History of the Mongols, iii, 652-3; Bertold Spuler, Die goldene Horde, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 102, 108.
The partly illegible name of the colophon ‘Djan ... ghan’ can therefore be completed to read ‘Djanibeg (Janibeg) Khan’, and this helps us to date it exactly in 1357, during the short period between the death of Ashraf and that of Janibeg. This date also agrees with the mention of Ivané, son of Burt’el, who had succeeded his father in 1348, or shortly earlier, and who was the lord of Siunik’ in 1357.

The date of 1401 is therefore a lapsus calami on the part of the scribe; if we change the second letter of the date to 6 instead of 50 we would have the year 806 of the Armenian era, that is the exact date of 1357.

Compared to the Gospel no. 556 the ornaments of this manuscript show a later stage in the development of Armenian illumination. The wide rectangles used as headpieces and decorated with simple floral or geometric motifs, the general design of the large marginal ornament of the initial pages, the shape of the cross, the delicate and elaborate interlaces of the smaller marginal ornaments, finally the ornate initials are all characteristic examples of the work done in Great Armenia during the 13th century. The Gospels of Haghbat (A.D. 1211) and of the T’argmantchats monastery (A.D. 1232) are among the earlier examples of this type of decoration, and the manuscripts illustrated by Ignatios between the years 1214 and 1236 show the development which has been carried even farther in our Gospel.

The symbols of the Evangelists are introduced into the headpieces (Pl. 7) instead of being painted next to the initial letter of each Gospel, according to the usual custom of Great Armenia. However, this type also occurs in other manuscripts, for instance in a Gospel written in 1295 at T’eghenik, a neighbouring monastery of Hohannuvank’ (Brit. Mus. Or. 2283).

The portraits of the Evangelists, which are of later date, may have been added when the manuscript was restored in 1357. Complex architectural backgrounds, formed by the juxtaposition of separate buildings, begin to appear in the 14th century. In this instance the architectural elements have been misunderstood and have entirely eliminated the indispensable pieces of furniture: Mark seems to be sitting on the top of a column, his footstool is suspended in mid air, and the architrave of a low wall takes the place of his desk (Pl. 24). The lectern has disappeared, leaving no support for the book drawn above the one on which the Evangelist is writing. A third book is held by his symbol, the lion, who stands facing him. This type, though rare, had already been used in Cilicia in the 13th century. In Codex no. 558 the symbol, substituted for the lectern, always holds the book on which the Evangelist is writing (Pls. 14-17).

In the portrait of John and Prochoros the latter writes with his left hand. This may be due to the fact that a tracing was used and reversed. Such tracings were made by means of small pinpricks around the contours of the original composition. The scribes

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1 I have not been able to identify the Melk’isedek mentioned in the colophon; there is no record in the 14th or in the 15th centuries of a ruler or a catholicos by that name. Mik’ayel and his sons belong to a well-known family which had settled in Tiflis at the time of the Mongolian invasions. Towards the middle of the 13th century they had bought the monastery of Getik to which they made several donations: G. Hovsep’ian, ‘Vakhtang, son of Umek’, Materials and Studies, i, pp. 1-14.

2 For the Gospels of Haghbat and the T’argmantchats monastery see p. 26, notes 2-4; for the work of Ignatios see S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 29-38, pls. x-xii; G. Hovsep’ian, Materials and Studies, i. 15-40, ii. 60-66; H. Kurdian, ‘The Miniaturist Ignatios’, Anahit, xiii. 3, pp. 32-44.

3 For instance in Jerusalem no. 1794, a Gospel written in 1326 in the district of Khatchen.
frequently beg the readers not to disfigure their works in this manner, though they themselves may have resorted to the custom. We find an example of this method of tracing in a manuscript of the Boston Public Library, but the holes are so small that they only show on the blank verso of the folio. The small pond represented at John’s feet suggests the island of Patmos where he wrote the Book of Revelation; this island is even more clearly represented in another Armenian Gospel written in the early 13th century or possibly in the last years of the 12th century.

These two miniatures could have been painted at Tiflis, where there was a large Armenian colony; several manuscripts written in this city during the 14th century have been preserved.

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558
FOUR GOSPELS
13TH CENTURY


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.5 x 17.5 cm.; written surface, 18 x 12 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 340 folios; quires mostly of 8 folios numbered at the beginning and end; the numbering begins on fol. 15.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured smooth paper. Bolorgir in black ink. The first page of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or geometric letters, the initials of verses are in red erkat’agir; the verso of the first page of each Gospel is written in gold angular erkat’agir. Some of the margins have been mended with white paper.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover: cross stamped with cord design on a large triangular base of interlace; end cover: large centre panel of intersecting circles, rectangular border of cord design. Flap stamped with interlaces; silver pegs.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, OWNER. 13th century. Written for the Catholicos Constantine I (1221-67), probably at Hromkla, in Cilicia.

COLOPHONS. The principal colophon is lost, but the dedicatory verses give the name of the owner.

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2 Venice, no. 888: S. Der Nersessian, Manuscripti armenienses, p. 95 and pl. xxxvi.
FOUR GOSPELS

Fol. 13r. ‘My Lord Christ, Saviour of men, the head of this anointed group, who with a voice of rejoicing announced to us this book bearing the good tidings. Behold, I bring Thee Thine own, raising it in my hands I come before Thee, accept this goodly gift and look upon me with favour.’

Fol. 14. ‘O Logos without beginning, the same who flourished for mankind, who poured to us the grace of Thy lips, be forever blessed. Grant that he who decorated Thy word and ornamented this writing, the Lord Kostandin, the good shepherd, be seated on the throne with Peter.’

Fol. 264v. ‘O children of the Holy Church, orders of priests wearing holy vestments . . . remember in Christ our blessed prelate, the father of us all, Ter Kostandin, the owner of this holy Gospel, and his pious parents and all his relatives; may they find mercy from Christ our God.’

On fol. 339v. a later hand has written: ‘in the year of the Armenians 325 (= A.D. 876).’

On fol. 253v the scribe has added the following remark in red bolorgir, referring by means of a small mark to Lk. xxii. 43-44: ‘This passage is found in the Gospels of the Franks, of the Syrians and of the Greeks, but not in those of the Alexandrians. And the Gospel of the Armenians seems to have been translated from the latter, for this passage did not occur in the Armenian Gospels. But all the commentators recall it; they remember it and give an explanation. And I, having found it written in my model, I also wrote it (here).’


Fol. 104v. Mark is clothed like Matthew; gold background. Inscription: ‘Saint Mark.’ Pl. 15.


Fol. 37v–4. Letter of Eusebius. Pl. 8. The decoration of fol. 4 repeats, with slight variations, that of fol. 3v. The two peacocks drawn above the rectangle stand at the sides of a gold vase out of which one of them is drinking. Carpianus holds a closed scroll and raises one finger to his lips; the names of both Eusebius and Carpianus are written next to their portraits. The capitals of the columns are formed by lions, standing on all-fours, with their heads stretched beyond the normal outlines of the capital.

Fol. 52v–6. Canons 1–2. Pl. 9. The decoration of the two pages is almost identical; the columns on fol. 52v have floral capitals and bases.

Foll. 72v–8. Canons 3–5. Pl. 10. There are only minor differences in the decoration of the two pages. On fol. 72v, birds, eating the fish in a bowl, are drawn above the rectangle. The capitals of the columns consist of lions lying on their backs and supporting the architrave with their paws; on the bases are two small birds, one pecking at the other.

Foll. 92v–10. Canons 6–9. Pl. 11. There are again only minor differences between the two pages: a bird flying towards a vase and another standing next to it are drawn above the rectangle, on fol. 92v; crouching animals, bearing the architrave or the shafts on their backs, form the capitals and bases of the columns.

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details. Above the rectangle of fol. 12 there is a fountain, and birds drink the water spouting from the openings in the shape of animal heads; the capitals of the outer columns consist of addorsed lions; that of the central column is made of a stag, standing in profile and supporting the architrave on its antlers.

Foll. 13v.–14.  Dedication inscription. Pl. 13. On fol. 14 the capitals are formed by birds, their heads projecting beyond the normal outlines of the capital; two small figures, seated back to back and holding the column, form the bases. Two stags stand at the sides of a vase placed on a chalice above the rectangle.

The headpieces are all H-shaped, decorated with palmate scrolls and interlaces. Peacocks or other birds stand above the rectangles at the sides of a vase. The marginal ornament of the initial page of each Gospel is formed by interlacing palmettes and surmounted by a large cross on a staff. See Pl. 17b for the headpiece of the Gospel of John.

The elegant marginal ornaments of the pericopes show various combinations of floral interlaces; these are replaced by other motifs when required by the text: temples (foll. 60v., 83, 130v., 147v., 247v., 302v.; Mt. xvi. 13, xxiv. 1; Mk. viii. 27, xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. x. 22); crosses (foll. 93, 95, 153, 255v., 314, 326, 328; Mt. xxvi. 31, xxvi. 57; Mk. xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xviii. 2, xviii. 28); trees (foll. 140, 141v.; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12); a chalice or an urn, usually on a stepped pedestal (foll. 118v., 192v., 230, 245v., 292v., 312; Mk. v. 21; Lk. vii. 36, xvi. 1, xx. 21–26; Jn. vii. 37, xii. 44); two fishes in a bowl (foll. 210v., Lk. xi. 11); and a candelabra (foll. 212v., Lk. xi. 33). On fol. 245v. a gold coin is placed on the chalice; in the centre of this coin can be seen a round face, and all around the edge are traces of Greek letters. The only part that can be deciphered reads rpo BACHAHOC. The ornament illustrates Lk. xx. 21–26: ‘render unto Caesar, &c.’

REMARKS. This manuscript is an outstanding example of Cilician art in the 13th century. The figures of the Evangelists are well proportioned; the ample draperies fall in graceful folds, and the slight stylization enhances the decorative effect of the compositions while still respecting the natural forms. The faces, hands, and feet are delicately modelled with green shadows. Soft blues, greens, and browns, enlivened by bright touches of red, create most pleasing colour harmonies. The ornaments are drawn with great precision and the predominant use of blue against the gold background, as well as the clear outlines of the various motifs, produce the effect of cloisonné enamels.

The catholicos Kostandin, or Constantine I, the owner of this manuscript, was one of the foremost art patrons of his time; several manuscripts written at the patriarchal see of Hromkla for him, or at his command, have been preserved. At least three different painters are known to have worked for Constantine I: Kirakos in A.D. 1244 and A.D. 1249; Hohannes in A.D. 1253; Toros Roslin in A.D. 1256, 1260, and 1268. The colophons having been lost we do not know the names of the

1 G. Hovsep’ian, ‘Kostandin I Catholicos’, Materials and Studies, ii. 5–44.
3 Washington, Freer Gallery, no. 44.17 (formerly Constantinople, Armenian National Library, no. 68). The name of the scribe is written between the lines in the colophon.
FOUR GOSPELS

illustrator of the Beatty manuscript nor of the Gospel presented c. 1250 by the catholicos to his godchild, Prince Leo, the son of Het’um I.1

The figure style of the Evangelist portraits in our manuscript differs from that of Toros Roslin;2 the proportions of the figures are fuller, the draperies more ample, the modelling more delicate. The facial types also differ from those of the portraits painted by Hohannes (Freer Gallery, no. 44.17). There is an even greater difference between the miniatures and ornamental compositions of our manuscript and those painted by Kostandin, a younger contemporary of Toros Roslin and Hohannes, who should also be taken into consideration. For although his name does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts written by order of the catholicos, he could have been employed by him since he had already begun to work in 1263.3

Toros Roslin and the scribe Kostandin, like the majority of Cilician painters, always paint the symbol of the Evangelist for the first letter of each Gospel, while in our manuscript the initials are formed by a wide band decorated with linear interfaces and small flowers. This earlier type, more common in Great Armenia than in Cilicia, is consistently used by Kirakos. Besides the two manuscripts he illustrated for Constantine I in 1244 and 1249, several others commissioned by different patrons have survived: a Lectionary written in 1239 for Bishop Grigor and offered to Drزارk;4 a Gospel written in 1248 at Hromkla for Bishop Stephen;5 a Gospel written in 1265 at the monastery of Mashkevor for a certain Theodosius;6 and finally Codex no. 613 of this Collection written for Bishop Simeon during the reign of Het’um I (1226–70) and the primacy of catholicos Constantine I (1221–67).


3 The following manuscripts written or illustrated by Kostandin are known: Paris, Hachette Coll., Gospel, A.D. 1265; Etchmiadzin, no. 222/237, Bible, A.D. 1260; Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 600/150, Gospel, A.D. 1265; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 740, Gospel, A.D. 1274 (Buchthal and Kurz, op. cit., no. 459); Etchmiadzin, no. 226/195, Bible, A.D. 1284–8.

4 Vienna, no. 53: J. Dashiian, Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien, Vienna, 1895, p. 317; for a fuller description see the Armenian part of this catalogue, pp. 240–1. There are no ornate headpieces in this manuscript, but only floral marginal ornaments.

5 Antilias, no. 1, formerly at Sis. A. Surmeyan, Catalogue, ii, pp. 1–10. The manuscript still has the rich silver binding made in 1257.

6 Manuscript at Roman in Rumania, see H. Dj. Sirouni, 'Note armen', Revue d’Istorie, Bucharest, vol. xv, June 1929, p. 133; S. Kolandjian, 'Treasury of Rumano-Armenian Culture' (in Armenian), Etch­miadzin, 1948, Oct.-Dec., pp. 60–65. In an Armenian paper published in Bucharest, Azaz, Sirouni reproduced the first page of the Gospels of Mark and Luke from a manuscript which, according to the captions, is a 14th-century manuscript from Jassy. Sirouni (op. cit., p. 136) and Macler (Revue des études arménienes, x, 38) list two manuscripts from Jassy, only one of which is a Gospel, and this Gospel was copied at Cafa, in Crimea, in 1451. The ornaments of the two pages reproduced in Araz differ from the style of illumination done in Crimea during the 14th and 15th centuries, while, on the contrary, they bear the greatest resemblance to the style of Kirakos as seen in the Gospel of Venice no. 69, A.D. 1244, the Gospel of Antilias, A.D. 1248, and Codex no. 613 of this Collection. It seems to me therefore that, through some confusion, the wrong caption was placed under the reproductions (there is no reference to the reproductions in the accompanying text) and these two pages belong, not to the Gospel of Jassy, but to the Gospel of Roman, illustrated by Kirakos in 1265 (Macler, op. cit., p. 36).
The Canon tables and headpieces of the Gospel of 1248, the headpieces of the Gospel of 1265 and of Codex no. 613, closely resemble those of our manuscript. In the Gospel written in 1244 for Constantine I (Venice, no. 69), although the general character of the decoration and the marginal ornaments are similar, more complex linear interlaces are used, and lion and human masks appear in the floral scrolls. These are minor differences which one would expect to find in the work of a gifted man who did not repeat the same compositions, and the identification of the painter of our manuscript with Kirakos is fully proved by a comparison with the Gospel of A.D. 1248 (Antilias, no. 1). The hand of the same artist can be recognized not only in the ornamental compositions, but, what is more significant, in the style and technique of the Evangelist portraits.

The range of ornamental motifs is fairly restricted in our manuscript; birds mingle with the foliage only in the rectangles above the Letter of Eusebius; elaborate linear interlaces are never used, and the simpler floral forms constitute the principal elements of the decoration. In the ornamental compositions drawn above and around the Canon tables and headpieces we do not encounter the fantastic creatures often represented in other manuscripts of the 13th century. There is greater variety in the types of capitals and bases. In addition to the addorsed birds and human-headed griffins, or sphinxes, also used in other manuscripts, we find two hares seated back to back and two small men in the same position (Pls. 8, 11–13). Human figures also form the capitals; kneeling on the column they support the architrave with outstretched hands (Pl. 10). Occasionally the animal figures, birds, or quadrupeds (Pl. 13 and fol. 4) support the architrave on their backs, and their heads extend beyond the ideal boundaries of the capital.

When the symbol of the Evangelist does not form the initial of the Gospel it is usually introduced inside the frame of the portrait of the Evangelist. In the Gospel of 1253 (Freer, no. 44.17) the symbol is figured above the buildings placed behind Matthew, Mark, and Luke; in the portrait of John the eagle is perched on the tall lectern. This type of composition already occurs in Byzantine manuscripts of the 11th and 12th centuries: in the Gospel of the British Museum Add. 11838 the symbols appear in the segment of sky, facing the Evangelists; in a Gospel of Moscow, Gr. 14, they are figured in the upper left corner, behind the Evangelists, the upper right corner being filled with a Gospel scene. The eagle is perched on the lectern in the Gospel no. 5 of the Treasury of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople, but I know of no contemporary or earlier example in which the symbols take the place of the lectern as they do in our Gospel (Pls. 14–17). Lecterns in the shape of animals are sometimes used, but these imaginary forms have no connexion with the four symbols.

The figure representations and the ornamental compositions of the Canon tables and headpieces and the great variety of marginal ornaments are all of the highest artistic quality; the painter Kirakos must have been one of the ablest artists of Cilicia. The portraits of the Evangelists show a greater mastery and maturity than those of the Gospel of A.D. 1248: our manuscript should therefore be dated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, between 1248 and 1267.

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1 Sotiriou, Κηρύγμα τοῦ Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου: Πατριαρχικός ναός και Σκηνοφωλάκιον, Athens, 1937, pl. 63.
2 For a later example of this type, see the miniatures added in the 14th century to Codex no. 557, pl. 24.
FOUR GOSPELS

559
FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

DATED A.D. 1311

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two paper leaves from a Gospel, mounted; the miniatures measure 25.4 x 20.2 cm.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, OWNER. Written in 1311 by the priest Dser, and illuminated by the deacon T’oros (see ‘Remarks’).

ILLUSTRATIONS. 1. Dormition of the Virgin. The Virgin lies, with folded arms, facing left. Behind the bed, Christ, turned to the right, raises with both hands the soul of the Virgin, in the shape of a new born child, three angels fly down in order to receive it. Another angel, holding an incense box, stands on the left, next to Christ, and further left are two apostles. The remaining ten apostles are grouped on the right, in front of a ciborium-shaped building; a few hold half-open books, others raise their veiled hands to their eyes. On the rocky foreground, to the right, stands a deacon holding a censer and a small incense box. Inscription next to him: ‘T’or(os).’

2. Deesis. Frontispiece.

REMARKS. The figures are painted in vivid colours—mostly red and blue, with some green, lilac, and brown—against the gold background. The angels and seraphim have green wings and red tips touched with white. The faces of all the figures are in a uniform blue shadow tone, with some white high lights and a few strokes of red; the features are drawn with dark lines. Both compositions are impressive and monumental in character.

These two leaves, formerly in the Sevadjian Collection, were published by Macler, together with four other leaves from the same manuscript in the Rosenberg Collection and which now belong to Mr. H. Hazarian of New York; they represent the Ascension, Pentecost, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Virgin presenting to Christ the painter T’oros.¹

It has been conclusively proved by Mr. H. Kurdian that these miniatures originally belonged to the Gospel no. 1 of the Church of the Theotokos in Tabriz, copied in 1311 by the priest Dser and illuminated by the deacon T’oros, for the prayer of intercession written by the painter under the dedication scene was transcribed in the catalogue published in 1910, when the manuscript was still intact.² Thanks to other transcriptions, Mr. Kurdian was again able to identify three of the missing portraits: the portrait of Matthew is now in the Robert Garrett Collection of Princeton University, that of Luke was acquired by Mr. Kurdian in 1943, and he saw at the same time, in New York, the badly damaged portrait of Mark.³

The cycle of illustrations, including other miniatures assigned to this manuscript for

¹ F. Macler, Documents, pls. xcix-cl.
³ H. Kurdian, op. cit., pp. 109-10 and pls. 1 and 2. The name of the painter T’oros is written under the portraits of Matthew and Luke.
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stylistic reasons, has been discussed in the Introduction on pp. xxx-xxxii; I shall only consider here the two leaves belonging to this Collection.

The Dormition of the Virgin does not appear in Armenian art before the 13th century. The earliest known example is the painting in the church of St. Gregory at Ani, built by Tigran Honents in 1215; shortly after we find this scene in the Gospel of the monastery of T'argmantchats, A.D. 1232, (Etchmiadzin, no. 2743/1058), and again in 1307 in the Gospel illustrated by Toros of Taron (Venice no. 1917).1 The composition of our miniature differs in several respects from these earlier Armenian examples and from the usual Byzantine iconography;2 the apostles are not divided into two symmetrical groups, Peter has not been singled out and given a prominent place at the foot of the Virgin's bed; the Jew Jephonias is not represented; the angel standing next to Christ plays the role of a deacon and holds an incense-box. The rocky foreground is a characteristic feature of the miniatures painted by the deacon Toros. Toros has added his own portrait, in deacon's robes and seemingly taking part in the burial rites of the Virgin, instead of humbly kneeling as the donors or scribes are usually figured when introduced into one of the Gospel scenes.

The second miniature is a more complex representation having as its central theme a modified version of the Deesis (Frontispiece). The simple representation of the Deesis, the Virgin and John standing at the sides of Christ in the attitude of prayer, had been known to Armenian artists since the middle of the nth century, and during the following centuries we find it in sculptured works as well as miniatures. The central figure of Christ differs from these examples in that He is seated on a throne from the four sides of which project the heads of the four beasts which, according to the Book of Revelation, were 'round about the throne' (iv. 6, 7). An eschatological element is thus introduced, which in its details differs from Byzantine examples. When the Deesis forms the central group of the Last Judgement the tetramorphs, conforming in type to the vision of Ezekiel, one body with four different heads, stand before Christ's throne,3 while in the images of Christ in majesty painted in the apses, where Christ in a mandorla is surrounded by the four beasts, the Virgin and Christ are not represented.4 In composing his group of the Deesis the artist has used the type of enthroned Christ frequently represented separately on the Armenian monuments of this period, a type which we also find in the apses of Cappadocian churches.5

1 J. Strzygowski, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa, Vienna, 1916, p. 301, fig. 339. The scene of the Dormition in the T'argmantchats Gospel is the fully developed type: Christ is surrounded by angels; two angels descend from heaven to receive the soul of the Virgin; in the foreground we see the archangel and the Jew Jephonias, and in the background are houses with women looking out of the windows. For Venice no. 1917 see S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 130-1 and pl. 111, fig. 117.
2 L. Wratislav-Mitrovic and N. Okuniev, 'La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe', Byzantinoslavica, iii (1931), 134-74.
3 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1400; K. Weitzmann, Die armenischen Buchmalerei, pl. xiii, fig. 44.
5 For the different examples and the discussion of this theme see F. Van der Meer, Maistelas Domini, Rome–Paris, 1938; G. Millet, La dalmatique du Vatican, Paris, 1945; A. Grabar, Martyrium, Paris, 1943-6, vol. ii, pp. 207-34.
6 G. de Jerphanion, Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce, Paris, 1925-33, i, pl. 39a, III, pls. 150, 153, 186a, 191-3. For the Armenian examples see Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 131-3.
The eschatological meaning of this scene is further emphasized by the addition of two seraphim according to the vision of Isaiah, ‘I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim; each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly’ (vi. 1–2). The two archangels in the foreground, holding lances of which only the lower half has been drawn, have perhaps been included to suggest the Lord’s train that ‘filled the temple’ or the thousands who stood before Him according to the vision of Daniel (vii. 10).

These various elements combined in an original composition give us an abbreviated, but most impressive image of Christ come to Judgement. A more elaborate Byzantine composition of the 14th century offers an interesting parallel. On the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne, in the sacristy of St. Peter’s at Rome, Christ seated on a globe is surrounded by the choirs of angels and the orders of the saints; His feet rest on the winged wheels, the four beasts project from the mandorla, and the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the sides in an attitude of supplication. Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom and the good robber holding the cross are represented in the lower corners of the dalmatic. Our composition does not show the Judgement itself, but it is probable that the eschatological theme was developed on other miniatures following this one.

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1 The vision of Isaiah, in its simpler form, with the seraphim at the sides of the enthroned Christ, occurs in Byzantine art in the 9th-century manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes: C. Stornajolo, Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleustes, pl. 37, while in the manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Gr. 510), also of the 9th century, the choirs of angels appear below the enthroned Christ: H. Omont, Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VP au XIVe siècle, Paris, 1929, pl. xxv.

2 G. Millet, La Dalmatique, pp. 1–6 and passim.

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EPISTLES, ACTS, REVELATION (incomplete)

14TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1–172, Galatians iii. 2 to the end of the Epistle to Philemon; foll. 173–182, Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul and Paul’s Third Epistle to the Corinthians; foll. 19–217, Preface of Acts and of the Catholic Epistles; foll. 22–36, Acts; foll. 36–44, Catholic Epistles; foll. 44–45, Exhortation of Euthalius and index of Revelation; foll. 45–48, Revelation till ch. xiv. 2. In addition to the usual Armenian divisions, the ‘chapters of the Franks’ are also indicated.

MEASUREMENTS. 25.2 x 18.2 cm.; written surface, 18.7 x 13 cm.; 3 columns of 50 or 51 lines. 48 folios; these formed quires 45 to 48 of the complete manuscript.

PAPER AND WRITING. White, fine vellum. Small bolgorir in black ink faded in parts. The initials of the pericopes are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the titles in red bolgorir.

For a reproduction see O. M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Oxford, 1911, fig. 380. In a Byzantine manuscript of Cyprus the four animals project from the large circular mandorla enclosing the Deesis (G. Sotiriou, Ta βυζαντινα μνημεία της Κύπρου, Athens, 1935, pl. 139). Sotiriou assigns this manuscript to the 11th–12th centuries, but the figure style and especially the shape of the smaller mandorla drawn around Christ alone—an oval with angular projections forming an eight-point star—suggest a later date.

**BINDING.** No binding, loose quires.

**DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER.** 14th century. Written in Cilicia by Husip' for Smbat, son of the Constable Leo.

**COLOPHONS.** Fol. 20v., col. 3. ‘Jesus Christ have mercy on the owner of this holy Bible and on the scribe. Amen.’

Fol. 38v., col. 1. ‘The Epistle of James is ended. Lord God, Jesus Christ have mercy on the God-loving baron Smbat, son of baron Levon the Constable, and give this for his enjoyment and that of his (relatives) after him and grant forgiveness to his dead and to all his children. Together with them to me, the sinful scribe Husip’ and to my parents, and may the Lord Jesus have mercy upon you who remember (us). Amen.’

Fol. 18v. In gold bolorgir, by a later hand. ‘The owner of this Biblical manuscript, the vardapet Karapet and his parents, and the master Hakob and his parents and me, Martiros, who wrote these few lines in gold, remember us in the Lord, and may you also be remembered. Amen, a thousand Amens.’


The portraits of the authors of the Catholic Epistles are drawn in the margins at the beginning of each epistle: fol. 37, James; fol. 38v., Peter; fol. 41v., John in bust; fol. 44, Jude in bust; fol. 45, John, above him the Hand of God.

Narrow bands decorated with floral scrolls precede the books on foll. 2, 4, 5v., 7, 8, 9v., 14, 15v., 16v., 17, 17v., 19, 36v., 37, 38v., 40, 41v., 43, 43v.

**REMARKS.** In 1879 the complete manuscript, which was a Bible, belonged to the church of St. Sargis at Erzinjan, and some of the colophons were transcribed by Garegin vardapet Srvandztian.¹ One of these belongs to the time of the copy: ‘Heavenly king, prepare thy heavenly paradise for the owner of this holy book baron Smbat, the son of baron Levon, Constable of the Armenians, and together with them to his parents and to all his children ... and to the false scribe Husep’... Forgive the largeness (of the script) for I was writing with glass eyes (spectacles).’ Another colophon gives the date of the second owner: ‘The last owner of this Bible, the vardapet Karapet and his father the priest Mkrtitch and his mother Elizabeth, and his sister Martha, and all their relatives, and his teacher Hakob ... and all the congregation of this monastery of Apahunik ... remember them in Christ ... This was written in the year of the Armenians 898 (= A.D. 1449).’

The original owner of the manuscript can be identified through the colophon added in 1319 to a Lectionary which had been written in 1268 for the Constable Smbat, the brother of King Het’um I (Vat. Borgianus Arm. 61). This colophon is a long eulogy of the marshal Baldwin, the second owner of the Lectionary, and it mentions that the manuscript was bound, at that time, by the great prince Smbat, lord of Smbatakla, son of the Constable Leo, son of Smbat, the father-in-law of the marshal Baldwin.² The owner of our manuscript Smbat, son of the Constable Leo, is thus the grandson of the great Constable of Armenia, Smbat († 1276), the brother of King Het’um I. We know

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¹ Srvandztian Toros Aghhar II, p. 296.
² E. Tisserant, Codices Armenti bybliothecae Vaticaniae, Rome, 1927, pp. 100-1.
from other sources that Smbat, the owner of our manuscript, was present at the meeting held in the church of St. Sophia at Sis in 1307; he was one of the signatories of the Synod of Adana in 1316, and as we see from the colophon of the Vatican manuscript he was still living in 1319. Our manuscript was probably written during the first quarter of the 14th century. A scribe by the name of Hovsep' copied a Hymnal at Sis in 1323, but as neither this Hovsep' nor the scribe of our manuscript gives the names of his parents, we cannot be certain that they are the same person.

The ornaments and the portraits of the apostles painted in the margins are very similar to the paintings of Sargis Pidsak, but they do not seem to me to be his work. Sargis Pidsak always accentuates the shadow above the bridge of the nose and the eyebrows seem to meet; in our manuscript this shadow is less deep in the portrait of Luke, and in that of John there is none at all. The facial types of these evangelists also differ slightly from those painted by Sargis; Luke has a rounder face, John is less bald, and both have small ears placed high up. The drawing of the standing figure in the margin is less firm than in the work of Sargis; the drapery is slightly more stylized, the sleeves and the hem of the tunic end in a small roll. All these points of detail differentiate our manuscript from those illustrated by Sargis Pidsak, even from his earlier works such as the Bible of a.d. 1319. In many respects the style of our manuscript is more closely allied with that of a Gospel written in 1282 at Drazark by the scribe Hohannes (Brit. Mus. Or. 5626). In other manuscripts of the late 13th century we find a style similar to that of Sargis Pidsak; it is probable that our miniaturist belonged to this slightly older generation and that the scribe Hovsep' who copied the manuscript also executed the ornamental designs and the marginal figures.

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1329


Lacunae. Portraits of Matthew and John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 23 x 16.5 cm.; written surface, 16.5 x 11.5 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 291 folios; quires of 11 or 12 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, white vellum. Bolorgir in black ink. The first letter

1 M. Ormanian, Azagapatun, ii, cols. 1787 and 1819.
2 Erzerum, Sanasarian School, no. 2; see Handes Amsorya, x (1896), p. 26.
3 In addition to the works listed in S. Der Nersessian, Manuscripts armeniens, p. 165, see Erivan, no. 211, before a.d. 1276: Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 53-56; G. Hovsep'ian, The Saviour of Havuts Tar, fig. 33. Etchmiadzin, no. 5784/1030, Gospel of a.d. 1293, Svirine, op. cit., pp. 65-70.
of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; zoomorphic or florale letters are used for the first page of each Gospel and the pericope initials. The other initials are in gold. The first line of each pericope is in gold bolorgir, the second in red.

BINDING. Brown leather on boards, not stamped.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. Written and illuminated in A.D. 1329 at Sis by the priest Sargis (Pidsak) for King Leo IV (V).

COLOURS. Foll. 289v.–291. ‘Glory to the immortal and eternal King of Glory Christ... who gave to the unworthy and sinful scribe... Sargis, falsely called a priest, the strength to finish this.... For I finished this Gospel book in the year of the Armenians 778 (= A.D. 1329), having done everything by my unworthy self, first the luminous words... , second the capital letters, third all the illuminations with gold, fourth the headpieces and the four Evangelists, fifth the concordance with gold illuminations and the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus. I completed everything through the power of God, not through my own efforts, but with the help of God, during the reign over the Armenians of the pious and God-loving Levon (Leo); may the Lord God strengthen his rule now and forever over all his enemies.... And as it is said in the Book of Psalms, “Mayest thou see the sons of thy sons in peace over Israel”, so also may the prophecy of David... be fulfilled for our pious king, Levon the fourth, the son of the pious and God-loving king of the Armenians Oshin, resting in Christ, the hope of all, and may he see the sons of his sons in peace throughout the days of his life, and everywhere. And, after many years, may Christ our God make him worthy of His holy paradise and celestial kingdom, and crown with the celestial crown, him and his parents, the good king Oshin and his God-loving queen Zablun, also called Zabel, and may He grant them the enjoyment of this holy Gospel in His holy kingdom.

This holy Gospel was written in the metropolis of Sis, under the protection of the holy archangels Gabriel and Michael, during the primacy of Ter Hakob, the nephew, (on his mother’s side) of Ter Grigor, catholicos of the Armenians. I beseech you all, who will use this or copy it, remember the pious and God-loving king Levon and his parents, the first kings and queens, so that the Lord may have mercy upon them and rest them in peace in His holy paradise, Amen. And together with them (remember) me the unworthy and humble priest Sargis, and my parents, the priest Grigor and Heghiné, who have departed to Christ. And whosoever remembers us and, in his heart, begs for the remission of our sins, may he receive a hundred-fold for one from Christ our God, who is blessed forever, Amen.’

At the end of fol. 291 six lines are added in notrgir: ‘In the year of the Armenians 1143 (= A.D. 1694) (this book) was deposited as a memorial in the church of the Holy Theotokos. For, previously, it was at Saint Nicholas, but that church is now burnt and left deserted. Because of this it was placed at the church of the Holy Theotokos, so that it might be read daily and the owner remembered with a “Father, I have sinned.”’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Mark (Pl. 20) meditating, and Luke (fol. 148v.) writing, are seated before a table placed under a ciborium-like construction with the name of the Evangelist written on the architrave. The Hand of God, blessing,
comes out of the segment of sky in the upper right or left corner. A drapery hangs from a hook attached to the upper frame and comes down behind the Evangelists. The face of Luke is partly rubbed off.

Letter of Eusebius (foll. 1v.-2). The bust portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted under pointed arches set in a wide rectangular band; sirens among floral interlaces decorate the spandrels. The canon tables (foll. 3v.-10) are decorated with floral interlaces; birds are perched on the trees in the margins, on the ends of the architrave, and above the rectangular bands. On foll. 7v. and 8, lions are seated in the outer margins, next to the rectangles, and on foll. 9v. and 10 there are monkeys holding candles. The headpieces of the Gospels are ri-shaped (foll. 96v.) or have multifoil arches opening into the rectangle (Pl. 19). The floral interlaces are enclosed in roundels on foll. 13 and 231; small birds or sirens fill the spandrels of fol. 231. The headpiece of the Gospel of Luke (foll. 149) is filled with an all-over pattern of leaves forming crosses; in the centre an eagle, swooping down, holds a small bird in its claws.

The marginal ornaments on the initial page of each Gospel fill the entire margin; they are formed by interlacing palmettes, surmounted by an ornate cross, and sometimes with a crouching animal at the base of the ornament (Pl. 19). The marginal ornaments of the pericopes are for the most part floral interlaces or birds; these are occasionally replaced by figures, usually drawn in bust above the ornament, or by other motifs directly connected with the text: Christ, blessing (foll. 61, 72, 108v., 118v., 137, 161, 252; Mt. xix. 1, xxiii. 1; Mk. v. 21, viii. 27, xiv. 27; Lk. iv. 14; Jn. vii. 37); the head of John the Baptist on a platter (foll. 49, 111; Mt. xiv. 1; Mk. vi. 14); Joseph of Arimathea (foll. 143, 284v.; Mk. xv. 42; Jn. xix. 38); a small boy on a tree (foll. 65v., 126v., 210v.; Mt. xx. 29; Mk. x. 46; Lk. xix. 29); two holy women holding lamps (foll. 91v., Mt. xxviii. 1); Christ and the disciples on the way to Emmaus (foll. 226v., Lk. xxi. 13); Christ carrying the cross (foll. 283, Jn. xix. 17); Christ healing the paralytic (foll. 242, Jn. v. 1); and the man born blind (foll. 257, Jn. ix. 1); the Annunciation (foll. 150v. and 151, Lk. i. 26); Augustus (foll. 154, Lk. ii. 1); two shepherds (foll. 154v., Lk. ii. 8); a woman kneeling (foll. 191v., Lk. xii. 32); Judas (foll. 278v., Jn. xviii. 2); trees (foll. 67, 127v., 265v.; Mt. xxi. 18; Mk. xi. 12; Jn. xii. 12); tempies (foll. 75, 215, 250v., 261; Mt. xxiv. 1; Lk. xxi. 5; Jn. vii. 14 and x. 22); a cock (foll. 87, Mt. xxvi. 75); a demon (foll. 186, Lk. xi. 14); flames rising from a bowl (foll. 192v., Lk. xii. 49); birds with cross nimb and rays (foll. 240, 271v., 272; Jn. iv. 24, xiv. 15, xiv. 25).

REMARKS. This manuscript, which is in an excellent state of preservation except for the two missing portraits, is a typical example of the art of Sargis Pidsak, the best painter of Cilicia in the 14th century. Two years after completing this Gospel he was again employed by the king, and he painted his portrait as the frontispiece of the Assizes of Antioch, which he copied for him.1 The portraits of the Evangelists, some of the decorated pages, and many of the marginal vignettes of our manuscript are almost identical with those of a Gospel he illustrated in 1331.2

1 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 107; see V. Hatsuni, History of the Armenian Costume (in Armenian), Venice, 1924, p. 244.

2 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 16, see S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits armeniens, pls. lxxvi-cxiii. For a fuller discussion of the work of Sargis Pidsak see ibid., pp. 137-66, and the Introduction of this volume, pp. xxviii-xxx. Several other manuscripts can be added to the works listed in S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., pp. 137-41. Jerusalem, no. 2434, Khazerqei, A.d. 1321; Jerusalem, nos. 2335, 1644, 1620, Hymnals dated 1320, 1321, and 1324; Jerusalem, no. 1930, Books of the
CATALOGUE

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FOUR GOSPELS

DATED A.D. 1364


Lacunae. Fol. 126v. is left blank, but the text continues without interruption on fol. 127.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 26.5 x 18 cm.; written surface, 19 x 12.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 to 26 lines each. 250 folios + 4 unnumbered at the beginning.

PAPER AND WRITING. Polished, cream paper. Bolorgir in black ink. The first two lines of Matthew, the first line of the other Gospels and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; those of the verses are in red capitals.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards, with flap, stamped with a large cross on three steps on the front cover, and a cross in a circle on the end cover. Marks of small metal cross and studs; small clasp; loose back.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1364 for the elder Astvadsatur.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 124v. ‘O holy priests of God, remember my soul sinful unto death. Remember in Christ also Ter Vardan who gave us the model.’

Fol. 196. ‘Now I beseech you all to remember Abraham, and his parents, who adorned the church anew, and may he be remembered in the kingdom of Christ.’

Foll. 250–250v. ‘Glory to the most Holy Trinity. . . . This holy Gospel was completed during the patriarchate of Mesrov and the reign of Kostandius, in the year of the Armenians 813 (= A.D. 1364). May God grant the enjoyment of this to the elder Astvadsatur, who received it from his rightful possessions, as a memorial of himself, and of his parents, his brothers, and all his children. O children of the holy church who benefit from this, or who copy it, remember our parents Hohannes and Hrip'sime, our brother, Father Arak'el, a priest, and Khatchatur, and those who are endebted to this holy Gospel; remember them all in your pure prayers. And He who is bountiful in everything, may He grant the reward of good deeds to you, and your dead, and our dead.’

Old Testament, A.D. 1323; New York, Hazarian Collection, Hymnal, A.D. 1325; Istanbul, Church of Balat, no. 1, Gospel, A.D. 1325; Antilias, Ritual, A.D. 1328; Jerusalem, no. 1578, Hymnal, A.D. 1335; Aleppo, no. 7, Collection, A.D. 1338; Etchmiadzin, no. 1029, Gospel, A.D. 1338 (V. Lazarev, Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi, Moscow, 1947, p. 387); Chester Beatty Collection, no. 614, Gospel, A.D. 1342 (see below pp. 181–4). Sargis painted the Evangelist portraits of Jerusalem, no. 1949, written in A.D. 1312 in the province of Taron, and some of the miniatures of a Bible written at Erzincan in A.D. 1336 (Etchmiadzin, no. 359/2627, see Svirine, La Miniature, pp. 75, 80). On stylistic grounds we can assign to him the Evangelist portraits of Codex no. 613 (see below p. 181), and the illustrations of the Hymnal no. 1489 of the New York Public Library.

The scribe Sargis who finished the copy of a Gospel in 1326 should probably be identified with our painter (Leiden, Or. 5495, see Macler, Rapport sur une mission ... en Belgique, pp. 360–63).
ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The Evangelists Matthew (Pl. 25a), Mark (fol. 81v.), and Luke (fol. 125v.) are seated on benches, writing or meditating; John, seated in an arm-chair, dictates to Prochoros, seated on a bench (fol. 196v.). The name of each Evangelist is written in large uncials against a blue, green, or yellow background.

The Letter of Eusebius (fol. 2v.-3) is written under rectangles decorated with a floral scroll in white, tinted with red, drawn against a blue background; the roundels framing the portraits of Eusebius and Carpi anus cut the upper and lower bands of the rectangles. The rectangles of the Canon tables (fol. 42v.-11) are also decorated with floral scrolls or interlaces; ornate bands divide the space into triangles, or arches are inscribed in the rectangle. At the sides, instead of the usual trees, simple leaves project from the base of the rectangle; vertical bands replace the columns.

The headpieces are H-shaped, or consist of large rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them and a floral motif, lodged in the openings (Pl. 25b). The decorative motifs in white, tinted with red, drawn against a deep blue or red ground, are the usual palmette scrolls, or an all-over pattern of interlacing lines with flowers in the intervening spaces. On fol. 197 a peacock and a floral motif are drawn under the opening of the arch. The large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes terminate with a cross; those which accompany the pericopes consist of small floral motifs or birds. These ornaments are replaced by other motifs when required by the text, such as trees (foll. 56, 108; Mt. xx. 29; Mk. x. 46); temples (foll. 64, 113v., 185, 226; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 6; Jn. x. 22); crosses for the Passion readings (foll. 55, 69v., 71v., 78, 116, 117v., 187, 190, 234, 236v., 238v., 245; Mt. xx. 17, xxvi. 3, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 57; Mk. xiv. 1, xiv. 27; Lk. xxii. 1, xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xiv. 25, xvi. 5, xix. 17). On fol. 181 (Lk. xix. 29) a child is climbing a tree. The rectangle of fol. 12v., divided into three horizontal bands, and resting on columns, is of a much later date; the concordance numbers of the Canon table have not been written in.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists are painted in fairly bright colours against a deep blue, green, or yellow background; gold is used only for the nibs. The figures have rather heavy proportions; the head is usually too large and the torso too long in relation to the rest of the body; the hands and feet are very small and awkwardly drawn (Pl. 25a). The ample draperies, with the pointed ends of the mantle projecting diagonally, recall, though in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, the style of some Cilician painters of the second half of the 13th century and, better still, that of the artists working in the province of Ekeghiats (Erzinjan), as may be seen from the Bible copied there in 1269 (Jerusalem, no. 1925)." This style continues in the following century, and a very good example may be seen in a Gospel written in 1335 at the monastery of St. Kirakos and the Holy Cross in the province of Ekeghiats (Oxford, Bodleian Arm.d.4). The miniaturist Nerses, who illustrated this Gospel, was influenced by Byzantine art, and he has written the names of the Evangelists in Greek as well as in Armenian; his figures are more skilfully drawn than those of our manuscript: the torsos, though somewhat long, are not entirely out of proportion, the ample draperies
still respect the natural forms, but we can recognize in these miniatures the type of model imitated by the painter of our manuscript. The backgrounds are painted a deep blue, as are some of the backgrounds of our manuscript, John and Prochoros are both seated, and there are marked similarities between the ornamental designs and the floral initials used in both manuscripts.

Our Gospel may therefore have been copied in the province of Ekeghiats, though the possibility of a Cilician provenance cannot be entirely excluded.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Four loose leaves: Mk. i. 1-8; Portrait of Luke; Portrait of another Evangelist; Jn. i. 1-14.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 24 × 16.5 cm.; written surface, 19.6 × 10.5 cm. and 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin paper stained round the edges. Bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of the Gospels of Mark and of John is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel is in zoomorphic letters; the second and third lines are in red and black erkalagir.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 14th century, Khizan. See Remarks.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portrait of Luke (Pl. 27a). Portrait of an Evangelist (Matthew?) seated like Luke. The miniature is half finished, only the draperies and the right spandrel of the arch are painted; the left spandrel is partly coloured, the remaining parts are merely drawn. Headpiece of the Gospel of Mark. The large rectangle, with a complex multifoil arch opening into it, is filled with intersecting palmettes in white, slightly touched with blue, pink, and yellow, drawn against a dark red background. Above the rectangle are two confronted birds at the sides of a vase. The large marginal ornament of interlacing palmettes is crowned with a cross. Headpiece of the Gospel of John (Pl. 27b).

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists are painted in the style characteristic of the school of Khizan, south of Lake Van, in the 14th century: heavy figures, large round faces, long eyebrows, staring eyes with a line extending the eyelids, vertical lines drawn across the hair over the forehead. Instead of a book the Evangelists hold a large sheet of paper, with two lines drawn across it, probably to indicate the strap which held it to a board. This type of sheet, attached to a board, may be seen in many manuscripts illustrated at Khizan or in the style of Khizan,1 and our two portraits are almost identical with those of a Gospel written in A.D. 1335 at the monastery of

St. Gamaghiel at Khizan (Paris. Arm. 333). The ornamental motifs of the headpieces the zoomorphic initials, are also very similar to those of the Paris Gospel. In fact the resemblance between the two manuscripts is so great that, were it not for a slight difference in the treatment of the draperies, these loose leaves might very well have been considered as the work of the scribe Hohannes who illustrated the Gospel of A.D. 1335.^  

Luke wears a red tunic and a green mantle; his nimh is painted yellow. The backgrounds of the headpieces are a deep red, the flowers are drawn in white, tinted blue, pink, and yellow.

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FOUR GOSPELS

15TH CENTURY


Lacunae. Probably several folios at the beginning with full-page miniatures and some of the Canon tables. Foll. 258–69, on a different paper and by a different hand, have been added in A.D. 1667. The manuscript proper ends with Jn. xvi. 12.

The Canon tables have not been written under the decorative frames. The Letter of Eusebius is written by the hand of the scribe who, in A.D. 1667, added the folios 258–69.

The following folios were loose and have been mounted separately: foll. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 84, 85, 134, 135, 212, 213.

MEASUREMENTS. 27 × 18.5 cm.; written surface, 20 × 12.5 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 269 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured paper. Medium size bolorgir in brownish ink; foll. 258–69, bolorgir in black ink between red vertical lines. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters; the initials of the verses are in red erkat'agir.

BINDING. Brown, stamped leather over boards, back mended; three straps. Traces of seven metal crosses on the front cover and of one on the end cover.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 15th century. Written by the priest Karapet for Simeon vardapet.

1 For other examples of the school of Khizan in this Collection see Introduction, p. xxxiv, note 6.