FOUR GOSPELS

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. 1335.¹

Luke wears a red tunic and a green mantle; his nimbl 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 x 18.5 cm.; written surface, 20 x 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 erkatagir.

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 vardapat.

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

COLOPHONS. Fol. 4, at the end of the Letter of Eusebius, by the hand of the scribe of the colophon dated 1667: 'I am in need of the assistance of prayers. Deign to remember the miserable scribe Atom, incapable of good deeds, and may the benefactor of all have mercy on you who remember. Amen.'

Fol. 83v. 'The owner of this holy Gospel, Simeon vardapet and his parents and all his blood relatives, living and dead, remember them in your prayers, fathers and brothers, when you encounter this, and say "God have mercy", and ask God for the remission of their sins, so that Christ God may also have mercy on you. Together with them, the very sinful scribe, Karapet, misnamed a priest, and my father the priest Step'annos, who this year departed to Christ, deem us worthy of remembrance with one "God have mercy". And Glory forever to Christ our God.'

Fol. 1332v. 'O kind readers and listeners who encounter this, remember in your prayers, rising to heaven, the owner of this, Simeon vardapet and, with him, his parents and all his relatives, living and dead. And say "God have mercy" at the time of the holy and awe-inspiring mass, so that Christ our God, who is blessed forever, may also forgive you. And with them deem worthy of remembrance, with a "God have mercy", this unworthy and sinful scribe.'

Fol. 211v. 'Christ, God, through Thy holy resurrection and holy Ascension, have mercy on the owner of this holy Gospel, the blessed vardapet Simeon... and on me, the most sinful scribe Karapet... .'

Fol. 269, in a later hand. 'Glory to the Holy Trinity.... This was written in the famous city of Sfayhun (Isphahan), protected by God, by the hand of the scribe Aristakes, at the door of the holy Theotokos. In the year of the Armenians 1116 (= A.D. 1667) this holy Gospel was renovated, during the patriarchate at Etchmiadzin of the Catholicos Ter Hakob and (at the time of) our superior Davit vardapet. Remember again the Paron Gturik; God protect his brother Hayrapet who collaborated to the renewal of this. And may you be remembered by our Lord, Jesus Christ, Amen.'

Fol. 269v., brief note by a certain Margaré with the date 1177 (= A.D. 1728).

The manuscript belonged originally to the Andonian congregation at Ortakey; its seal is stamped on fol. 3, and the catalogue indication is written inside the cover by the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1. Presentation and Baptism. Inscriptions: (a) 'the bringing to the temple on the fortieth day'; (b) 'Baptism'. Pl. 28.

Fol. iv. Transfiguration. Christ, in a starry mandorla, stands on the top of a high peak; on the left Elijah, and on the right Moses, bearded, holding a book, stand on similar peaks. In the foreground Peter and James point to the vision; John, between them, raises his veiled hands to his face. Inscriptions: above, 'The Transfiguration of our Saviour on mount Thabor'; below, 'The disciples Peter, James, and John, sons of Zebedee'; next to the figures, 'Jesus Christ, Elijah, Moses'.

Fol. 2. (a) Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by three disciples, advances towards the shrouded figure of Lazarus standing in the rectangular opening of a rock-cut tomb; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; a young man, holding a stone slab, stands next to the tomb. Inscription: 'The Raising of Lazarus.'

(b) Entry into Jerusalem. Christ is followed by a compact group of apostles, and
greeted by two elderly men who stand in front of a gate; a child spreads his garment before the ass’s feet, another climbs on a tree. Inscription: ‘The arrival on the ass’; next to the child on the tree, ‘Zacchaeus’.

Fol. 2v. (a) Washing of the Feet. Christ, standing inside a doorway, wipes the right foot of Peter, who is seated on a high stool and points to his head. The other apostles (without nimbs) are grouped behind Peter, in three rows. Arches are drawn above the rectangle representing the room. Inscription: ‘The washing of the feet.’

(b) Communion of the Apostles. Christ, standing next to a small table, holds a chalice in His left hand and, with the right, presents the bread to Peter. The other apostles (without nimbs) stand behind Peter in a compact group. The lower frame cuts all the figures below the knees. Inscription: ‘The mass in the upper chamber.’

Fol. 3. Pentecost. The apostles are seated in two groups above an arched opening; large green, blue, and brown rays descend on their heads from the mouth of the dove flying downward from the segment of sky. Below, in a rectangular section under the arched opening, stand three men: in the centre, a young crowned figure holding a lance, and next to him at the sides, two youths in pointed caps; the one on the right holds an open scroll. Inscription: ‘The descent of the Holy Ghost on the holy apostles.’

The Evangelists Matthew (fol. 72v), Mark (fol. 84v), and Luke (fol. 134v) are seated writing or meditating in front of a table; the symbol of each Evangelist is represented in the segment of sky in the upper right corner. John dictates to Prochoros (Pl. 29).

The portraits of Eusebius and Carpi anus are painted under trefoil arches set in rectangles which, like those of the Canon tables, are decorated with floral scrolls or interlaces, coloured a light brown. The backgrounds are green or blue; occasionally partly green and partly blue. On fol. 5v. a monkey holding a candle is drawn in the outer margin next to the rectangle.

Complex arches open into the wide rectangles of the headpieces; these are decorated with floral scrolls, interlacing lines forming lozenges, squares, or eight-point stars, with small flowers drawn in the intermediary spaces. The backgrounds are dark red or blue, and the floral or geometric motifs are tinted red, blue, or green.

The fairly simple marginal ornaments, consisting of floral scrolls, are occasionally replaced by birds, sirens, quadrupeds, and by the following figures or motifs related to the text: fol. 82, a holy woman (Mt. xxviii. 1); fol. 137, the angel of the Annunciation (Lk. i. 26); fol. 140v, a shepherd (Lk. ii. 8); and temples on foll. 120v. and 198v. (Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5).

REMARKS. Several folios are missing in the first quire, and this probably explains the absence of some of the important scenes which are always included in the Gospel cycle. Before the Presentation we should have had the Annunciation and Nativity and, between the Communion of the Apostles and the Pentecost, at least two and possibly more of the following scenes: Betrayal, Crucifixion, Entombment, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Harrowing of Hell, Ascension.

The artist has followed throughout the iconographic types of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Communion of the Apostles had been represented in the Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century which have a narrative cycle; beginning with the 14th century it is occasionally included by the painters of Great Armenia in the selected
group of Gospel scenes.¹ The Armenian representations usually differ from the Early Christian and Byzantine compositions in that the apostles are all grouped on one side. This is also the type adopted in our manuscript, but the painter has simplified the scene by omitting the large ciborium above the figure of Christ, and by reducing the altar to a small table covered with a cloth.³

The architectural settings, banished from the compositions themselves, have been arbitrarily placed above the frame of the miniatures, where they have a purely ornamental function. Thus the top of the ciborium flanked by two small arches is drawn above the frame of the Washing of the Feet. In the Presentation, the altar is again a small table with a cloth and the Gospel book, and two large arches indicate the interior of the temple; the top part of the ciborium, which should have stood over the altar, is drawn above the right side of the frame and a large drapery extends from these arches to a simplified construction on the left (Pl. 28).

The symbols of the Evangelists are drawn in the segment of sky, as in some earlier Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts. The eagle is figured when John is seated alone, while in the compositions where he dictates to Prochoros we usually have the Hand of God emerging from the segment of sky, but our miniaturist has also added the eagle, flying above John's head (Pl. 29).⁸

The figure style, the ornamental designs, as well as the palaeography, date this manuscript in the 15th century, and show definite connexions with the paintings of the 'Van school'. In a Bible written at Khlat', north of Lake Van, between the years 1418 and 1422, and illustrated by Mkrtitch Naghash (Venice, no. 280/10), we find the same short figures, sometimes cut below the knees by the lower frame of the miniature, similar facial types, and such details as the white dots around the nimbo.¹ As in our manuscript, two scenes are frequently represented on the same page, separated by a narrow band, and the Communion of the Apostles (fol. 552v.), placed in this instance above (instead of below) the Washing of the Feet, is very similar to the composition in our Gospel.

There are also definite connexions between our manuscript and those which were illustrated by the cleric Minas, between the years 1432 and 1469, in various monasteries situated in the northern and eastern regions of Lake Van.⁶ These connexions indicate the common traditions of a scriptorium, even though the personal style of Minas is somewhat different. The figures painted by Minas are more slender and elegant, the draperies often fall in narrow folds, but many of the secondary details are similar; for


² The Early Christian or Byzantine type in which Christ, represented twice, gives the bread and wine to the apostles standing in two separate groups, appears in a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1223 at Mamistra, in Cilicia (Galata-Istanbul, Church of the Holy Trinity, no. 35).

³ An earlier example may be seen in a Gospel illustrated by Ignatios in 1236, New Julfa, no. 36: G. Hovsep'ian, Materials and Studies, ii, p. 63, fig. 6.

⁴ The Nativity has been reproduced in Pozzobon, Venice, 1935, Sept.–Dec., fig. 33.

⁵ Paris, Arm. 18: F. Macler, Miniatures arméniennes, pls. xvi–xxi; Jerusalem,fulbenkian Gospel, and 1455. N. Dsovaguan, 'A Precious Gift by Mr. Gulbenkian' (in Armenian), Sion, Jerusalem, 1950, pp. 228–33. For a list of the other manuscripts illustrated by Minas see S. Der Nersessian, 'The Painter Minas and his Illustrations' (in Armenian), Sion, Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 142–6.
instance, the white dots around the nimbs, the shape and design of the desks of the Evangelists, or of the cushion placed under the latter's feet. Some of the ornamental compositions are almost identical with ours.

The scribe, the priest Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos, has given very little information about himself, and I have not been able to find any other mention of the donor. A priest named Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos and Mina, worked at Van between the years 1418 and 1451, and illustrated several Gospels with full-page miniatures. The present location of these manuscripts, which were all at Van and Aght'amar, is not known; we cannot therefore base our identification on a stylistic study. Another scribe named Karapet, son of the priest Step'annos and P'asha, worked at Vostan between the years 1439 and 1467. Only partial copies of the colophons of these manuscripts have been published and I do not know if they were illustrated.

The full-page miniatures and the ornamental designs are painted in subdued colours against the white background of the paper: soft browns mingle with the reds, greens, and blues in delicate harmonies. No gold has been used, and the nimbs are simply painted yellow. Our painter is a better colourist than a draughtsman; the figures are too short, the arms and legs often too thin, and in the modelling of the draperies the hips and thighs have been over-emphasized.

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FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1439

Three vellum fly-leaves, two at the end and one at the beginning, taken from a large manuscript of the 11th century in erkal agir.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18.2 x 13.5 cm.; written surface, 14 x 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 21 to 24 lines each. 289 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick cream paper. Irregular bolorgir of medium size in black ink. The first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, stamped with a cable design on the border and a cross at the centre. Coarse material with red and black design pasted inside the covers.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. Written in 1439 at Bastay Vank' by Khatchatur abegha and illustrated by Mkrtitch for the elder T’adeos.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 7, under the miniature: ‘The unworthy painter Mkrtitch beseeches Thee, Holy Father and God, and says: remember me, the sinner.’

Fol. 8, above the kneeling figure: ‘The priest T’adeos beseeches the Theotokos.’

Foll. 8.4v–8.5. ‘I beseech from the depth of my heart, with faith and hope, have mercy on my darkened mind. Christ, my God, in Thee is all my hope, healer of souls, heal the sin-burdened soul of the abegha Khatchatur, Amen.’

Fol. 136. ‘O, O, O, woe, woe is me, when I recall my evil deeds I am full of doubts. But I trust in thy lovingkindness, Christ, my God. Glory to Thy unbounded patience and forgiveness. . . . I have sinned, Lord, have mercy, my hope is in Thee, for ever and ever, Christ my God.’

Foll. 287v–289. ‘Glory to the indivisible and one Holy Trinity. . . . This Gospel was written under the shelter of the Holy Theotokos called Bastay Vank’, by the hand of the foolish and very sinful Khatchatur khabegha (false abegha), for I am not worthy to be called abegha. . . . Having prostrated myself I beseech you, fathers and brothers, who encounter this, seeing it or reading it, remember and ask the mercy of God for the owner of this holy Gospel, the meek priest T’adeos and for his parents Martiros and Merat’ and all their relatives. . . . I beseech you again, be lenient for my mistakes and my ignorance. . . . and say: May God have mercy on the scribe and specially on the very good T’adeos. . . . This holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 888 (= A.D. 1439), by the hand of the most sinful scribe Khatchatur, for the glory of the most Holy Trinity who is blessed for ever. Amen.’

Fol. 289v. Short colophons by a different hand asking for prayers for Hohannes and his wife Mam khat’un.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. Annunciation. The angel, holding a long lance, approaches from the left; the Virgin is seated on a high throne holding the spindle. Inscriptions: ‘It is the Annunciation; it is the Virgin.’

Fol. 2. Nativity. The Virgin and the Child, both reclining, one above the other, gaze towards a shepherd who points to three angels, above; in the foreground, on the left, three crowned Magi, holding caskets and seen only to their waist, speak to Joseph, seated on the ground. Inscriptions: ‘The angels; it is the Nativity; the shepherd; the kings of the Magi; Joseph.’

Fol. 2v. Presentation. Simeon holding the Christ Child in his arms stands on the left; on the right are the Virgin and Joseph, carrying two doves. There is no altar; above the group is drawn a trefoil arch crowned by a tower with a conical roof, at the centre, and two domes at the sides. Inscriptions: ‘The coming to the temple; Jesus Christ.’

Fol. 3. Baptism. John the Baptist, in a short tunic and mantle, baptizes Christ who wears a loin-cloth; the water comes to their knees. An angel stands behind John; the dove descends on Christ, and the hand of God emerges from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. Inscription: ‘It is the Baptism.’

Fol. 3v. Transfiguration. Christ stands on sinuous lines representing the mountain; there is no mandorla around Him. At His sides, slightly lower down, are Elijah on the
left and, on the right, Moses, bearded and holding a book. The apostles have not been represented. Inscription: 'The Mount Thabor, Elijah, Moses.'

Fol. 4. Marriage at Cana. Inscriptions: 'He turned the water into wine; the wedding; the bridegroom.' Pl. 33b.

Fol. 4v. Healing of the Paralytic and Raising of Lazarus. Inscriptions: 'The paralytic; the raising of Lazarus.' Pl. 33a.

Fol. 5. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ is followed by a nimbed, bearded man and greeted by a nimbed young man; in the foreground two boys spread their garments. Inscription: 'It is Palm Sunday.'

Fol. 5v. (a) Betrayal. Judas coming from the right embraces Christ; behind Judas are two helmeted soldiers carrying axes. Inscriptions: 'Jesus-Christ; Judas.'

(b) Pilate washing his Hands. A soldier pours water over the hands of Pilate, who is seated on the right. Inscription: 'Pilate.'

Fol. 6. Pentecost. Seven apostles, divided into two groups, are seated under an arch; the dove flies down from the centre of the arch, but there are no rays or tongues of fire. In the foreground is a high wall with five arched openings. Inscription: 'The apostles in the holy upper chamber.' The margins of this folio have been entirely cut off.

Fol. 6v. Ascension. Christ is seated (without any indication of a throne or a manda-rola) between two half-figures of angels flying towards Him; below, two apostles on the left, the Virgin and another apostle, on the right, stand at the sides of a small arched door. Inscription: 'It is the Ascension.'

Fol. 7. Christ enthroned. Christ is seated on the four apocalyptic beasts; the foreground is covered with intersecting lines forming lozenges. Christ's face is partly rubbed off. Inscriptions: 'It is the tetramorphic throne. The unworthy painter Mkrtitch beseeches Thee, Holy Father and God, and says: Remember me, the sinner.'

Fol. 7v. Scene in paradise. Christ speaks to the apostles grouped in a semicircle, on the right side of a large arch; on the left are two archangels. Inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ; the Apostles, Gabriel, Michael.'

Fol. 8. Virgin and donors. The donor and his son, facing him, kneel before the Virgin seated, in profile, on a plain yellow throne on the right. The donor wears a blue tunic with a red belt, and a brown mantle with a fringe, clasped in front with a red brooch. The son wears a blue tunic with black dots under which can be seen the sleeves and the hem of a red undergarment. Inscriptions: 'T'adeos implores the Theotokos; this is the son.'

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew, Luke, and John (foll. 15v., 136v., 224v.) are seated on a bench and write on a sheet of paper, strapped to a board which is attached, by a cord, to the arch painted above them. In the portrait of Mark (fol. 86v.) the board hangs by a shorter cord and does not rest on his knees. The name of each Evangelist is written against the plain background and there is an additional inscription: 'Lord, Jesus, Christ God, Thou art blessed by everyone for ever and ever, Amen.'

The Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables (foll. 8v.-13) are written under fairly narrow rectangles, supported by columns with human or animal heads, and decorated with large palmette motifs drawn against a red background. The headpieces (foll. 16, 87, 137, 225) also have a dark red background and are decorated with the usual floral arabesques, and, in one instance (fol. 16), with sirens among the foliage.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes are usually floral designs or sirens, and
only occasionally a temple, a tree, or a cross are represented to illustrate the appropriate passages (foll. 67v, 201, 278).

**REMARKS.** The miniatures are painted in bright colours against the plain background of the paper; green, blue, and red predominate. The figures have short heavy proportions, large heads, and they usually fill the entire space; the features are drawn with dark lines and there is no modelling on the faces; the draperies are highly stylized, dark brush-strokes indicate the folds.

Fol. 6 had at one time been detached; its margins are trimmed off, and the leaf has been reversed at the time of binding; so that the Descent of the Holy Ghost now precedes the Ascension. Some folios seem to be missing; for we do not have the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and the Harrowing of Hell, which almost always form part of the Gospel cycle.

Bastay Vank' or the monastery of Bast, where the manuscript was copied, is in the canton of Aghdznik', south of Lake Van, and the illuminator follows the traditions of Khizan. The characteristic iconography of this school appears in several representations: the Marriage at Cana is separated into two registers and the bridegroom and wedding guests are seated below (Pl. 33b); the Paralytic, seen in bust, is lowered in a net held by two men lying above the frame (here only their hands are represented); in the Raising of Lazarus, one of the sisters sits next to the sarcophagus (Pl. 33a); the group of Christ, the apostles, and the archangels appears in Paradise; the Evangelists write on a sheet of paper attached to a board which hangs down by means of a cord. The painters of this school also simplify the compositions, as does our painter, though they seldom omit such important persons as the apostles in the Transfiguration.

The short round figures with broad round faces, a line extending the eyes and eyebrows, and a lock of hair curling above the shoulder, recall the paintings of the Khizan manuscripts of the 14th century, such as Paris, Arm. 333, or those of the early 15th century, for instance, two Gospels illustrated at Khizan in 1402 and 1404, a Gospel written in 1435 in the canton of Mok's, immediately east of the canton of Aghdznik'. The connexions with Muslim paintings of Mongolian style have been discussed in the Introduction.

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The cycle of the Second Coming of Christ is reduced to two scenes: Christ seated on the tetramorphs (fol. 7); Christ and the apostles in Paradise (fol. 7v). The first of these two scenes appears in several manuscripts of Khizan: in two Gospels written in 1402 and 1417 in Codex no. 566 of this Collection and in a Gospel written in 1460 or shortly before. Christ enthroned on the cherubim had already been represented by

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1) See Codex no. 563 (Pl. 27a) and the examples listed above p. 40, note 1.
2) Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 1099, written by Hohannes; cf. E. Nykolskaia, op. cit., in Mystetstvoznavstvo-Zbirnyk, i, Kharkov, 1928-9, pls. xlvi-l; and Etchmiadzin, no. 1066, without date, ibid., pl. xlvi.
3) New York, Kevorkian Coll., no. 10. The manuscript was written by the scribe Margare. Two different painters have worked together for the illustrations: the portraits of the Evangelists, the Nativity, and the Presentation, painted in bright colours against a coloured background, are the work of a more skilled artist; the remaining scenes of the life of Christ, painted against a plain background, are extremely close to the miniatures of our manuscript. Cf. G. Hosep'ian, 'A Page from the Artistic History of Khizan', figs. 1-2.
4) See pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.
5) Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 754: Nykolskaia, op. cit., pp. 39 and 42. In both examples the owner of the manuscript is represented kneeling in the foreground.
6) Aleppo, no. 44. The sentence giving the date on p. 598 is in a different writing from the rest of the
FOUR GOSPELS

the deacon Toros (Frontispiece), but the miniatures of the Khizan manuscripts, which do not include the Virgin and John the Baptist, should be connected with other examples of the 14th century. In a Gospel dated A.D. 1304 (Oxford, Bodleian, Arm. d. 3), Christ is seated on a throne from the four sides of which project the four animals; He holds in His hand an open book with the words: ‘I am the light of the world, whoever comes to me shall not remain.’ The order of the full-page miniatures of this manuscript has been disturbed, but we can be sure that the enthroned Christ came at the end of the Gospel cycle, for the Letter of Eusebius is written on the verso of this folio (foll. 13 and 13v). A similar example may be seen in the Gospel illustrated in 1307 at Gladzor by Toros of Taron; the full-page miniature again comes at the end of the Gospel cycle, and facing it is the image of the enthroned Virgin with Child.¹

The second composition, Christ and the apostles in Paradise, is a simplified version of the type of representation already used in two manuscripts dated 1414 and 1434 (Jerusalem, nos. 2663 and 2784), and of which we have a later example in Codex no. 574 (Pl. 48a); there is no allusion here to the resurrection of the dead or to the torments of the sinners, only the elect are figured together with the archangels Michael and Gabriel.²

The iconographic variant of the Raising of Lazarus, with one of the sisters seated next to the sarcophagus, in which can be seen the shrouds entirely covering the body of Lazarus (Pl. 33a), had already been represented in the 14th century by a painter of Khizan (Paris, Arm. 333). The artists of the Christian East or of western Europe occasionally replace the rock-cut sepulchre by a sarcophagus, but Lazarus is always seen rising from the tomb, while in our example the actual miracle is not suggested.³ Other painters of Khizan represent Lazarus lying on a stone slab, placed diagonally.⁴

In Armenian manuscripts the donors usually stand before Christ, or they kneel at the foot of the cross with the bust figure of Christ; occasionally they appear before the enthroned figure of the Virgin and Child.⁵ The composition in this manuscript differs from the other examples in that the Virgin sits alone, without the Christ Child. The donor and his son wear the contemporary costume, similar to the Mongolian dress. The same costume is worn by the Magi in the Nativity, and by the bridegroom and guests in the Marriage at Cana (Pl. 33b).

All the compositions are greatly simplified: the three apostles are omitted in the Transfiguration; only two soldiers accompany Judas in the Betrayal; in the Pentecost scene there are only seven apostles, and in the Ascension three apostles and the Virgin.¹ Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1917: S. Der Nersesian, Manuscripta armeniaca, pl. lvi, and pp. 131-3 for other examples.

¹ A. Baumstark, ‘Der Bilderschmuck eines armenischen Evangelienbuchs von J ahre 1305’, Oriens Christianus, xxxv. 2 (1939), 214-24. In the catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of Oxford (Baronian and Conybeare, pp. 2-4) the place of origin is typical of Khizan.

² Codex no. 566. See pp. 52, 55. For instance, Venice, no. 887, Gospel, A.D. 1007 (Weitzmann, Armenische Buchmalerei, pl. x, figs. 34-35); Venice, no. 1108, illustrated in 1318 by Toros of Taron (Alishan, Sisakan, pi. opp. p. 134); Jerusalem, no. 2784, A.D. 1434, p. 44.
In this last scene the painter has even suppressed the mandorla around Christ, as he has also eliminated it in the Transfiguration. This extreme simplification occasionally results in misrepresentations. The youthful nimbed figure who greets Jesus in the Entry into Jerusalem is the same person as the apostle who accompanied Christ in the preceding composition, and he should be standing behind Christ, while the bearded man who follows Christ is probably one of the Jews and should be facing Him.

A painter named Mkrtitch worked at the village of Harhots, in the district of Khizan, in 1450, but the miniatures of this manuscript, Berlin, Or. Minut. 291, which will be discussed in connexion with Codex no. 566, are painted in an entirely different style. A scribe also named Mkrtitch was at Khizan in 1456, but no information is available about the illustrations of his manuscripts.

566

FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1451


Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from a Lectionary or Menologium written in small angular erkal’agir of the 12th century.

Lacunae. One folio between foll. 20 and 21 with the portrait of Matthew has been cut off; only a narrow strip of the painting remains.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 26.5 × 18 cm.; written surface, 19.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 323 folios. The side and lower margins of the leaves at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript are partly torn off.

PAPER AND WRITING. Strong, buff-coloured, polished paper. Bolorgir in brown ink. 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 next two lines and the initials of the verses are in red capitals.

BINDING. Vellum over boards.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. Written in 1451 at the monastery of Gamaghiel at Khizan by Hohannes vardapet for the cleric T’uma and Karapet.

1 Excerpts from colophons from two Gospels are given by P’irghalemian, Noturk, pp. 183–4. A priest Mkrtitch is mentioned by his pupil Hohannes in a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1474: Lalayan, Catalogue, cols. 467–70.
COLOPHONS. Fol. 10, next to the portrait of the painter. ‘O most holy Theotokos, do not forget the most sinful illuminator on the day of Judgement of thine only-begotten, for I trust in thy mercy.’

Fol. 100v., in a later hand. ‘Remember in Christ Hunan, Kaso and Tjano and their mother Asmlmelik’, and with full mouth say: God have mercy on them.’ The same colophon is repeated on fol. 166.

Fol. 321v.-323v. ‘Glory to the Holy Trinity.... Having seen the ineffable, miraculous power of this ... T’uma, the cleric, and Karapet, who for a long time desired this holy Gospel of divine word ... had it written as a memorial of their souls and of that of their parents. ... For this holy Gospel was written by the hand of the very sinful Hohannes, a vardapet by name and not by my deeds, in the monastery called Gamaghieh at the church of the holy Apostle Gamaghieh, when the superior of this monastery was Hohannes vardapet and the other Hohannes vardapet, father of the abbot Hohannes, and all the other brothers of the congregation. And I, being unskilled in the art of writing and burdened with many sins, but, according to our ability which the Holy Ghost, who loveth man, had bestowed upon us, having laboured much at this, I wrote it with my unworthy hands, from a good and correct model ... in the year six thousand six hundred and fifty ... (the last word is illegible) since Adam’s expulsion from Eden ... and in the year 1453 since the incarnation of the word of God, the Being without time, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and in the year 900 (= A.D. 1451), of the Japhetic, Khosrovan era, when the catholics of the Armenian nation at Etchmiadzin was Ter Grigor and the catholics of Aght’amar was Ter Zak’aria, and may the Lord God keep him unshaken on his patriarchal and royal see.... And this Gospel was written in the province of Hizan, under the shelter of the holy apostle Gamaghieh, for the enjoyment of the holy cleric T’uma, and of the worthy and faithful tanuter Karapet, and of his wife Mesr Melek’, and of their parents.... Remember in your prayers the owners of this holy Gospel, Karapet ... and T’uma the cleric. ... But I beseech you, who encounter this holy Gospel, be lenient for the largeness (of the script) and the mistakes, for I was ailing in body, and the light of my eyes was failing.... And in the goodness of your hearts and your lips remember in Christ-God the unworthy scribe Hohannes, who beseeches you, and my parents Vardan and Dilshat, and my deceased brother, the tender Hohannes, and Kherapet, and say “God have mercy upon them”, and whoever says this, may Christ have mercy upon him. Amen.’

On fol. 2 the same seal is stamped three times ‘servant of Jesus Christ, Nerses vardapet’, the rest is illegible. Fol. 20v., another seal bearing the date 1217 (= A.D. 1768).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. The Tree of Jesse. Jesse, wearing a tight-fitting bodice and short trousers, lies prone on the ground; from his waist rises a tree, ending with two large palm leaves which frame the Virgin, enthroned, on her knees. At the sides of the tree twenty medallions, separated by three-lobed leaves drawn in the shape of a cross, enclose the bust figures of nimbed men and women holding scrolls. Four other such medallions with figures are drawn at the angles

1 The three dates concord in spite of the apparent discrepancies. The year 6651 since the expulsion of Adam corresponds to A.D. 1451 according to the Armenian calculations; the year of Christ should be read 1451, for according to Samuel of Ani, there is always a difference of two years between the era of the Nativity and the Christian era (E. Dulaurier, Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne, Paris, 1859, p. 39, p. 56).
of the frame; the one on the upper left is partly destroyed, the one on the lower left is almost completely erased.

Fol. 2. Sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham wearing a tight-fitting bodice and wide trousers kneels on the ground in front of a small altar, a knife in his right hand, the left stretched towards Isaac, lying on his back at his feet; Abraham turns his head towards the angel flying down towards him and pointing to a ram which hangs by its horns from the lower branch of a tree. The outer and lower margins are frayed and part of the figure of Isaac is torn off. Bright orange background.

Fol. 3. Annunciation. The angel, holding a long staff, and wearing high leather boots, advances towards the Virgin, who stands on a low wall on which is placed a water-jug. The background is of different colours: pale yellow to the left of a diagonal line, green with red dots to the right, and orange-red in the lower half of the page. An irregular section in the centre is filled with wavy lines imitating birds’ heads.

Fol. 3v. Nativity. Pl. 34a.
Fol. 4. Baptism. Pl. 34b.

Fol. 4r. Marriage at Cana. In the upper part, Christ, seated in the centre, blesses a chalice presented by an old man kneeling before Him; behind Christ is a young apostle, also kneeling. A narrow band, with six vases, separates this scene from the lower part in which the bridegroom, crowned and holding a sword, is seated full-face on the right, while two wedding-guests kneel on the left; one of them, wearing a pointed bonnet, holds a bottle, the other, wearing a large turban, raises the cup to his lips. Background in different colours; sinuous lines are drawn behind the bridegroom.

Fol. 5. Transfiguration. Christ stands in an oblong frame figuring the mandorla; at His sides, under arched frames, are Elijah on the left, and on the right Moses holding the two tables of the law. Moses wears a tight-fitting tunic, trousers, and leather boots; Elijah also wears leather boots. Below are the three apostles before a rocky background; Peter and John, kneeling at the sides, point to Christ, James, in the middle, falls on his face.

Fol. 5r. (a) Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, seated on the ass, and followed by one apostle, is greeted by an old man standing next to a tree; a garment is spread under the ass’s feet. The background is decorated with groups of three dots.

(b) Washing of the Feet. Christ, kneeling, washes the feet of Peter seated in an arm-chair; another apostle is kneeling on the right, his hand raised to his lips.

Fol. 6. (a) Healing of the Paralytic. Christ, seated in an arm-chair, lays His hand on the head of the paralytic, who is lowered in a sheet held by two men lying prone on the upper frame of the miniature; two apostles are represented kneeling, one on the left, the other on the right.

(b) Raising of Lazarus. Christ stands with raised hand; one of the sisters is prone on the ground, the other, kneeling, raises both hands and looks towards the shrouded figure of Lazarus lying on a slanting slab. The background is partly filled with sinuous lines imitating birds’ heads.

Fol. 6r. (a) Betrayal. Judas, approaching from the right, embraces Christ; four soldiers, wearing short tunics, pointed bonnets, high boots, and carrying torches and axes, stand at the sides.

(b) Denial of Peter. The left part of the composition, with Peter cutting off the ear
of Malchus, belongs to the scene of the Betrayal. Farther to the right Peter is seated
cross-legged on the ground, next to the fire, his hands raised in a gesture of denial, his
head slightly turned towards the servant woman, who points to him with both hands.

Fol. 7. (a) Pilate washing his Hands. Pilate, wearing a tight-fitting bodice, wide
trousers, and a large turban, is seated on the left; a servant pours water on his hands.
To the right stands Christ, His hands crossed and tied with a circular thong.

(b) Judas returns the Thirty Pieces of Silver. On the right Judas, wearing wide trousers
and high boots, presents to the high priest and to another man the thirty pieces of
silver which are drawn side by side in the shape of a hoop; the high priest tears his tunic.

Fol. 7v. (a) Crucifixion and (b) Mourning over Christ’s Body. Pl. 35a.
Fol. 8. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. Pl. 35b.
Fol. 8v. Harrowing of Hell. Pl. 36a.

Fol. 9v. Descent of the Holy Ghost and Donors. Pl. 37a. Inscriptions above the kneeling
figures: on the left ‘This is Karapet’ and on the right ‘This is Ter T’uma abegha’.

Fol. 10v. Dives and Lazarus. Abraham, seated on the ground with Lazarus on his
knees, stretches his hand towards an angel who stands opposite him. In the lower half
of the page the rich man lies in a large platter placed on a fire, and points with both
hands to Abraham; a serpent is coiled around his body and a thin dog blows on the
flames. The background of the lower half of the page is entirely black.

Fol. 11. Sinners in Hell. Red and yellow wavy lines and bands fill the greater part
of the upper half of the page; the remaining parts are black. Three nude men, with
serpents coiled around them, stand in the lower half of the page; three similar figures
are represented in the upper half of the page.

Fol. 12. Christ enthroned. The bust of Christ rests on the four apocalyptic beasts
represented in such a way that there seem to be two bodies, each with two heads.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Mark (fol. 110v) and Luke (fol. 166v), seated in a wooden
arm-chair before a table, write on a large sheet of paper. The mantle and tunic of the
Evangelists are draped in such a manner that they appear to be wearing wide trousers;
they are barefoot. John (fol. 256v), leaning on a staff, looks at the Hand of God
emerging from the segment of sky, and he dictates to Prochoros, seated on a low
stool. The backgrounds, in two different colours, are covered with small disks and
yellow dots.

The narrow rectangles over the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables are filled with
all-over floral designs, carelessly drawn, or with an arch and floral scrolls. The capitals
of the columns are human or animal-headed. The headpiece of Matthew (fol. 21) con­sists
of a large rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it; in the centre of the
rectangle is drawn a roundel, with the Virgin holding the child; above are two beard­less
figures, seen to the waist, each one holding a rhipidion. The headpieces of Mark
and Luke (fol. 111 and 167) have the same general design, but a floral ornament is
drawn in the roundel, and birds stand above the rectangle. The headpiece of John (fol.
257) is Π-shaped with floral motifs interlaced to form a geometric pattern.

Large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes are drawn on the first page of
each Gospel; the marginal ornaments of the pericopes have simpler floral designs in
white, touched with reddish-brown, occasionally drawn against a blue background. The floral motifs are often replaced by lions or other quadrupeds, by birds, crowned sirens, some of them eating large fruits, or by other motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 792, 145, 235; Mt. xxi. 18; Mk. xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 885, 1507, 240; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); crosses (foll. 1017, 1597, 247; Mt. xvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66). On foll. 100v, Christ(?), wearing wide trousers, walks to the right (Mt. xxvi. 57); on foll. 130 a crowned man, wearing trousers and boots, raises both hands (Mk. vii. 1); on foll. 143v the blind man, wearing long trousers, walks to the left, his tall pointed cap lies on the ground (Mk. x. 46); foll. 173, a shepherd (Lk. ii. 8); foll. 267, a bird with the cross nimbus (Jn. iv. 24).

REMARKS. The Canon tables, headpieces, marginal ornaments, and perhaps Christ enthroned (fol. 12) are the work of a less skilled artist than the one who executed the full-page miniatures and portraits of the Evangelists. Only blue and brown, with occasional touches of green, have been used for the ornaments, while the figure compositions are painted in bright colours: red, green, and blue predominate; purple, yellow, lilac, and a bluish-grey are also used. The backgrounds are often in several colours: orange, yellow, green, blue, and purple. There is no gold, the nimbis are painted yellow. The costumes are often of two different colours; for instance, green on one side and red on the other, even when the figures wear a simple tunic; darker lines indicate the folds of the draperies, and there is little shading.

Hohannes, son of Vardan and Dilshat, who copied our manuscript, was one of the prominent scribes of the monastery of St. Gamaghiel or Gamaliel at Khizan, and the illustrations of two of the Gospels written by him, Jerusalem, no. 2784 (A.D. 1434) and Walters Art Gallery, no. 543 (A.D. 1455), are extremely close to those of our manuscript, in style, iconography, and the peculiar costumes worn by Christ, the apostles, and other figures. These two manuscripts were illustrated by Khatchatur; the miniaturist of our Gospel, who has painted his portrait kneeling before the Virgin, does not mention his name in the accompanying inscription or in the colophon, and since the same scribe wrote all three manuscripts one might have thought that they were also illustrated by the same painter. However, in spite of marked similarities between these three Gospels there are also significant differences in the style of the paintings. The tall, slim figures painted by Khatchatur in the Gospel of 1455 move with greater freedom than those of our manuscript; the faces are modelled with highlights around the eyes and on the brows, and the deep shadows and highlights in the folds of the draperies make them appear like a succession of rolls. Khatchatur is also more interested in creating intricate designs through the attitudes of the individual figures, and he fills the backgrounds with rich floral scrolls, quite different from the simpler designs occasionally used in our manuscript.

There was, however, another artist in this area who followed the same artistic and iconographic traditions, and whose style is much closer to that of the illustrator of our manuscript. This is the painter Mkrtitch who in 1450 illustrated a Gospel at the village called Harhots, in one of the cantons of the province of Khizan (Berlin, Or. Minut. 291). There are fewer miniatures in this Gospel, but all the scenes which have been represented are also to be found in our manuscript, and the compositions, except
for minor details, are identical.

The figure style is also very close to that of our manuscript: we have the same facial types, the same figures usually standing in quiet poses, the same treatment of the drapery, and there can be no hesitation in recognizing the hand of the same painter in both series of miniatures.

The figure style, the characteristic elements of the cycle, the peculiar costume worn by Christ and some of the other figures, the iconography of the Baptism and of the Marriage at Cana have been discussed in the Introduction.

A number of other compositions of this interesting manuscript also deserve special consideration.

The representation of the Tree of Jesse (fol. 1v.), which fills the entire page, repeats the scheme adopted by the artists of the Van school, except that all the ancestors are figured in medallions and none are standing at the sides of the tree.

Having filled the upper and lower roundels with floral motifs, the miniaturist has been obliged to add four others, with figures, at the angles of the frame.

The Annunciation (fol. 3) is based on the apocryphal story of the angel appearing to the Virgin at the well, though this is merely suggested by the water-jug placed on the low wall next to Mary. The Annunciation at the well had already been represented in Great Armenia. In a Gospel illustrated in A.D. 1330 Mary holds the water-jug, and the well, figured as a large vase, is drawn under an arch in the foreground.

In the Raising of Lazarus, Lazarus lies, with wide-open eyes, on a stone slab placed diagonally in the field (fol. 6). The same composition is repeated in the Walters Gospel, no. 543, but in the Berlin Gospel Or. Minut. 291 one of the sisters embraces Lazarus. This detail helps us to connect this iconographic variant with a much earlier example from Great Armenia, the Gospel illustrated by Ignatios in 1236, where one of the sisters, kneeling on the ground, clasps against her the small, shrouded figure of Lazarus.

As in other manuscripts of Khizan, the group of Peter cutting the ear of Malchus is separated from the Betrayal and placed in the lower register, next to Peter's denial (fol. 6v.); the thirty pieces of silver returned by Judas to the high priest are small, round and hollow coins, arranged in a circle so that Judas seems to be pushing a hoop before him (fol. 7).
CATALOGUE

The composition of the Crucifixion (Pl. 35a) with three crosses, the lance-bearer and the sponge-bearer, but without the Virgin and St. John, is also typical of this school, and differs from the usual Armenian type. Apart from the Khizan manuscripts, the only comparable example known to me occurs in a Gospel of the year 1038 where, however, the Virgin and the holy women, St. John, and Nicodemus have also been represented.

In the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre (Pl. 35b), contrary to the Gospel text and the long-established usage in Christian art, Christ stands next to the angel and addresses the three Marys. In this composition, typical of the Khizan school, two succeeding events have been combined, and an even earlier one is suggested by the curtain of the temple, rent in two, drawn above the women.

This conflation of two episodes occurs earlier still in a Greek manuscript, Florence, Conv. soppr. 160, though the disposition of the figures suggests a slight separation between the scenes: the angel and the sleeping soldiers are in the foreground; Christ, speaking to the holy women, stands behind a mound. In two Syriac manuscripts of the 13th century, Christ’s appearance to Mary Magdalen and the visit to the sepulchre are crowded into one miniature and only the positions of the central figures, turned in opposite directions, separate the two scenes from one another. A similar composition may be seen in an Armenian Gospel written in 1306 in the province of Siunik; here the final resurrection of the dead is also suggested, for a second angel, blowing a trumpet, sits behind the empty sepulchre. But the earliest example of all occurs in a Gospel illustrated in Great Armenia in A.D. 1038 (Erivan, no. 6201): two angels are seated on a sarcophagus in front of which lie four sleeping soldiers; two holy women and three smaller figures stand on the right, and farther to the right is the large figure of Christ, standing, full-face.

The scribe has represented his own portrait kneeling before the enthroned Virgin and Child, while the two owners of the manuscript kneel in the foreground of the Pentecost scene (Pl. 37). This method of introducing the donors or the scribe into a Gospel scene was of common usage in Armenia, especially from the 14th century on. We saw an example in Codex no. 559, where the deacon T’oros appears as one of the persons present at the Dormition of the Virgin; more often, however, the donors kneel in the humble attitude of prayer, as they do in the present example.

The headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 21) is decorated with the figures of

Kevorkian Coll., no. 10; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291.
1 Paris, Arm. 333; Etchmiadzin, no. 754 (Nykolskaia, op. cit., p. 42); Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543.
2 Etchmiadzin, no. 6201: G. Hovsep’ian, The Saviour of Havuts Tar, p. 46, fig. 22; G. Millet, Iconographie, pp. 423-34.
3 Paris, Arm. 333; Berlin, Or. Minut. 291; Jerusalem, no. 2784; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 543; Jerusalem, no. 6663; Aleppo, no. 44 (103).
4 Millet, Iconographie, fig. 582.
6 Gospel written by the scribe Sargis, formerly in the Collection of Mr. Baroyrian in New York. I owe the photograph of this miniature to the kindness of Mr. Hazarian; the present location of the manuscript is not known.
7 For instance in a Gospel illustrated in 1346 by Sargs Pidsak (Jerusalem, no. 1973), Queen Mariun kneeling, in the Descent from the Cross, is separated by a band from the actual scene. In a Bible illustrated by Avag in 1358 (Etchmiadzin, no. 6230) the donor and his wife kneel in the foreground of the Nativity (G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, ii, fig. 228). In the Kevorkian Gospel no. 10, illustrated in 1435 by Mkrititch, and in the Walters Gospel, no. 543, illustrated by Khatchatur in 1455, the donor or the scribe kneels under the Pentecost scene.
the Virgin and Child and two angels standing above the frame. This composition, also used in other manuscripts of Khizan, is based on the type favoured by the artists of Great Armenia in the 14th century.

In keeping with the general practice of the Khizan school the compositions are greatly simplified and the elimination of some of the secondary figures sometimes modifies the usual iconography. Thus only one apostle and one Jew are figured in the Entry into Jerusalem; only one apostle sits next to Peter in the Washing of the Feet, and only two apostles and the Virgin are present at the Ascension (Pl. 360).


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 27 x 18.5 cm.; written surface, 18.5 x 12 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 338 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, glazed paper. Large bolorgir in black ink. 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 second and third lines of each Gospel are in red erkafagir. Foll. 337 and 338 are in a different paper.

BINDING. Dark brown leather with flap; three straps with metal clips. Blind-tooled border and central panel on end cover. The front cover which was also blind-tooled with a large cross is now studded with round-headed nails; in the centre is a silver cross set with five cornelians; at the corners there are four square silver plates with embossed symbols of the Evangelists. Inscription on the cross with the names of the donors, partly illegible. (Pl. 63a.)

1 For instance in Etchmiadzin, nos. 873 and 1091 (Nykolskaia, op. cit., pp. 40 and 41); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 549; Jerusalem, nos. 2662 and 2784.

2 For instance: Hartford, arm. 3, Gospel of A.D. 1397-31, illustrated by T'oros of Taron (S. Der Nersessian, Western Iconographic Themes, figs. 4-5); New Julfa, no. 47, Gospel of A.D. 1330 (H. Kurdian, 'The Miniaturist Kirakos of Tabriz', Hash, Antilias, ii [1949-50], p. 128, fig. 17); Brit. Mus. Or. 5310, illustrated in the 14th century by Avag. A later example in Etchmiadzin, no. 2634/377, Gospel of A.D. 1475, illustrated by the scribe Abraham in the Vayots dzor (G. Hovsep'ian, Khaghbakians, i, fig. 102).
DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 15th century. Illustrated by Parsam for mahtesi Vardan.

COLOPHONS. The name of the painter is written on the lower frame of the miniatures on foll. 6v. and 10v. ‘Remember the painter Parsam when Thou comest to paradise’; ‘Remember in Christ, Parsam, the painter, and my parents.’

Foll. 335-6. The colophon begins with the usual doxology and is followed by a long explanation of the symbolism of the number four.

Foll. 336-336v. ‘... and so... the God-loving and meek priest, the pilgrim (mahtesi) Ter Vardan, and his wife Ulukhat’un desired this holy Gospel containing the word of God, and they had it written with their rightful and honest earnings, in memory of their souls and of the parents of Ter Vardan, Khus Khatchatur and Sultan Melik’...’

A long list of relatives follows.

Foll. 337-8. The colophon, on different paper and by a later hand, begins with the enumeration of the relatives of the second owner. The date is given at the end. ‘And now, we the true brothers Murat bashé and Ezdan bashé, we received this holy Gospel from our rightful and honest earnings, as a goodly memorial of our souls, and of our parents, and of our relatives, and of all our children. Because of this we beseech you to say “God have mercy” on us and on all our ancestors and our dead, and may God have mercy on you and on us at His coming, Amen. In the year 1136 (= A.D. 1687).’

ILLUMINATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Fol. 1v. Annunciation. The Angel and the Virgin stand under trefoil arches; a ray descends from the arch on the left towards the Virgin.


Fol. 3v. Presentation of Christ. Mary and Joseph, carrying the doves, Simeon, holding the infant Jesus, and the prophetess Anna, holding an open scroll, stand at the sides of an altar with a chalice on it. Four arches, with three domed buildings above them, are drawn in the upper part of the miniature.

Fol. 4. Baptism. John baptizes Christ; the water rises in a cone almost to the top of the frame and seems to be flowing from the wings of the dove; above, the Hand of God. An angel stands on the right; half-figures of angels come out of segments of sky in the upper corners.

Fol. 4v. Transfiguration. Christ stands in a narrow, oval mandorla; Elijah and Moses, beardless and holding a book, are in rectangular frames, each one on a separate mountain. In the foreground are Peter, seated, James and John kneeling.

Fol. 5. Raising of Lazarus. Christ and the apostles approach from the left; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ’s feet. A scalloped, diagonal line separates this group from the tomb, with Lazarus standing in the opening; one young man unwinds the shroud, another carries away the slab of stone. The heads of two men are seen above the tomb; one of them stretches his hand which passes under the architrave. The foreground is covered with floral motifs in squares.

Fol. 5v. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, followed by all the disciples, is greeted by two old men standing before the city gate; a young boy spreads his garment under the ass’s feet.
FOUR GOSPELS

Fol. 6. *Washing of the Feet.* Christ wipes the foot of Peter, who points to his head. Four apostles are seated next to Peter, seven others stand in two rows behind them.

Fol. 6v. *Crucifixion.* Pl. 38a. Inscription: see Colophons.

Fol. 7. *Harrowing of Hell.* Pl. 38b.

Fol. 7v. *Entombment.* Two men, facing one another, carry the body of Christ placed on a rectangular slab; next to them are two women, partly cut off by the frame. Behind Christ, in the centre of the composition, rises a large ornamental cross flanked by two candles. Weeping angels are represented in the upper corners as in the Crucifixion.

Fol. 8. *Holy Women at the Sepulchre.* The three Marys advance from the left towards the angel who, seated on a rectangular, ornate slab points to the empty sepulchre and the shroud of Christ. The four soldiers, seated in the foreground, are painted in such a manner that there seems to be one body with four heads; their shields and axes lie on the ground.

Fol. 9v. *Ascension.* The Virgin stands between the apostles who look up towards Christ, seated and blessing in a mandorla borne by four angels. Red rays descend from the mandorla on the apostles.

Fol. 10. *Descent of the Holy Ghost.* The apostles are seated in groups of three in two rows: the tongues of fire descend upon the heads of the upper groups; a wide ray, with the dove, comes down on a chalice placed between the upper groups of apostles. A three-headed figure, one head being that of an animal, stands in the arched opening below. Overlapping segments represent the sky.

Fol. 10v. *Christ in Glory.* A large ornamental cross is raised on a rocky foundation. At the intersection of the two arms is a large medallion framing the beardless figure of Christ, seated and blessing. The heads and wings of four trumpeting angels come out from behind the medallion between the arms of the cross. The donor and his wife kneel at the foot of the cross. Inscriptions: over the man’s head, ‘Ter Vardan the mahtesi’; on the band under the cross, ‘Remember in Christ Parsam the painter and my parents’.

Fol. 11. *Last Judgement.* The Ancient of Days is seated, holding the book and blessing; His feet rest on a footstool from which project the four symbolic beasts; on the left and right appear the half-figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist in the attitude of supplication. In the rectangular band below, an aged cleric, holding a book, stands in the centre; St. Peter with a large key and another apostle are on the left; St. Paul with a sword and another apostle are on the right. Below, on the left, is a small dark rectangle with three nude men; on the right, the scales hang from the frame. Two human-headed monsters, both carrying loads on their backs, try to lower the left tray of the scales; the right tray rests on the back of another monster who is stabbed by an angel projecting from the side of the frame.

*Portraits of Evangelists.* Matthew (fol. 21v.) and Luke (fol. 106v.) are seated writing; opposite Luke the half-figure of an angel projects from a segment of sky; John, his head turned to the Hand of God in the sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated under a domed building on the left (fol. 265v.). In the portrait of Mark, Peter is represented dictating to him (fol. 110v., Pl. 39a).

The rectangles over the *Letters of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* (fol. 12v.–16) rest on
two or three thin columns and are decorated with medallions, triangles, lozenges, or squares filled with ornamental designs. Besides the usual floral motifs the painter has represented fish, quadrupeds, enclosed in circles or rampant; and sirens with large wings, confronted or full face.

The headpieces of the four Gospels are 7-shaped or consist of rectangles with multi-foil arches opening into them and decorated with floral interlaces and sirens. Over the headpiece of Mark (fol. 111) two lions rush towards one another; three sirens appear among the foliage in the headpiece of John (fol. 266). Large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes fill the outer margins.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes consist of small floral interlaces, birds, or sirens. They are occasionally replaced by figures or designs which bear a relation to the text: temples (fol. 87v, 151v, 246v; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); Joseph of Arimathea, in bust (fol. 164, 258; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50); one of the holy women, in bust (fol. 106, Mt. xxviii. 1); a bird with a cross nimb (fol. 183v, Lk. iv. 14).

**REMARKS.** The illustrations of this manuscript have marked affinities with the work done during the second half of the 15th century in monasteries on the northern and eastern shores of Lake Van, in particular with the manuscripts illustrated by the painter Minas between the years 1432 and 1469, a Gospel written in 1475 at Berkri, in the monastery of Huskanordi (Boston, Public Library, no. 1327), and another written at Aght’amar in 1497 (Bodleian, Arm. e. 1). The types and proportions of the figures, the draperies modelled with curved parallel lines, occasionally covering the entire surface, the leaf-like forms given to some of the folds, the predominant use of dark red are stylistic features common to all these manuscripts. The Gospel cycle and the iconography of specific scenes, especially the Entombment, the miniatures of the Second Coming and Last Judgement, are also typical of the ‘Van school’.

The scribe Parsam does not give sufficient information about himself; however, this name, which is not very common, appears in three illustrated Gospels: one written in 1498, in the region of Lake Van; two others written in 1508 and 1509 in the province of Mok’s, south of Lake Van. In the Gospel of 1509 the scribe Parsam states that he was a pupil of Karapet of Berkri, whose work is known through several manuscripts illustrated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The close connexions between the illustrations of our manuscript and the miniatures painted by Karapet of Berkri give us reason to believe that Parsam, the pupil of Karapet of Berkri, is the same person as the scribe of our manuscript, which should be located in the region of Lake Van and dated in the late 15th or early 16th century.

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1. See Codex no. 564, page 44, note 5.
3. Paris, Syr. 344, a collection of miniatures with titles in Syriac and Armenian, is also extremely close to our manuscript and some of the compositions are almost identical with ours. No colophon is attached to these pages, but the spelling of certain words points to the region of Lake Van as the place of origin. Macler, *Miniatures armeniennes*, pls. xx–xxviii.
5. Lalayan, *Catalogue*, col. 526. The place of origin is not mentioned, but since, in giving the date, the scribe refers to the catholicos of Aght’amar, the manuscript must have been written in the region of Lake Van.
The ornate cross with the medallion of Christ and trumpeting angels, the Last Judgement (foll. 102 and 11) have been discussed in the Introduction; interesting iconographic details appear in several other compositions.

The crowned Virgin of the Nativity (Pl. 396), a type derived from Western models, appears in the manuscripts of Great Armenia in the 14th century, and continues to be represented in the following centuries.8

The pelican feeding his young, placed above the Crucifixion in this and other manuscripts of the Van school (Pl. 38a), had been represented in the art of western Europe beginning with the 12th century, and its appearance in Armenian works of the 15th century is probably due to European influence. According to the Physiologus, the pelican is the symbol of the Resurrection, for, having killed his young, he brought them back to life after three days by piercing his side and pouring his blood over them, just as God raised His son from the dead after three days.5 The Armenian version of the Physiologus has the same explanation,1 but the words which are often written next to the pelican’s nest on the cross connect this representation more closely with the Crucifixion. They read: ‘In similitude to Christ, the pelican pierced his side and fed his young. Christ pierced His side and redeemed us with His blood.’

The symmetrical composition of the Entombment, where two men, probably Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, face one another, had been used in Cilicia in the 14th century. In the Gospel illustrated in 1346 by Sargis Pidsak for Queen Mariun (Jerusalem, no. 1973), the two men lower the body into the sarcophagus. The painters of the Van school modified this type: the sarcophagus has disappeared and Christ’s body is placed on a stone slab; two holy women appear at the sides, half-hidden by the frame; weeping angels come out of the segments of sky, and a large ornate cross, similar to the one used for the image of the Second Coming of Christ, rises in the background, between two candles.8

The portrait of Mark with Peter dictating to him (Pl. 394) has as its pendant sometimes in Byzantine art the image of Paul dictating to Luke.4 In a Greek Gospel of the eleventh century (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 524)” and in an Armenian Gospel of the late 12th century (Jerusalem, no. 1796) Peter and Mark are seated facing each other. This is also the type used in our miniature, though the awkward drawing

1 Pages xxxiii-xxxiv.
2 S. Der Nersessian, Western Iconographic Themes, pp. 76-79, 99-99, fig. 4.
3 F. Sbordone, Physiologus, Milan, 1936, pp. 16-19.
5 Paris, Arm. 18: Macler, Miniatures armeniennes, fig. 36; Boston Public Library, no. 1327; S. Der Nersessian, An Armenian Manuscript, p. 8; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library no. 749, Gospel, A.D. 1461; Jerusalem, no. 2588, Gospel, A.D. 1444; Jerusalem, Gulbenkian Gospel, A.D. 1455; Aleppo, no. 48, Gospel, A.D. 1478; Oxford, Bodleian Arm. e. 1, Gospel, A.D. 1497.
7 This seated type is generally used in later Armenian manuscripts whenever Peter accompanies Mark: Jerusalem, no. 2569 (A.D. 1577-9); New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 11 (A.D. 1621); Jerusalem, no. 2560 (A.D. 1624); Jerusalem, no. 2670 (A.D. 1640-3). The Cilician painters of the 13th century, and, occasionally, artists of a later period, have represented Theophilus standing in front of Luke: Jerusalem, no. 2563 (A.D. 1270); Etchmiadzin, no. 234/197 (A.D. 1287); Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, McClean, no. 201; Jerusalem, no. 2567 (A.D. 1458-64).
CATALOGUE

gives the impression that Peter is kneeling. The addition of the angel, of the luminous rays, and the rocky background, the position of Peter, his head turned towards the angel, show a conflation with the composition of John dictating to Prochoros. The image has been further complicated through the introduction of a vase placed under a stepped opening crowned with a dome. A ciborium-like construction with a bulbous dome is sometimes drawn above the desk of the Evangelist and a vase stands under the desk; this has become a purely decorative motif in our miniature.

The backgrounds are for the most part dark red and grey. Red and orange predominate in the draperies; the nimbs are yellow; no gold has been used.

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FOUR GOSPELS
16th Century


Lacunae. One leaf after fol. 13 with the portrait of Matthew; several leaves after foll. 349 with Jn. xxi. 10 to end and, probably, the colophon. Fol. 205 is torn off and only a small fragment of it remains; the missing text is Lk. viii. 15–25. Three pages (foll. 169v. to 170v.) are left blank after the Gospel of Mark, but the portrait of Luke has not been painted.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18 x 13 cm.; written surface, 12 x 9 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 349 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, yellowed and singed in places. Regular bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters; the next lines and the initials of the verses are usually in gold erkatagir.

BINDING. Reddish-brown leather over boards, tooled cross in the centre and fleurons and ovals on the border. Holes probably left by metal cover now lost. Back missing.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written for Esayi vardapet probably in 1536 in Great Armenia (see Remarks).

COLOPHONS. Fol. 9, at the end of the Letter of Eusebius: ‘Remember in Christ the owner of this holy Gospel, Esayi vardapet, and may God remember you in His kingdom. Amen.’

1 In a manuscript illustrated in 1292 in the province of Siumik each Evangelist dictates to a scribe; the compositions follow the iconographic type of the portraits of John and Prochoros: Etchmiadzin, no. 1669, see G. Hovsep’ian, Khagbakians, i, fig. 58, portrait of Mark.
FOUR GOSPELS

Fol. 1087^-109. Three brief colophons, dated 25 October 1895, relate that at the time of the great massacres of the Armenians by Sultan Hamid, in 1895, this manuscript was stolen from the church of St. Sergius in Tigranocerta, where it had always been kept, together with other church treasures. It was bought from the Turks at a high price and restored to the church of St. Sergius. The writer of the colophon adds: 'Before the book was stolen it bore the date of Christ nine hundred and eighty five; we have written this date because the old one was lost.' (See Remarks.)

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.

Fol. 1. Baptism. John baptizes Christ, who stands in the water to His waist, hands stretched out. On the right are two angels; above, the dove descending from the segment of sky. Three fishes swim in the water.

Fol. 1v. Presentation. The Virgin and Joseph on the left, Simeon, with the infant Jesus, and Anna on the right, stand at the sides of an altar with a book. Two arches, joined by an architrave and supporting a dome, are drawn in the background. A red drapery hangs from the dome.

Fol. 2. Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by nine disciples, advances towards Lazarus; Martha and Mary embrace His feet. A young servant unwinds the shroud of Lazarus with his left hand and raises his right hand to his face; another young man carries away the slab of stone. The latter is drawn partly astride the frame, his legs coming down below the lower band. The heads of three men appear above the sepulchre, under a small ciborium-like construction; the extended hand of one of these men comes out under the architrave.

Fol. 2v. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, followed by nine apostles, is greeted by a Jew holding a small branch, and by a child who spreads his garment; a second Jew stands inside the gate of a small walled city and a child cuts the branches of a tree.

Fol. 3. Washing of the Feet. Christ, standing, wipes the foot of Peter, who is seated on a high stool and points to his head. Ten other apostles are seated next to Peter on a low bench. A simple rectangular construction and a columnar building, joined by a drapery, fill the background.


Fol. 4. Crucifixion. The Virgin and John stand at the sides of the cross; the sun and moon are drawn above the arms of the cross.

Fol. 4v. Entombment. Two men in short tunics carry the body of Christ stretched on a slab; behind them may be seen two women and, farther up, under the segments of sky, two angels. A large ornate cross raised on a mound and flanked by two crosses fills the background.

Fol. 5. Harrowing of Hell. Christ, holding a long cross, walks on the broken gates between which can be seen the head and forepart of a demon, and He takes Adam by the hand. Eve and another woman (instead of Abel) appear behind Adam; David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are on the right. The two sides of the miniature and the foreground are painted black.

Fol. 5v. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. The three Marys, one of them carrying a lamp, stand on the left; the angel, seated on a stone, points to the empty sepulchre. The sleeping soldiers, seated in the foreground, are represented in such a way that
there seems to be one body with four heads, their swords and axes lie on the ground, on the right. A ciborium-like building is drawn above the sepulchre; on the left there is a simpler construction with a drapery.

Fol. 6. Ascension. Christ, seated in a pointed, oval mandorla, is borne by eight angels with wings spread horizontally. Below are the Virgin, orans, and the twelve apostles.

Fol. 6v. Descent of the Holy Ghost. A horizontal band divides the miniature into two sections. Above, two groups of three apostles are seated at the sides of a small altar above which appears the dove; there are no rays or tongues of fire. Interlacing arches support a dome. The other apostles are seated below, in two groups of three; between them is an arched opening, framing a young crowned figure and two other young men in pointed bonnets.

Fol. 7. Transfiguration. Christ stands in an oval mandorla; Elijah and Moses, bearded and holding a book, stand at His sides on separate hillocks. In the foreground, Peter and James, at the sides, point to the vision; John, in the centre, covers his face.

Fol. 7v. Dormition of the Virgin. Pl. 42b.

Fol. 8. Last Judgement. A narrow horizontal band separates the miniature into two sections; above are the twelve apostles, seated in two groups; below, the weighing of the souls. The scales hang from a hook under the horizontal band; the left tray rests on the back of a demon; another demon tries to pull down the right tray and two others stand in the foreground, one of them with a load on his back. On the left are half-figures of angels who pierce the demons with their lances.

Fol. 75. Entry into Jerusalem. (In the upper part of the page, above Mt. xxi. 2–6.) Christ is followed by three apostles and is greeted by an old man standing inside the city gate.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Mark (fol. 109v.) is seated, meditating. The book of the Gospels is on the table in front of a fish-shaped lectern instead of being placed on it. A drapery and stylized floral and geometric designs fill the greater part of the background. John (fol. 274v.) stands inside an ornate rectangular frame and dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left inside a smaller and simpler frame. The Hand of God comes out of the segment of sky above Prochoros, but John turns his head in the opposite direction as he usually does when the segment of sky is drawn above his head.

The rectangles over the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables are decorated with various combinations of intersecting floral designs or with floral scrolls on a gold ground; small arches with zigzag or rainbow motifs are inscribed in some of the rectangles. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus appear under the arches, as usual, and trees with birds are drawn in the margins.

The headpieces are Π-shaped or consist of rectangles with multifoil arches opening into them and decorated with floral designs similar to those of the Canon tables. On fol. 275 two crowned sirens appear among the foliage.

The marginal ornaments consist of floral interlaces, birds, and sirens, except when other motifs are required by the text, such as trees (foll. 74, 76v., 146, 147v., 250v.; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 86, 149, 153, 154, 252v., 256v.,
280, 300, 313; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xi. 27, xii. 35, xiii. 1; Lk. xx. 1, xxi. 5; Jn. ii. 12, vii. 14, x. 22; crosses (foll. 163v., 343v.; Mk. xv. 1; Jn. xix. 17); a cross-nimbed bird (foll. 186v., 286v., Lk. iv. 14; Jn. iv. 24); a bird with a demon’s head (foll. 220, Lk. xi. 14); Joseph of Arimathea (fol. 345v., Jn. xix. 38).

REMARKS. The date of A.D. 985 mentioned in the colophon added in 1895 is obviously wrong. It is probable, however, that the date written in the original colophon, now lost, was the year 985 of the Armenian era; this would correspond to A.D. 1356, which is approximately the date suggested by the style of the miniatures and by the name of the owner.

For stylistic reasons the owner, Esayi vardapet, cannot be the well-known abbot of the monastery of Gladzor, in the province of Siunik’, who lived in the 14th century. But we know of another Esayi vardapet who resided at the monastery of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Surb Astvadsadsin), in this same province, during the first half of the 16th century. He is mentioned by Zak’aria, bishop of Gnunik’, who refers to him as the ‘great vardapet’ and his learned teacher. Zak’aria presented to him the Romance of Alexander which he had copied and illustrated while he was in Rome. The manuscript is not dated, but it must have been written after 1538, when Zak’aria had already left his native land, and possibly before 1544 when, during his visit to Constantinople, he illustrated for the Armenian patriarch Astvadsatur the copy of the Romance of Alexander now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, no. 3. Zak’aria must have returned to Armenia shortly after 1544, for in 1549 he had settled at the monastery of Lim on the island of Lake Van, and it is probable that he visited his former teacher Esayi between the years 1544 and 1549.

By identifying the owner of our manuscript with this Esayi vardapet, we can also presume that it was written at the monastery of the White Virgin, in Siunik’. The manuscripts copied in this monastery during the late 15th century show the continued influence of the work of T’oros of Taron, one of the prominent artists of Siunik’ in the 14th century. This influence is also apparent in the illustration of our manuscript. The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables, the compositions of the Baptism, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, and of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre are very close to the corresponding pages in the Gospel of Venice no. 1917, illustrated by T’oros of Taron in 1307. There are also marked analogies with his Gospel of A.D. 1321 (Jerusalem, no. 567).

The painter has followed the iconographic types of his own period whenever these differ substantially from the compositions of the 14th century. The Entombment is very close to the composition of Codex no. 567. As in other examples of the 15th and

1 J. Dashian, Study of the Romance of Alexander by the pseudo-Callisthenes (in Armenian), Vienna, 1892, pp. 88-91. G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, i. 242-4. It is probably the same Esayi who is referred to as a young man in a Gospel of the year 1482: Erivan, no. 1091, Hovsep’ian, op. cit. i. 236.
2 N. Akinian, Zak’aria, Bishop of Gnunik’ (in Armenian), Vienna, 1903, pp. 5-6.
3 G. Hovsep’ian, op. cit. i. 243. He was still at Lim in 1576 when he copied a Hymnal, Etchmiadzin no. 1610/1613: ibid. 244.
4 See manuscripts mentioned by G. Hovsep’ian, op. cit. i. 231-8, and compare the headpiece of a Gospel of the year 1475 (Etchmiadzin, no. 2634/377; Hovsep’ian, op. cit., fig. 102), with the headpiece of a Gospel illustrated by T’oros in 1307 (Hartford Sem. Found. no. 3; S. Der Nersessian, Western Iconographic Themes, fig. 4).
5 S. Der Nersessian, Manu¨scriptis armeni¨s, pls. lv-lix, xlvi, fig. 105, pl. xlvi, fig. 106, pl. l, fig. 111, pl. li, fig. 113.
16th centuries the apostles have not been represented in the Betrayal, and the Mocking of Christ is suggested by the two men carrying cymbals and a trumpet (Pl. 42a). The Last Judgement is also based on the iconographic type discussed in connexion with the paintings of the 'Van school', but the principal group of Christ between the Virgin and John the Baptist has been omitted, and the apostles appear to be the judges (fol. 8). A similar composition may be seen in a Gospel written in 1557, and we find an earlier example in the Gospel of 1475 in Boston. In the latter the apostles and the weighing of the souls, separated from the Deesis figured on the opposite page, are placed under the cross with the medallion of Christ. The Dormition of the Virgin (Pl. 42b) is also very similar to the composition of the Boston Gospel.

The predominant colours are a light red, orange, blue, and a light purple. In the full-page miniatures the backgrounds are usually covered with a yellow wash instead of gold, and sometimes painted in different colours. Gold is used for the nimbs, the ground of the Canon tables, headpieces, and marginal ornaments.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)

15TH–16TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Single leaf from a Gospel; yellowed paper measuring 24.2 x 17 cm.

LAST JUDGEMENT. Christ is seated on the tetramorphic throne between the Virgin and John the Baptist who stand in the attitude of prayer; behind them rise three gold columns joined by a red drapery. The nimbs of all three figures have thin radiating lines, and white dots around the edge. Inscriptions: 'The tetramorphic throne; John the Baptist.' The busts of seven figures with similar nimbs fill a narrow band, the central figure is tonsured. Inscription: 'The forefathers.' A wider band below the first one is divided into two halves; five nude men are represented in the left half. Inscriptions: 'These are the sinners; these are the sin lovers.' The weighing of the souls fills the right half: the scales hang from the frame, the left tray rests on the back of a quadruped, while a human-headed quadruped pulls down the right tray; a similar figure behind him carries a load on his back. Two angels, in bust, pierce these demons with their lances. Inscriptions: 'Behold the day of judgement; woe unto him who has sins; the scales of righteousness; satans; demons; angels; righteousness (next to the left tray); the sins (next to the right tray and next to the load carried by a demon).'</n
REMARKS. The iconography and style point to the late 15th or early 16th century. The rich colours used for the draperies—dark red, purple, green, purplish pink—and the deep blue background are very effective, and the stylized draperies form pleasing patterns. The central figure below Christ probably represents St. Gregory the

1 Introduction, p. xxxiv.
2 Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1660; Sarghissian, Catalogue, i, p. 526.
3 S. Der Nersessian, An Armenian Gospel, fig. 7.
4 Ibid., fig. 4.
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Illuminator, and while the others are designated as 'the forefathers', they are doubtless the apostles, as in other examples.¹

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FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1541

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1, 2v.–3, Canon tables; fol. 4v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 5–61v., Gospel of Matthew, with preface at the end; foll. 62–92v., Gospel of Mark with preface at the end; fol. 93v., Portrait of Luke; foll. 94–146v., Gospel of Luke with preface at the end; fol. 147v., Portrait of John and Prochoros; foll. 148–88, Gospel of John with preface at the end; foll. 188v.–190, and 191v., Colophons. Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from an old Gospel in erkalagir.

Lacunae. Before fol. 1, Letter of Eusebius and Canon table 1; after fol. 3, Canons 6 to 10; between foll. 61 and 62, portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 32.3 x 21.5 cm.; written surface 22.5 x 14.5 cm.; 2 columns of 27 lines each. 191 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Buff-coloured paper. Medium size bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line or the first two lines of each Gospel are in floral letters, the pericope initials in floral or zoomorphic letters; the next two lines of each Gospel and the initials of the verses are in red erkalagir.

BINDING. Plain dark brown leather, over boards, mottled with ink marks.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1541 by the bishop Hovsep' at the monastery of Khartishar, in the province of Tchemeshkadsak.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 4, short prayer. Fol. 188v.–191, 'Glory ... Now this holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 900 (= a.D. 1541) by the hand of the sinful and stupid soul Hovsep', falsely called a bishop, in the province of Tchemeshkadsak, in the monastery of Khartishar, under the shelter of the holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Sargis the general and his son Martiros and other holy buildings which are erected here, while the superior of the monastery was the bishop Ter Karapet, who departed to Christ. And during the prelacy at Etchmiadzin in Vagharshapat of Ter Grigoris, and during the other prelacy at Sis of Ter Simeon. While Ter T'adeos Harpet was our metropolitan and the congregation of the monastery, counting the major and minor clerics who are now present, numbered twenty-six; leaving aside the deacons, the beadles, the pilgrims and the servants. Now I beseech you all . . . who copy this, for it was written from a good and choice model . . ., remember the miserable, unskilled and poor scribe Hovsep' the unworthy bishop, and my father, according to the flesh, Martiros, who for thirty years served as a beadle in this monastery, and my mother Dshkhoy. . . . O Christ, Logos, light, life, wisdom and

¹ See Introduction, p. xxxiv.
power of God... have mercy on the owner of this book, the bishop Hovsep',... and
on my spiritual son, the tender Vardan Malaz... and on the abegha Vardan who
prepared the paper, and on the deacon Murat for both worked much; may God reward
them. And now I, Hovsep', wrote this holy Gospel and placed it at the monastery of
Khertishar, at the door of the Holy Theotokos, and Saint Karapet and Saint Sargsis,
as a memorial of myself, and of my parents. ... May God have mercy on the soul of
my teacher, master Grigor who laboured much over me, and on the vardapet Simeon
who taught me the art of illuminating, may God brighten his soul; and on Arak'el
abegha who taught me to write, may God prepare them for His paradise... Amen.'

Fol. 190, in a smaller writing: 'this holy Gospel was bound and renovated in the
year 1177 (= A.D. 1728) at the Red Monastery under the shelter of Saint Karapet and
the Holy Cross, by the hand of the sinful cleric, and pilgrim (matitesi) Ter Sargsis.
The people of the village with much love and great desire gave of their rightful earn­
ings and had this bound, and they placed it at the door of the church of the Three
Children, for the enjoyment of Ter Tat'iros and his son Ter Arak'el, and Ter Markos,
and the newly-ordained Ter Grigor. And I pray Christ, that at His second coming,
He may grant them the remission of their sins and bestow upon them the reward of
their good deeds. Amen. Our Father.'

Fol. 191v, brief colophon in notrigir with the name of tiratsu Martiros of Ayvan and
the date 1271 (= A.D. 1822).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 47v. Matthew is seated on a high
cushioned chair and holds the book on his knees; an angel, with extended arms, comes
out from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. The entire background, save
for a rectangular space behind Matthew's head, is filled with geometric designs which
are stylizations of the decorated chair, desk, and lectern used in such portraits. Gold is
used only for the nimbs.


Fol. 147v. John standing, head turned towards the Hand of God coming out of the
segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left in front of an ornate ciborium.

The Canon tables are in the shape of rectangles supported by three columns, deco­
rated with leaves drawn inside interlacing lozenges and rectangles (fol. 1) or with
a floral scroll interrupted by a pointed arch under which is represented a sleeping
animal (foll. 2v.–3). Above the rectangles birds stand at the sides of a vase. The
headpieces are in the shape of large rectangles (foll. 5, 62, 94) with a multi­foil arch
opening into them and decorated with a floral scroll or intersecting palmettes arranged
to form a geometric design. The headpiece of John is Π-shaped, decorated with an all­
over pattern of leaves and palmettes. All these ornaments, tinted red, are painted
against a blue ground. The marginal ornaments of floral interlaces are occasionally
replaced by sirens or birds, or small designs which are connected with the text: trees
(foll. 41v., 42v., 43v., 80v., 81v., 134; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18, xxi. 33; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix.
29); temples (foll. 48v., 82, 84v., 137, 131v., 168; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xi. 27, xii. i; Lk. xxxi.
5; Jn. ii. 23, x. 22); crosses (foll. 55v., 56v., 59v., 60, 84, 87v., 90, 139, 141 174, 174v.,
180, 181v., 183; Mt. xxvi. 53, xxvii. i, xxvii. 57, xxviii. 1; Mk. xix. 35, xiv. 2' xv. 1; Lk. xxii.
21, xxii. 66; Jn. xiii. 16, xiii. 31, xvii. 2, xviii. 28, xix. 17).
The only marginal miniature represents the Virgin of the Annunciation, standing (fol. 95v, Lk. i. 26).

REMARKS. The scribe and illuminator, Hovsep', son of Martiros and Dshkhoy, was a member of the monastery of Khartishar. In 1516 he copied a Ritual which he illuminated with marginal ornaments; in another Ritual copied in 1511 his name is listed among the members of the community as 'Hovsep' the painter'. A Hymnal, dated A.D. 1502, appears to have been his earliest work, for he wrote in the colophon: 'be lenient for the largeness (of the script) and the mistakes for this is the first Hymnal that I wrote.' His name also appears in a manuscript written in 1529 (Etchmiadzin, no. 1548).

The interest in ornamental patterns, a characteristic feature of the art of the 16th century, is even more marked than usual in the work of our painter. The geometric designs which fill almost the entire background of the portraits of the Evangelists (Pl. 43a) are extreme stylizations of the buildings and accessories such as chair, desk, lectern. The folds of the draperies show little regard for the natural forms and are drawn with the primary intention of creating an effective pattern. The Evangelists with narrow, slit eyes, low forehead, drooping moustaches, differ from the usual types. The general colour scheme is fairly dark and dull; gold is used only for the nimbs and the backgrounds are painted a dark blue. The ornaments of the headpieces and the marginal designs are tinted in red.

The monastery of Khartishar near Tchemeshkadsak (or Chemishgesek) does not seem to have had a particularly active scriptorium and only a small number of manuscripts which were written there have survived. In 1884 our Gospel was still in the village of Hagh'tuk, near Tchemeshkadsak.


At the beginning and at the end there is a large vellum folio, folded into two, taken from an old Gospel in erkalagir.

3 Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, no. 209: ibid., p. 532.
5 In addition to those already mentioned see Oxford, Bodleian, Arm. e. 7, Ritual dated A.D. 1491 (Conybeare and Baronian, Catalogue, col. 28–9); Leiden, Or. 5490, Gospel dated A.D. 1598 (Macler, Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Belgique..., pp. 68–73).
MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25 × 17.5 cm.; written surface, 18.5 × 12 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 310 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, polished cream paper. Large bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, stamped with small circles. Flap with cord design. On the end cover, nail-holes and traces of lost ornaments.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, OWNER. 16th century.

COLOPHON. None.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS. Fol. 11v. Matthew. Pl. 43b.

Fol. 100v. Mark is seated like Matthew before a slightly less ornate background. An angel with arms extended comes out of the segment of sky in the upper right corner.

Fol. 155v. Luke is seated on a plain wooden bench in front of a simple lectern on which he holds the book; there is no table. In the background above the wall can be seen a round domed building on the left, and a rectangular tower on the right, connected with a drapery. This miniature is painted against a gold background, in an entirely different style from the others.

Fol. 245v. John standing full face before a high rock, painted pink, blue, and brown, turns his head to the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky, and dictates to Prochoros seated on a low rock, on the left, in front of a building with an arched façade.

The Letter of Eusebius, with the usual portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus, is decorated with floral scrolls slightly touched with red, drawn against a blue background. The Canon tables, executed in the same manner, show the usual combinations of triangles or arches drawn in the rectangles, and filled with floral scrolls. On fol. 7v. and 8, monkeys (or dogs?), holding a candle, are drawn in the outer margins, next to the columns.

The headpieces consist of large rectangles with multi-foil arches opening into them; they are filled with interlacing palmettes determining squares or lozenges. The floral ornaments, slightly touched with red, are drawn against a blue background.

The simple floral interlaces drawn in the margins and tinted red are occasionally replaced by birds and by motifs connected with the text: trees (foll. 69, 71, 134v., 136, 223; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29); temples (foll. 79v., 141v., 228v., 278v.; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xi. 5; Jn. x. 22); crosses (foll. 89, 91, 92v., 146v., 150v., 235v., 299, 301; Mt. xxvi. 31, xxvi. 57, xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 27, xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xviii. 2, xviii. 28).

REMARKS. There is no indication of date or place, but the facial types of Matthew, Mark, and John with narrow, slit eyes and a low forehead, the draperies with their heavy parallel folds, and especially the geometric designs filling all the available space in the portraits of the first two Evangelists, recall the miniatures of the preceding Gospel no. 570 (Pl. 43a). This manuscript should therefore also be dated in the middle of the 16th century and assigned to the region of Tchemeshkadsak in Asia Minor.
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miniatures are of a better quality than those of no. 570, and the colour harmonies of
delicate blues and pinks are more pleasing. The ornamental designs are also more
carefully drawn. No gold has been used in this manuscript.

The portrait of Luke painted on a separate sheet is taken from another manuscript.
The large head, the long bust, the ample draperies, with one end projecting in a point,
the simple bench on which he is seated, recall in a cruder style the portraits of the
Evangelists of the Beatty Gospel no. 562, dated A.D. 1364, but this miniature is of
a considerably later date.

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FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1574

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 12-15, Full-page miniatures; foll. 15v.-
16, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 16v.-20, Canon tables; foll. 21v.-22v., Heads of the
Gospel of Matthew; foll. 23v., Portrait of Matthew; foll. 24-100v., Gospel of Matthew;
foll. 100v.-101v., Preface of Matthew; preface and headings of the Gospel of Mark;
foll. 102v., Portrait of Mark; foll. 103-48v., Gospel of Mark; foll. 48v.-150, Preface and
John; foll. 231-88, Gospel of John; foll. 288-93, Colophons.

Paper fly-leaves at the beginning and end taken from a Gospel written in the large
bolorgir of the 13th century.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 21.5 x 16 cm.; written surface, 15.5 x 11 cm.; 2 columns
of 21 lines each. 293 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thick, cream paper. Bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines
and the initials of the verses are in red or brown erkalagir.

BINDING. Rough, nearly black leather, with large tooled star in stamp border. The
back is loose; it is stamped with a square set in a circle.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1574 at the monastery of Gregory of
Narek (south-west of Van) by the bishop Grigor for the tanuter David.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 16, under the Letter of Eusebius: ‘I beseech you, remember in
Christ the sinful scribe.’

The principal colophon begins on fol. 288 with the usual doxology and the explana-
tion of the symbolic meaning of the number four. Fol. 289v.: ‘... the thrice blessed,
pure, faithful, and God-loving tanuter David and his wife Et'ar and their sons... had
this holy Gospel written from their honest and rightful earnings, in memory of their
souls and of their parents... (follows a long list of names) fol. 290v.... and they gave
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this as a present to the church of Saint Gregory of Narek and Saint Sandukht and the Holy Resurrection, ... so that, through this, the children of the holy church might rejoice and, with full mouth and a righteous heart, say: God have mercy on David and on his wife Et’ar and on their children.... And now, I, the least of scribes and an unworthy one among clerics, Grigor, a bishop only by name, I witnessed the love and the desire they had (fol. 291) for the spiritual, and, in my unworthiness, I undertook, and with the omnipotent power of God I completed this with my sinful hands, in the monastery of Saint Grigor ... called Narek, during the patriarchate of Ter Grigor the younger, in the year of our era 1023 (= A.D. 1574). And though unskilled in the art of writing, and burdened with many sins, but to the extent of the ability conferred upon me by the (Holy) Ghost, with great labour I copied this from a correct and choice original ... in the bitter and sorrowful period during which we are subjected to the unlawful. ...' The colophon continues on foll. 291-2, prayers are again asked for the owners and their family, for the scribe, his parents, his brother, and his master, the pilgrim and cleric Arsen, who taught him the art of writing ... 'and now, I, Melik' Sultan Khotchê, and my father, David, we gave this holy Gospel to the church of Saint (Gregory) of Narek. Let no one dare remove this....'

Fol. 292v, by the same hand: 'O, orders of priests, remember in your pure prayers the unworthy Karapet, the binder, and my father and mother and all our blood-connections, living and dead. Amen. And my teacher, Ter Nerses, who died by the sword, and my master Astvadsatur, who taught me writing and binding, may God shed lustre upon his soul.... Amen.'

On fol. 292v, brief colophons by a later hand, mention a ‘Ter Hakob’ and ‘the prelate Ter Zak'aria who bought this from his rightful earnings’.

On fol. 293, on a different paper, a brief colophon, dated 1110 (= A.D. 1661), asks for prayers for Paghtasar and for various members of his family. A second colophon has the name of Ter Step'annos, but no date.

A modern hand has written on fol. 149: ‘We wish eternal rest to the writer and the illuminator of this holy Gospel, especially to the bishop Ter Grigor.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. Annunciation. Pl. 44a.


Fol. 3v. Presentation. The Virgin and Joseph, carrying two doves, Simeon with the infant Jesus in his arms, and the prophetess Anna holding a phylactery, stand at the sides of an altar, placed under a large ciborium which has three conical domes supported by five slender columns.

Fol. 4. Baptism. John the Baptist, nude save for a drapery wound around his hips and thrown over the left shoulder, lays his right hand on the head of Christ, who wears a loin cloth and stands full face in a horizontal band of water which comes up to His knees. An additional mass of water rises up, in domical form, to Christ's shoulders. Two angels, with clothes over their arms, stand on the right. Rays, with a circle in the middle, come down from the segment of sky in the centre. Fishes and the allegorical figure of the Jordan are faintly drawn in the horizontal band of water.

Fol. 5. Transfiguration. Christ is surrounded by an oval mandorla; on the left, Elijah, on the right, Moses, beardless, holding a book, stand on separate peaks. In
the foreground, John and James are seated and cover their faces with their hands. Peter lies full length, and raises his right hand towards Christ.

Fol. 6. Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by a compact group of the twelve apostles, approaches Lazarus standing in the opening of the tomb; next to Lazarus is a young man, one hand partly raised to his face. Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; one of them turns her head towards a young man carrying a slab of stone. This group partially hides a row of five shrouded figures, standing in tombs in the lower right corner of the miniature.

Fol. 7v. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ seated on the ass, followed by the apostles, is greeted by three old men standing inside the city gate; one of the latter holds a branch. In the foreground two children spread their garments. A group of men and women stand on the terrace, above the city gate, next to which is a large tree with a child cutting a branch.

Fol. 8. Harrowing of Hell. Christ, full-face, carrying a large cross, walks on the broken gates and takes Adam by the hand. Behind Adam are Eve and Abel with outstretched hands; on the right David, Solomon, and John the Baptist standing. A low, turreted wall limits the scene at the back; flames leap up in the foreground.


Fol. 10. Crucifixion. Christ is nailed to an ornate cross raised in front of a low wall; the Virgin and another woman stand on the left, John and the centurion on the right. The sun and moon are drawn above the arms of the cross.

Fol. 11v. Entombment. Two aged men, in short tunics, stand facing one another and carry the body of Christ stretched on a slab; behind each man stands a woman. Half-figures of angels project from the segments of sky in the upper corners of the frame. A large ornate cross, raised on a mound, occupies the entire central part of the miniature.

Fol. 12. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. The three women approach the angel who, seated on a slab of stone covered with a diaper design, points to the sepulchre which is absolutely empty. Small circles are drawn behind the angel (stars?). In the foreground four soldiers are seated, asleep; their shields and swords lie on the ground next to them.

Fol. 13v. Ascension. Christ is seated in an oval mandorla borne by two flying angels. Below, the Virgin in the centre, in profile, and the apostles, in two groups, gaze upward. The figure of the Virgin has been partly retouched.


Fol. 15. Last Judgement. Christ is enthroned on the four symbolic beasts; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at His sides in the attitude of supplication. Behind the group rise columns connected with a drapery. The scales hang from the paw of the lion (lower left of the throne), and are pulled down by three nude figures rising out of the flames. To the right St. Peter (?) takes a young man by the hand. A black rectangle in the lower left corner is filled with heads in four rows.

The Evangelists Matthew (fol. 23v.), Mark (fol. 102v.), and Luke (fol. 150v.) are seated in front of a table on which is placed a small lectern with a book. Above Matthew's desk there is a small structure with bulbous domes; a drapery hangs from a loop in the centre of the upper frame in the portraits of Matthew and Mark. On. fol. 230v.
John, head turned towards the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros, seated on a bench, on the left, in front of a peaked mountain.

The decorative frames of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables are fairly simple. The rectangles are divided into sections by inscribed arches or diagonal bands, and filled with floral scrolls and geometric designs; on fol. 17v. and 18 a seated deer fills the central triangle. A small piece of paper has been pasted over the portrait of Eusebius represented, as usual, in the lunette. Lion masks or other animal heads are occasionally used for the capitals.

The headpieces are A-shaped or consist of rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral motifs forming geometric designs; on fol. 151 two sirens are drawn among the foliage.

Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the entire margin on the first page of each Gospel; smaller floral interlaces or birds mark the beginnings of pericopes. These are replaced by other motifs or figures when required by the text, such as: temples (fol. 83, 139v., 215; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); a cross (fol. 282v., Jn. xix. 17); Joseph of Arimathea (fol. 146v., 225; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50); a holy woman (fol. 99; Mt. xxviii. 1).

REMARKS. The miniatures are painted in rather subdued colours, against pink or light green backgrounds; no gold has been used. The conventional treatment of the draperies in some of the compositions, with the folds indicated by heavy parallel lines, or by ovals to mark the thighs and the knees, contrasts with the flowing lines and ample mantles of such figures as the Angel of the Annunciation or Christ in the Harrowing of Hell. Some of the figures stand in rigid poses, others have a lively movement. The high peaked mountains in the Nativity, Baptism, and the portrait of John and Prochoros, differ from the types used in manuscripts of this period and this region; the large ciboriums in the Presentation and the Communion of the Apostles are not stylized as they usually are in the 16th-century manuscripts.

These stylistic discrepancies within the manuscript itself, and the differences from contemporary works, which are at first baffling, become quite clear when we realize that the artist was copying a much earlier work. By a happy coincidence the actual model, or one very much like it, is preserved; it is the Gospel no. 1941 of Jerusalem copied about the year 1334-6 at Sultaniya and illustrated by Avag, one of the foremost artists of Great Armenia at this time.\(^{1}\) Another work by Avag, the Gospel of Erivan no. 99, dated a.d. 1329, is very close in style and composition to the Gospel of Jerusalem,\(^{2}\) but slight iconographic variants in the Nativity and the Ascension differentiate this manuscript a little more from the copy of the 16th century.

Except for three scenes—the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Entombment, and the Last Judgement—all the others are to be found in the Jerusalem Gospel and the compositions are identical. The figures, their attitudes, their respective places in the composition, even the secondary details of the scenery or the architectural setting are faithfully repeated by the 16th-century painter, and only rarely are minor elements omitted, like the steps leading to the upper chamber in the Pentecost scene. The

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See Introduction, p. xxxii, for the work of Avag.  
Hovsep'ian, op. cit., p. 204.
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copyist has also attempted to imitate the style of his model; whenever he has suc­ceeded we find the flowing draperies or the lively movements which contrast with the art of the 16th century and the style of the painter himself.

The scenes omitted in the Jerusalem Gospel are the only ones which differ from the compositions painted by Avag in other manuscripts and conform to the iconographic types of the 16th century. In the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre represented by Avag in another manuscript in the British Museum¹ the angel is firmly seated on the rock and the soldiers lie asleep in natural poses, while in our manuscript the rock has become a flat rectangle covered with a diaper pattern and the soldiers sit pressed close against one another as in other manuscripts of the 16th century. Again, in the same London manuscript the two men who carry the shrouded body of Christ walk one behind the other (foll. 23v. and 68v.), but our painter has adopted the symmetrical composition of his time: the two men face one another and a large cross rises in the background. The Last Judgement of the Erivan Gospel of A.D. 1329 is a complex composition based in part on the Byzantine type used by Cilician painters of the 13th century, such as T'oros Roslin, while in our manuscript we find, once again, the iconographic scheme commonly used from the 15th century on.

In view of the identity of the compositions common to our manuscript and the Jerusalem Gospel and the use of later iconographic types for those scenes which are not to be found in this Gospel, we may assume that the Jerusalem manuscript was actually the model copied by our painter. This seems all the more probable since a colophon added in 1424 by a later owner informs us that the Gospel was no longer in Sultaniya but had been brought to Sgherd (or Se'ert), south of Lake Van, in the same general region as the monastery of Narek where our Gospel was written. The name of the monastery to which the Jerusalem Gospel was presented by the later owner is unfortunately illegible, and there is a period of more than a hundred years between the date of this colophon and that of our manuscript, but the information is none the less significant and provides an objective confirmation of our hypothesis.

The ornaments of the headpieces and marginal designs differ from those of the Jerusalem Gospel, painted by the scribe Mkhitar who wrote the text, as well as from the decorations painted by Avag himself in other manuscripts. Our miniaturist has drawn the types of ornaments current in his period, just as he had adopted the contemporary iconography for those scenes for which he had no model.

¹ Brit. Mus. Or. 5304, fol. 23v. Conybeare, Catalogue, pp. 27-28, assigns the manuscript to the years 1400 to 1500. The name of the painter which allows us to date the manuscript more accurately had escaped the attention of Conybeare; it is written at the end of the Letter of Eusebius: 'I beseech you to remember Avag the painter and scribe.' This name and the style of the miniatures leave no doubt that the illustrations are the work of the painter Avag who was active between the years 1329 and 1358. A few miniatures from this manuscript have been reproduced by A. Tchobanian, Rosarian, vol. i, pp. 106, 112; vol. ii, p. 264; vol. iii, p. xvi.

² The composition is divided over two pages; on fol. 26v. we have the Deesis, the angels rolling the sky, the row of seated apostles, and two archangels holding lances; on fol. 27, a group of standing bishops fill the upper part of the page, below are angels sounding their trumpets, and the dead rising from the tombs. For an example of the Cilician type by T'oros Roslin, cf. S. Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, pl. xxviii.

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FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1596


Lacunae. Between foll. 356 and 357 with the end of the principal colophon. The second column of fol. 92v. is left blank, but no text is missing. Several folios have been misplaced at the beginning when the manuscript was rebound; the proper order is as follows: foll. 1-8, 16, 9-10, 13-14, 11, 12, 17, 15, 18 and following. Two folios bear the number 20; foll. 357 and 358 are pasted together.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17 x 11.5 cm.; written surface 13 x 8 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 359 folios plus 6 unnumbered.

PAPER AND WRITING. Thin, browned paper, bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral, zoomorphic, and occasionally anthropomorphic letters; the second line of each Gospel is in gold erkal'agir, the next two and the initials of the verses are in red erkal'agir.

BINDING. Dark brown leather over boards; blind-tooled; fleuron in centre and two rectangular frames with geometric and floral patterns.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, OWNER. Written in 1596 at Constantinople by Martiros, native of Khizan.

COLOPHONS. The principal colophon begins on fol. 354v. with the usual doxology and continues with a long prayer. Fol. 356v.: ‘... and now, I, the least of the clerics, and the most unworthy of the children of the church, foolish and ignorant in the art of writing, misnamed Martiros of Hizan, who only have the name and not the deeds, with the grace of God I began and, through His mercy, I completed this divine word, this shining holy Gospel, in the long era of the Armenians, in the year 1045 (= A.D. 1596), in the imperial city of Constantinople’. The end of the colophon is missing.

Fol. 357. In a different hand: ‘Remember again the last owner of this holy Gospel, Khodja Khatchatur, who received this from his rightful earnings, in memory of himself
and his children, and of his wife Gayané, and his son Movses, who rests in Christ, and his tender son Avedik, and his daughters resting in Christ, Khan Tatik, and T'aguhi, Zebi, and his parents Hovsep’ Gozalaghé(?), Amen. Our Father who art in heaven.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. iv. Annunciation. The angel approaches from the left towards the Virgin who is seated, full face, under interlacing arches and holds the spindle in her left hand. Rays descend on her from the segment of sky; two columns, crowned with pointed domes, are drawn between the Virgin and the angel. Inscription: ‘Gabriel announces to the Virgin Mary.’

Fol. 2v. Nativity. The Virgin is seated on her couch against a dark blue background, which represents the interior of the cave; next to her is the Christ Child in the manger with the ass, the ox, and a star; facing her, on the left, are the Magi; the first two crowned, bear gifts, the third, young and beardless, points to the star. Above the cave are three angels; below, on the left, Joseph is seated on the ground, under an arched frame; on the right, a shepherd, guarding his sheep, plays the flute. Inscription: ‘The birth of Jesus.’

Fol. 3v. Presentation. The Virgin, and Joseph, with the two doves, Simeon with the Christ Child in his arms, and Anna, holding a small scroll, stand at the sides of a table with a column in front of it. In the background is a multifoil arch with two small domes at the sides. Inscription: ‘The coming to the temple on the fortieth day.’

Fol. 4. Baptism. John, nude save for a mantle, baptizes Christ who stands in the water to His waist; fish and a figure, holding a ewer and a crook (the personification of the Jordan), appear in the water. On the right are two angels; above Christ’s head the segment of sky and the dove, flying head down. Inscription: ‘Baptism of Christ.’

Fol. 5v. Transfiguration. Christ stands in an oval mandorla, pointed at the top; Elijah and Moses, beardless and holding a book, stand in separate rectangular frames at the sides; the mountain has not been represented. In the lower part, separated by a narrow band, Peter and James are seated at the sides; John, in the centre, covers his face. Blue rays descend on the apostles from Christ’s mandorla. Inscription: ‘The Transfiguration of Christ.’


Fol. 7v. Entry into Jerusalem. Pl. 46a. Inscription: ‘It is the Palm Sunday.’


Fol. 10v. Crucifixion. Christ is nailed to the cross with four nails, the Virgin and St. John stand at the sides. The sun and moon are drawn above the horizontal arms of the cross, and the pelican feeding his young in their nest above the vertical arm; weeping angels appear in the segments of sky, at the angles, and the skull in the hillock under the cross. The background is painted red, yellow, and green. Inscription above the frame: ‘In similitude to Christ the pelican pierced his side and revived his young; Christ pierced His side and redeemed us with His blood.’


Fol. 10v. Harrowing of Hell. Christ, carrying a large cross, walks on the broken gates of Hell (between which may be seen the head of a dragon), and takes Adam by the hand. Behind Adam, Eve and another woman (instead of Abel) raise their veiled hands to their face; on the right David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are seen in
bust. The background behind both groups of figures is painted black and two columns of smoke curl up from the left side. Inscription: 'The Harrowing of Hell.'

Fol. 13v. Ascension. Christ is seated in a pointed mandorla borne by two angels who seem to be standing on the rays of light which descend from the mandorla on the Virgin, standing orans under an arch, and on the apostles. Inscription: 'The Ascension of Christ to heaven.'

Fol. 14. Pentecost. The apostles are seated, in groups of three in two rows, in a high chamber with interlacing arches. Under the central arch the dove of the Holy Ghost flies head down; the rays of light touch only the two apostles in the centre of the upper row; between these two there is a small table with a chalice. Three men stand in the gate opening into the high wall of the chamber; the one in the centre is crowned. Inscription: 'The Descent of the Holy Ghost.'

Fol. 11. Last Judgement. Inside a rectangular frame, the Ancient of Days, holding the open book, is enthroned on the four apocalyptic beasts; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the sides in the attitude of supplication. The scales hang from the lower band of the frame; an animal-headed demon tries to pull down the right tray with a hook; the left tray rests on the back of another demon. An angel, drawn in bust on the left, pierces both demons with his lance. Inscriptions: above, 'Who saw the Ancient of Days seated on the cherubic throne.' Below: 'The scales, the demons'; next to the left tray: 'these are the mercies'; next to the right tray: 'these are the sins'.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew, Mark, and Luke (foll. 29v., 124v., 188v.), writing, are seated on a carved wooden arm-chair or bench; a second book is placed on the lectern on the desk. In the portrait of Mark the Hand of God projects from the segment of sky in the upper right corner. In the portrait of Luke a ciborium-like construction rises above the lectern, and there are other buildings on the left. Draperies hang from the upper frame or from the buildings. John, standing before a low rocky background, gazes towards the Hand of God coming out of the segment of sky and dictates to Prochoros, seated on a stool on the right (fol. 288v.).

In the Letter of Eusebius the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted under pointed arches which extend slightly beyond the upper frame of the rectangles; floral scrolls fill the spandrels. The rectangles over the Canon tables are also decorated with floral scrolls painted in bright colours on a gold ground; animals are drawn under the central triangle on foll. 15 and 18. Some of the capitals are formed by human or animal heads. A lion(?) holding a candle or demons holding a stick with a red ball at the end are drawn next to some of the Canon tables (foll. 20v., 21, 22v., 23). The headpieces are Π-shaped or consist of a wide rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, and decorated with roundels, floral scrolls, interlacing palmettes, or linear interlaces, with three-lobed leaves drawn in the free spaces.

Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes, crowned with a cross, fill the side margin of the first page of each Gospel; smaller floral interlaces, birds, and sirens, slightly tinted in red and occasionally blue, are drawn next to the pericopes. These ornaments are replaced by other motifs or figures when required by the text: trees (foll. 89, 91, 159v., 161, 262, 327, 335; Mt. xx. 29, xxi. 18; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29; Jn. xii. 12, xv. 1); temples (foll. 100v., 167, 267v.; Mt. xxiv. 1; Mk. xiii. 1; Lk. xxi. 7); crosses (foll.
FOUR GOSPELS

112v., 114v., 275v., 346v.; Mt. xxvi. 57, xxviii. i; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xix. 7); three fishes (foll. 351v., Jn. xxi. 1); a holy woman (fol. 119v., Mt. xxviii. i); the head of John the Baptist on a platter (fol. 141, Mk. vi. 14); the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (fol. 191 and 192, Lk. i. 26, 39); a demon (fol. 234, Lk. xi. 14); a blind man (fol. 259v., Lk. xvi. 35) and Joseph of Arimathea (foll. 180, 279v., 348v.; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 50; Jn. xix. 38).

REMARKS. The scribe Martiros, a native of Khizan, belonged to a family of painters who worked in this city during the latter part of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th century and illustrated numerous manuscripts, many of which have been preserved. Martiros and his brother Sargis were trained by their father, also named Sargis, and they in turn trained their sons and several pupils some of whom emigrated at the time of the forced exodus of the population by Shah Abbas, and worked at New Julfa and in other cities.¹

Judging from the manuscripts illustrated separately by various members of this scriptorium, Martiros was the most skilled among them; his drawing is more sure and the deep colours produce a rich decorative effect. Gold is used for the backgrounds of the Canon tables, headpieces, and the portraits of the Evangelists; in the Gospel scenes it is usually replaced by different colours. The earliest work of Martiros known so far is a Gandzaran, or collection of religious poems, written partly at Khlat' (or Akhlat), north of Lake Van, partly at the monastery of T'eghvoy Vank², which he illustrated in 1575 with full-page miniatures of the principal scenes of the life of Christ, and numerous portraits of saints painted in the margins (Jerusalem, no. 135). In the brief colophon written under the first miniature the painter Martiros does not give the names of his parents, but the style of the paintings leaves no doubt as to his identity. In 1577–9 Martiros was at Khizan, and illustrated a Gospel which is his most ambitious work; it has twenty-nine full-page compositions in addition to the portraits of the Evangelists, and sixty-eight marginal miniatures (Jerusalem, no. 2569).

In 1590 he was in Jerusalem; a cross-stone which he ordered to be carved in memory of his visit may be seen in the Armenian monastery of St. James;³ he was still there the following year, and he copied the greater part of a large Menologium which was illustrated by Khatchatur, another artist from Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 1920). We find him again at Khizan in 1594, working with his brother Sargis and his son Grigoris on the copy and illustration of a Bible.⁴ Martiros kept his connexions with Jerusalem; the patriarch David who had commissioned him to copy a Menologium in 1591, ordered, in 1596, a copy of selected books of the Old Testament (Jerusalem, no. 397). This work was done at Khizan by Martiros, his brother and his son. We learn from the colophon that Martiros wrote only the first two quires; this should no doubt be

¹ In addition to the manuscripts studied by G. Hovsep'ian, Artistic History of Khizan, pp. 8–27, and to the works of Mesrop of Khizan and Sargis of Mok's listed in connexion with Codices nos. 576 and 592, several other manuscripts copied and illustrated by the various members of this scriptorium may be mentioned: Jerusalem, no. 1944, Gospel, a.d. 1589 by the scribe Zak'ar; Hymnals of a.d. 1601 and 1602 by Sargis, brother of Martiros (Jerusalem, nos. 1663 and 1466), and Gospels of a.d. 1604, 1608, and 1610 by the same (Srvandzian, Toros Aghbar, ii. 266; Lalayan, Catalogue, cols. 823–30 and 837–49; Gospel of a.d. 1611 by the scribe Zak'aria (Jerusalem, no. 1939); Bible of a.d. 1624 and Hymnal of a.d. 1629 by the scribe Kirakos (Jerusalem, nos. 2350 and 2358).² M. Aghavnuni, Monks and Visitors of Armenian Jerusalem (in Armenian), Jerusalem, 1929, p. 266.³ Manuscript of the monastery of Amrolu: Srvandzian, op. cit., ii. 262–4.
explained by the fact that he left Khizan that same year, since our Codex no. 573,
written in Constantinople, is also dated 1596. It is unfortunate that the end of the
colophon is missing for it may have contained interesting particulars about his visit.¹
We have no definite information about him for a few years; he may have spent some
time at Sebastia or Zeitun, for the scribes of Codex 617 of this Collection thank Martiros
for teaching them the art of painting and of laying the gold.² By 1602 Martiros was
already in Khizan where, assisted by his brother and his son, he completed and illustrated
a collection of the works of Gregory of Tat’ev which had been begun in Sebastia
(Jerusalem, no. 420). The three scribes collaborated again in 1604 for the copy and
illustrations of a large Menologium in two volumes,³ and in 1605 Martiros copied
a Gospel which is now lost.⁴ He must have died shortly after this date, for in a collection
of sermons written in 1609 the scribe Grigor begs the readers to remember in their
prayers his late master, Martiros of Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 840).

The traditions of the Khizan school appear in one of his earliest works, the Gospel
of A.D. 1577-9 (Jerusalem, no. 2569). We find in this manuscript the characteristic
compositions of the Marriage at Cana, the Healing of the Paralytic, Christ walking on
the Waters, and several scenes of Paradise and Hell.⁵ Some of the marginal miniatures
copy the vignettes of a manuscript illustrated by an artist from Khizan in 1414 (Jeru-
alem, no. 2663); other representations in this eclectic work are derived from Cilician
Gospels of the late 12th and 13th centuries,⁶ others again follow the models of the Van
school.

The influence of the Van school prevails in the later works of Martiros, as may be
seen from the selection of scenes as well as the style and iconography of the miniatures
in the present manuscript. The Entombment (Pl. 47b) and the Last Judgement conform
to the iconographic formulae of the Van school, the pelican feeding his young is repre-
sented above the Crucifixion, and even such details as the three men above the tomb of
Lazarus, one of whom stretches his hand from under the architrave, repeat the peculiar
traits of the Van school (Pl. 47a).⁷ There are marked similarities between the illustrations
of our manuscript and those of a Gospel written at Agh'tamar in A.D. 1497
(Bodleian, Arm. e. 1), and especially those of a Gospel written at Khlat', north of Lake
Van, in 1542 (Brit. Mus., Or. 2707); these similarities acquire special significance when
we recall that in 1575 Martiros illustrated a manuscript which had been partly written
at Khlat' (Jerusalem, no. 135).

The anthropomorphic letters of our manuscript also occur in other works of this
period; they differ from the elegant designs of the Cilician artists and recall the lively
types used in the fourteenth century by T'oros of Taron.⁸

¹ These pages were already missing in 1900 when our manuscript was in the Sanasarian school at
Erzerum. See H. Adjarian, Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Sanasarian Instituts zu
Erzerum, Vienna, 1900, no. 15, pp. vii and 16-17. A short notice affixed to the manuscript
stated that it had been presented to the library of this school in 1866.
² See also Aleppo, no. 38: Surneyan, Catalogue, i. 8r.
³ New York, Kevorkian Collection, no. 42: G. Hovsep’ian, Artistic History of Khizan, pp. 11-14, fig. 4.
⁴ Lalayan, Catalogue, cols. 819-20, formerly in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Van.
⁵ See Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
⁶ See Introduction, p. xxxix.
⁷ For instance Boston Library, no. 1327, a.d. 1475
(S. Der Nersessian, An Armenian Gospel, p. 8);
Paris, Arm. 18, a.d. 1456 (F. Macler, Miniatures, pl. xvi,
fig. 34).
⁸ G. Hovsep’ian, Khaghbakians, ii, figs. 214, 217.
Martiros was the recognized master of the Khizan school in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. His compositions were frequently imitated by his pupils; for instance a Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in A.D. 1608 (Brit. Mus., Or. 5737), and another illustrated by Zak'aria A.D. 1611 (Jerusalem, no 1938) are almost exact replicas of our Codex no. 573.1

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FOUR GOSPELS

17th century


Lacunae. Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables; one leaf after each of the following folios: 12 (Mt. i. 1–18), 90 (Mt. xxvi. 40–51), 102 (Portrait of Mark), 229 (Lk. xix. 14–29); two leaves after foll. 298 (Jn. xiii. 15–xiv. 3); several leaves after foll. 308 (Jn. xviii. 16 to end). Foll. 100v. and 101 are left blank, but no text is missing (see Colophon).

Measurements, Etc. 18 x 12.5 cm.; written surface 13 x 8.5 cm.; 2 columns of 20 lines each. 309 folios.

Paper and Writing. White vellum. Bolorgir in black ink, damaged in places. 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 second line in blue erkalagir; the initials of the verses and the words ‘Lord, God, Holy, &c.’ are in gold letters. A narrow gold band drawn between two lines frames each column of text; these frames are joined to one another by means of a small trefoil arch above, and a straight line below.

Binding. Dark brown leather on boards, with flap; blind-tooled. Front cover: a cross on three steps with twisted cord motif. Two rayed segments in upper corners; cord border (Pl. 63). End cover: rectangular panel and frame of interlaced design; small round and oval stamps. Flaps: rectangular panel with twisted cord design.

Date, Place, Scribe, Owner. 17th century; written by the cleric Poghos.

Colophon. Fol. 100v., lower margin, ‘O, reader, this quire is empty (?). The reason

1 The cycle of miniatures existed previously, as stated above, and we find identical compositions in a manuscript illustrated in A.D. 1578 near Kharberd by the bishop Hohannes (Jerusalem, no. 3423), but it was probably through the copies made by Martiros and his assistants that these compositions were transmitted to the younger members of the Khizan school.
is that the headings of Mark had been decorated beforehand and this was added. O reader, remember the sinful cleric Poghos, who am the scribe of this Gospel.'

**ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.** Foll. 1r–2. *Marriage at Cana.* On folio 1r, Christ, the Virgin, and a young apostle stand next to a table in front of an architectural setting. On the other side of the table a crowned, elderly man, kneeling down, holds a gold pitcher in one hand and offers a cup to Christ; a bearded, nimbed man and a young boy stand behind him. A large, chalice-shaped dish containing viands and gold ewers are placed under arches in the lower half of the page. Inscription: 'He came to Cana of Galilee and turned the water into wine.' On folio 2 the bearded nimbed man is seated next to a ciborium, he holds a large cross and turns towards the crowned bridegroom seated on the right. In the lower half of the page are represented a musician and two men, drinking; seated on the ground; a bowl of fruit is placed in front of them. A narrow, arched band separates this group from the servant who pours water out of a gold pitcher into six ewers. Inscription: 'The ruler of the feast, having drunk the wine, rejoiced with the bridegroom.'

Fol. 3. *Betrayal.* Judas approaches from the right and embraces Christ without kissing Him; his face has been erased. Six helmeted soldiers, carrying swords, lances, and torches, stand at the sides. Inscription: 'The Lord of all is seized willingly and carried to the house of Caiaphas.'

Fol. 4r. *Christ before Pilate.* Pilate is seated on the left and washes his hands; two men in pointed caps stand behind the throne, and, before Pilate, a servant holding the basin, and a Jew, who pours the water. Christ is nude save for a mantle thrown over his shoulders. Five soldiers stand behind Christ. Buildings, some with conical roofs, fill the background. Inscription: 'Christ left the house of Caiaphas and stood in the tribunal of Pilate.'

Fol. 5. *Mourning over the Body of Christ.* The nude body of Christ is stretched on the ground; Joseph of Arimathea wraps His feet in the shroud, Nicodemus holds His hands. Behind them stand the Virgin, erect and hands clasped, Mary Magdalene, and John weeping. A large cross is raised in the background between two buildings with conical roofs. Inscription: 'Covering the nakedness of Him who was begotten by the Father before time, Saint Joseph of Arimathea shrouded Him.'

Fol. 6v. *Ascension.* Christ is seated in a starry mandorla, which is surrounded with clouds and held by two kneeling angels. Below, the Virgin, orans, and the apostles stand in front of two mountains. Inscription: 'Having taken His disciples to the Mount of Olives, blessing them, He rose up to heaven.'

Fol. 7. *Last Judgement.* In the upper part, Christ, nude, with a purple mantle over his knees, is seated on the arc of heaven, in the innermost of four concentric circles studded with stars; large rays radiate from His nimbus. The Virgin and a young apostle (John?), John the Baptist and an older apostle (Peter?) kneel at the sides. A wide, red, plaited band separates this group from the weighing of the souls in the lower part. In the centre hang the scales; the left tray rests on the back of a demon, another demon tries to pull down the right tray. Nude figures are crowded on the left side and preceded by an angel who, with his long lance, pierces the demons and the dark, nude figures represented on the extreme right. Inscriptions: above the frame,
'The day of judgement, fearful to see, at Gethsemane (?) in the valley of Asilin' (the Kidron?); under the frame: 'The scales placed in the middle of the tribunal for there the justice of the Lord will be revealed'; under the red plaited band: 'This is the fiery river.'

Fol. 8v. Paradise and Hell. Pl. 48a. Inscriptions: above, 'The place filled with the souls of the righteous after the Judgement'; below, 'The sinful souls in tartarus are devoured by fiery and sleepless worms.'

Fol. 9. Dives and Lazarus. In the upper part Abraham is seated, with Lazarus in his lap, holding two small branches; two angels stand before them. In the lower part, separated by a narrow band, the rich man lies in the fire which is being stoked by demons, serpents are coiled around his body; in the right corner, a demon seizes a nude man and throws him into the fire. Black background for the lower half. Inscriptions: above, 'The angels having carried the soul of Lazarus, placed him in the bosom of the great Abraham'; below, 'The rich man, having fallen into the innermost hell, burned and roasted as in a pan.'

Fol. 10. The Wise and Foolish Virgins. Pl. 48b. Inscriptions: above, 'The wise virgins prepared their lamps and entered paradise'; below, 'While the foolish virgins blew out the lamps, because of this they remained outside paradise.'

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 12v.) is seated writing before a desk on which is a lectern with another book placed under a ciborium; behind him are buildings connected with a drapery which also hangs over the ciborium; above him the segment of sky with the bust figure of the beardless Christ, blessing. The rectangular frame is set in an octagon, which, in turn, is set in an oval frame. Luke (fol. 162v.) is seated, writing, before a desk on which is a tall lectern with an open book. In the upper part of the miniature, separated by a narrow band, may be seen a throne, with the veil and cross, framed by three concentric circles, and at the sides of the throne two tetramorphs, each one holding a fan with the inscription: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord almighty.' John (fol. 254v.) dictates to Prochoros, seated on the left, in front of a turreted wall. In the upper part of the miniature, separated by a narrow band, a medallion frames the bust of the Ancient of Days holding a globe with a cross; two stars are drawn in the medallion and two adoring angels stand at the sides.

A large number of small figures or vignettes are painted in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes. In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 13, Ancestors of Christ; eight busts of men in the meanders of a scroll (i. 8-15); fol. 13v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 14v., the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 16v., John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 19, Christ (iv. 12); fol. 20v., Christ, seated (v. 1); fol. 27v., two nimbed men, standing (vii. 1); fol. 33, Matthew kneeling (ix. 9); fol. 34, Christ and Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 34v., two blind men, seated (ix. 27); fol. 42, an apostle in the cornfield, partly effaced (xii. 1); fol. 43v., Christ healing the blind and dumb man (xii. 22); fol. 50v., John the Baptist (xiv. 1); fol. 52v., Stilling of the tempest (xiv. 22); fol. 55, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 55v., Christ, seated (xv. 29); fol. 69v., tree (xx. 29); fol. 71v., fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 73, the man who had planted a vineyard (xxi. 33); fol. 80, temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 91, cross (xxvi. 57); fol. 93, cross (xxvii. 1); fol. 97, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 98, the angel at the sepulchre (xxviii. 1).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 104, John the Baptist, kneeling (i. 14); fol. 107v., Matthew,
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kneeling (ii. 13); fol. 108v., an apostle in the cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 110v., Christ in the mountain (iii. 13); fol. 119, John the Baptist (vi. 14); fol. 126v., Apostles in a boat (viii. 10); fol. 136v., the blind man (x. 46); fol. 138, fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 141v., two Sadducees (xii. 18); fol. 152v., cross (xv. 1); fol. 156, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 164v.–165, Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 166, Virgin (i. 39); fol. 168v., Joseph (ii. 1); fol. 169, shepherd, playing the flute, and three sheep grazing (ii. 8); fol. 170, Circumcision; the high priest holds Jesus in his arms and a knife in his right hand (ii. 21); fol. 174, Ancestors of Christ, seven men, in bust, in the meanders of a scroll, above them Christ blessing (iii. 23); fol. 174v., Ancestors of Christ, same composition, but eight men and no Christ (iii. 26–33); fol. 175a, Ancestors of Christ, two volutes with busts; below, a nude man (Adam) kneeling (iii. 33–38); fol. 175b, Temptation (iv. 2); fol. 179v., Christ healing the leper (v. 12); fol. 181, Matthew kneeling (v. 27); fol. 183, Christ, praying (vi. 12); fol. 199, Christ and a man (ix. 37); fol. 204, Christ praying (xi. 1); fol. 205, Christ healing the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 211v., a ram (xii. 32); fol. 213, flames rising out of a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 228v., the blind man, seated (xvii. 35); fol. 235, temple (xxi. 5); fol. 246v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50); fol. 249v., Christ and the disciples on the way to Emmaus (xxiv. 32).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 257, Christ in Baptism scene (i. 35); fol. 259, Marriage at Cana, a servant pours water into a jug (ii. 1); fol. 261v., Moses raising the serpent on the cross (iii. 14); fol. 268, a veiled woman bends over a boy, both are nimbed (v. 1); fol. 284, the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 287v., the good shepherd (x. 11); fol. 288v., temple (x. 22); fol. 290, Lazarus, in bed, next to him Martha and Mary (xi. 1); fol. 294v., palm-tree (xii. 12).

The headpieces are n-shaped or consist of wide rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with the usual floral scrolls, or with squares and lozenges framing three lobed leaves. Confronted lions appear above the headpiece of Mark, and a crouching ox above that of Luke. The backgrounds are always gold, and gold is used again as a background for the marginal ornaments of carefully drawn floral interlaces.

REMARKS. A number of important scenes, always included in the Gospel cycle, are now lacking and were probably lost at the same time as the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables. The Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation, Baptism, and Transfiguration must have preceded the Marriage at Cana, now on foll. 1v.–2; and some, if not all, of the following scenes—Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper or Washing of the Feet, Crucifixion, Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Harrowing of Hell, and Pentecost—were no doubt represented on the folios which intervened between the surviving full-page illustrations.

Several compositions suggest definite connexions with the school of Khizan. The two miniatures of the Marriage at Cana were probably copied from a single image of a larger size, where the servant pouring the water into the jugs was not separated from the representation of the miracle, as it is here. Such a composition may be seen in the Gospel no. 11 of the Kevorkian Collection illustrated in 1621 at Khizan; and in a Gospel of the year 1640–3 from the village of Avendants (Jerusalem, no. 2670). In

1 G. Hovsep’ian, Artistic History of Khizan, fig. 9.
both manuscripts the page is divided into three horizontal bands and the groups represented in each band exactly correspond to those of our manuscript; the servant pouring the water is in the lowest register.

The image of Christ and the apostles in Paradise (Pl. 48a) had already been represented in the 15th century by the artists of Khizan or its vicinity, as can be seen from the miniature of Codex no. 565 but the composition, with the archangel sounding the horn, and the monsters swallowing the dead, is closer to the miniatures of the two Gospels just mentioned: Keivorkian no. 11, and Jerusalem no. 2670. In the present case, however, our painter has given a more correct interpretation, for the Virgin and the apostles are all above the line which separates Paradise from the region of the dead, while in the two other examples some of the blessed appear below this line, immediately above the dead.

The representation of Dives and Lazarus repeats, in its main lines, the traditional composition of the Khizan school; the additional figures of the demons stoking the fire may be seen in the Gospels of Jerusalem nos. 2663 and 2569 (A.D. 1577–9), and in several manuscripts of the 17th century such as: Jerusalem nos. 1663 and 2670 (A.D. 1601 and 1640–3), and Keivorkian no. 11. The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins also follows the Khizan type (Pl. 48b), and the Wise Virgins wear the same type of crown as the Virgins in the 17th-century manuscripts just mentioned. This parable, which immediately follows the image of Dives and Lazarus, forms a pendant to it, each miniature recalling the rewards of the righteous and the punishment of the sinners.

Among the examples of similarities between our manuscript and those written at Khizan during the 17th century, we should also mention the throne between two tetramorphs represented above the portrait of Luke (fol. 162v.) and the Ancient of Days between two archangels above the group of John and Prochoros (fol. 254v.). Images of Christ sometimes accompany the portraits of the Evangelists in Byzantine manuscripts. In the 11th-century manuscript, Paris, Gr. 74, the Ancient of Days is represented above Matthew, Christ above Mark and Luke, and under the portrait of John there are three roundels with the images of Christ, the Ancient of Days, and Christ Emmanuel. In several Gospels of the 15th century images of Christ or Christ Emmanuel are introduced into the headpieces. In Armenian art the earliest example appears in a Gospel of the late 12th or early 13th century; the Ancient of Days is represented above the group of John and Prochoros. There are very few other examples until the 17th century when we find a regular scheme in the manuscripts of the Khizan school: Christ Emmanuel above the portrait of Mark; the throne between the seraphim above the portrait of Luke; the Ancient of Days above the portraits of John and Prochoros.

1 G. Hovsep’ian, Artistic History of Khizan, fig. 12.
2 Ibid., fig. 12.
3 H. Omont, Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle, Paris, 1908, pls. 1, 57, 92, 142.
4 E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, The Four Gospels of Karahissar, Chicago, 1936, vol. ii, 108–10, pls. x–xi, xlv, lxvii, cxv. In a Gospel of the 13th century the enthroned Christ with the four symbols of the Evangelists projecting from the mandorla has been represented above the portrait of Matthew, Leningrad, Public Library, Gr. 101: V. Lazarev, Istoriia, ii, pl. 257.
5 Venice, no. 888/159: S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens, pp. 95–96 and pl. xxxvi, fig. 73.
6 New York, Keivorkian Collection, no. 11; Jerusalem nos. 2560 and 2670. In the Gospel of Boston,
The Mourning over the body of Christ takes the place of the Entombment, as in the earlier manuscripts of Khizan, but the large cross raised in the background allies the composition with the examples of the 17th century.

Some of the less common iconographic elements occur in manuscripts illustrated during the 17th century in different Armenian centres, and they are ultimately derived from European models. In the Judgement of Pilate Christ is nude save for a mantle thrown around his shoulders; this iconographic variant may be seen in two Gospels illustrated at Ispahan in 1635 and in 1643–4 (Jerusalem, no. 2587), as well as in a manuscript illustrated in Constantinople in 1648 (Jerusalem, no. 2607). In the Last Judgement Christ, nude to the waist, is seated on the arc of heaven; concentric circles are drawn around Him and large rays radiate from His nimb. A close parallel to this type may be seen in a Bible illustrated at Amida between the years 1622 and 1631 (Jerusalem, no. 2559, fol. 429).

While certain elements of the illustration are common to the 17th-century manuscripts in general, others belong specifically to the Khizan School and suggest that our manuscript was illustrated in that region, or under the influence of that school. But the short proportions of the figures and their awkward poses, the treatment of the draperies where the folds do not form geometric patterns, finally the facial types show a slightly different artistic tradition from that of the Khizan school strictly speaking. Some of these traits appear in a manuscript illustrated in the village of Avendants, in the neighbouring region of Khizan (Jerusalem, no. 2618, a.d. 1669).

The marginal miniatures represent, for the most part, the miracles, though the parables and various episodes of the life of Christ have also been illustrated. The compositions are greatly simplified, following the practice of the 17th century. For instance, one shepherd playing the flute with three small sheep at his feet suggests the Annunciation to the shepherds (fol. 169); for the Circumcision the painter has figured the high priest carrying the Christ Child on his left arm and holding a large knife in his right hand (fol. 170); Christ stands alone in the miniature illustrating the Baptism (fol. 257); when Christ and His disciples go into the parts of Dalmanutha there are only three apostles in the small sailboat (fol. 1267). As in other manuscripts of the 17th century the bust figures of the ancestors of Christ are drawn in floral scrolls which fill the margins of the corresponding pages of Matthew and Luke (fol. 13, 174–5), and only the nude figure of Adam, kneeling, is represented in full, outside the scroll (fol. 175a).

no. 1327, Christ Emmanuel is represented above the portrait of Matthew: S. Der Nersessian, An Armenian Gospel, fig. 9.

1 A. Baumstark, 'Eine Gruppe illustrierter armenischer Evangelienbücher des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts in Jerusalem', Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft, iv (1911), 256, pl. 54, fig. 2; British Museum, Or. 5449, a.d. 1689 (and not a.d. 1582 as in Conybeare, Catalogue, p. 36); Macler, Miniatures armeniennes, fig. 121; Jerusalem, nos. 2359, 2359, 2387, 2618; Aleppo, no. 1, a.d. 1632. The cross is also represented in late Byzantine paintings: Millet, Iconographie, figs. 548, 559, 560–62.

2 Leiden, Or. 5515: Macler, Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Belgique, p. 132.
FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)
16TH–17TH CENTURY

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Three paper leaves, measuring 21.5 x 15.5 cm.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. (a) Pilate and Christ. Pilate is enthroned, on the left, opposite him a soldier holds an ewer but does not pour the water over Pilate's hands. To the right another soldier, carrying an axe, speaks to Christ who stands on a footstool with a border made of small circles; a narrow frame, with the same design, goes partly around the figure of Christ. Blue background. Inscriptions: 'Pilate washes his hands and says: "I am innocent of his blood"'; 'the soldier questions and says: "Art thou Christ, the Son of God?" Christ says, "Thou sayest"'.

(b) Carrying of the Cross. Two men, in short tunics, walk to the left, each one carrying a wooden board on his shoulders; their feet come below the frame of the miniature. Inscription: 'Placing the wood of the cross on their shoulders, the wicked soldiers carried it.'

2. Entombment. Two men in short-sleeved tunics and tight-fitting trousers stand facing one another and carry the shrouded body of Christ; a woman stands behind each man. A large cross, flanked by two candelabras with chalice-shaped tops, fills the entire height of the miniature; in the upper corners are two flying angels. Blue background. Inscriptions: above the frame, 'the angel of God'; to the left of the frame, 'Mary', 'Joseph'; under the frame, 'the burial of Christ'.

3. Last Judgment. Christ is enthroned on the four symbolic beasts. His feet resting on a richly decorated semicircular cushion; the Virgin and John the Baptist stand at His sides in the attitude of prayer. Twelve nimbed men, in bust, are represented below, in two rows, each one in a separate rectangular frame. The scales hang from the centre of the lower frame; the left tray rests on the back of a demon, a second demon tries to pull down the right tray, a third demon with a load on his back stands between them. Two angels, one on either side, pierce the demons with lances. Blue background. Inscriptions: above the frame, 'Mary, Theotokos; God the Father, John the Evangelist'; below, 'the Angel', 'the apostles judge', 'the judgement'; farther down, 'the scales', 'the demon carries the sins on his back'.

REMARKS. These miniatures were previously in the Sevadjian Collection, no. 19, and have been reproduced by F. Macler in his Documents d'art arménien, Paris, 1924, pls. xxvii–xxviii, figs. 59–61. Macler assigned them to the 12th or 14th century; this date is far too early, for neither the iconography of the Last Judgement nor certain details of the costumes appear in dated manuscripts of that period, and these miniatures cannot be earlier than the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century.

The colours are rich, mostly red, purple, green, and blue. Blue is used for all the backgrounds. The figures are highly stylized and coarsely drawn, with heavy outlines.
CATALOGUE

The Entombment and the Last Judgement follow the iconographic types used in the ‘Van school’, beginning with the 15th century, adopted by the Khizan school of the late 16th and 17th centuries as well as by other artists of the late period. The composition of Pilate washing his hands and the soldiers questioning Christ belongs, however, to the earlier tradition of Khizan. The Gospel of Paris, Arm. 333 of A.D. 1335 gives us one of the earliest examples; this composition may also be seen in several manuscripts of the 15th century, such as Codex no. 566 (fol. 7) and Aleppo, no. 44, and in the 17th century in Codex no. 574 (fol. 4v.). Jesus sometimes stands alone with tied hands, at other times a soldier raises his whip or his hand to slap Christ’s face.

In all these manuscripts the other scene represented on the same page is sometimes the Betrayal, sometimes Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver. The two men carrying wooden boards, designated by the inscription as the ‘wicked soldiers’, differ also in type from other examples. In the rare instances where the carrying of the cross is represented we either see Christ Himself carrying the cross or Simon of Cyrene with the cross on his shoulders.

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FOUR GOSPELS (fragment)
DATED A.D. 1615

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Two leaves measuring 23.2 x 17.7 cm.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written at Ispahan in 1615 by Hayrapet and illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan for Martiros. See ‘Remarks’.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. 1. The Holy Women at the Sepulchre. Pl. 51b. Inscriptions: ‘The shining angel and the women bringing the anointment and the incense’; ‘the guards’.

2. Christ in Glory. Pl. 51a. Inscriptions: ‘The cross of the Lord who comes for judgement and the trumpets of Gabriel sound’. Over the kneeling figures, on the left, is represented under the scene of Jesus appearing before Herod. In a Gospel illustrated at Erzerum in 1587 (Paris, Collection Louis Cartier) in the same miniature as the denial of Peter we see Christ and a man facing one another, each one carrying a wooden board on his shoulder. Christ carrying the cross is represented in a separate miniature in a Gospel illustrated in 1661 by Mkrtitch of Tokat (Paris, Margossian-Esmerian Collection, no. 9, fol. 11v.) and in other manuscripts of the 17th century, cf. Macler, Miniatures arméniennes, pl. xlvii, fig. 114, pl. lv, fig. 148, and id., Documents, pl. xxiii, fig. 51. Simon of Cyrene carrying the cross is represented in Codex no. 584, fol. 11v., and in a Gospel written at Constantinople in 1650, Jerusalem, no. 3435, formerly Sevadjian, no. 3; cf. Macler, Documents, pl. lxxxvii, fig. 202.
FOUR GOSPELS

My parents, Khumarmam, Omet'; on the right, 'the owner, Martiros, the husband of Mariam'.

REMARKS. These two leaves belong to a Gospel formerly in the collection of Jacques de Morgan, in Paris, copied in 1615 at Ispahan by the scribe Hayrapet and illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan. The manuscript has been described and all the miniatures reproduced by F. Macler. Five other leaves are now in the collection of Mr. J. Pozzi in Paris; the fate of the remaining part of the manuscript is not known.

Several manuscripts illustrated in part, or fully, by Mesrop have survived, and we learn from the colophons that he was a pupil of Martiros of Khizan and of Sargis of Mok's, surnamed Mazman, whose works are represented in this collection by the manuscripts nos. 573 and 592. The earliest mention of his name occurs in a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1605 by Grigoris, the son of his teacher Martiros; Mesrop was one of the assistants. Shortly after this date we find him at Ispahan, where in 1608 and 1609 he illustrated the two Gospels now in the British Museum, Or. 5737, and at Oxford, Bodleian Arm. d. 13. Mesrop's departure from Khizan should, no doubt, be connected with the forced transportation of the Armenians by Shah Abbas, following his victory over the Turkish armies in 1604. The exodus is recalled in the Oxford manuscript just mentioned. 'Mourning fell upon Armenia, for he (Shah Abbas) destroyed and made desolate all houses and habitations, so that men fled and hid themselves in fortresses and clefts of rocks. Some he found and slew, others he led captive and sent to that city of Shosh or Aspahan. And he settled us on the south side of the river Zandar... where we built houses and habitations and churches for our prayers.'

Mesrop continued to work at Ispahan. In 1615 he illustrated the Gospel to which these two leaves belong. In 1618 he illustrated a Psalter and he rebound a Gospel which had been illustrated in 1214 in Great Armenia by the painter Ignatios. That same year he restored a New Testament written in 1280 at Sis, the capital of Cilicia, and he added the portraits of the Evangelists and those of the authors of the Acts and Epistles. In 1627 he copied and illustrated a Gospel for Azat khat’un, the daughter of...

2 These miniatures represent the Annunciation, Nativity, Washing of the Feet, Ascension, and Penticost (Macler, op. cit., pls. xxxix, xxxv, xxxix).
3 G. Hovsep’ian, Artistic History of Khizan, pp. 20–21, figs. 13–14. In 1904 this Gospel was still in Armenia, in the province of Goght’an (Asgyaran Haned, 1904, p. 159); it belonged later to Mr. Baroyrian of New York and is now in the collection of Mr. H. Kurdian of Wichita, Kansas.
4 F. C. Conybeare, Catalogue, pp. 42-44. S. Baronian and F. C. Conybeare, Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1918, cols. 107-12. The painter has written his name under the miniature on fol. 23v. '...and the sinful painter Mesrop'. His teachers are mentioned on fol. 311 in a note which is incomplete at the beginning: '...the master whose surname is Mazman and the other famed master, Ter Martiros, and his son, the master Ter Grigoris and all workers'.
5 Baronian and Conybeare, Catalogue, cols. 110 and 112.
6 Aleppo, Church of the Forty Martyrs, no. 55, written by Sargis abegha. The name of the painter, Mesrop, is written in the headpiece on p. 370, and though neither his parents nor his teachers are mentioned there can be no doubt that he is the painter Mesrop of Khizan. A. Surmeyan, Catalogue, vol. i, pp. 119-20.
7 Venice, no. 151: S. Der Nersessian, Manuscripts arméniens, p. 174.
8 British Museum Add. 18549; Conybeare, Catalogue, pp. 11-14.
Khodja Khatchik, one of the Armenian notables of New Julfa. In 1629 he illustrated a Gospel which had been written in 1625 at the monastery of Tat'ev, in Great Armenia (Jerusalem, no. 2348). A few years later, in 1634, he bound and renovated a Gospel which had been written in 1495, and in 1637 he illustrated a Gospel copied by the scribe Grigor (Jerusalem, no. 2617). This is the finest of all his works. In 1649 he illustrated a Gospel, with the assistance of his pupils, and his name appears for the last time in a Gospel written in 1651.

The compositions used in the scriptorium of Martiros of Khizan appear frequently in the manuscripts illuminated by Mesrop, even after he had left his native city. In his Gospel of the year 1608 (Brit. Mus. Or. 5737), he repeats many of the representations in Codex no. 573 of this collection; the portraits of the Evangelists and the initial pages of the four Gospels in the British Museum and Oxford manuscripts are derived from the miniatures of the Gospel written by Grigoris in 1605, and which Mesrop had helped to illustrate.

The illustrations of the Gospel of A.D. 1615, to which belong the two leaves described above, also conform in style and iconography to the works of the late Khizan school. Mesrop is much less successful when he attempts to imitate European models. Were it not for the signature, the colours, and certain details in the drapery treatment, one would hesitate to recognize the hand of Mesrop in the crude and almost barbarian paintings of the Gospel of the Bodleian, Arm. d. 13, which he illustrated in 1609.

FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1619-24

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Foll. 1-7, Letter of Eusebius; foll. 3v-8, Canon tables; foll. 10-77v, Gospel of Matthew; foll. 79-122, Gospel of Mark (without the last verses, xvi. 9-20); fol. 124v, Portrait of Luke; foll. 125-197v, Gospel of Luke; fol. 198-203v, Portrait of John; foll. 199-253v, Gospel of John; foll. 254-5, Colophons.

In the lower margin of the first page of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John there are two lines of explanation on the symbol of each Evangelist.

Lacunae. Two leaves after foll. 9 with the portrait of Matthew, and Mt. i. 1-8; one leaf after foll. 78 with the portrait of Mark.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 15 x 11 cm.; written surface 10 x 7 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 255 folios plus 10 blank leaves at the beginning and 5 at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. Small bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel

1 New Julfa, no. 459; G. Hovsep'ian, Artistic History of Khizan, p. 27; H. Kurdian, 'Khodja Nazar of Julfa and his Family' (in Armenian), Hairenik Bimonthly, Boston, xxi. 4 (1943), 74.
2 Etchmiadzin, 1951, Jan.-Febr., pp. 82-3.
and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines in blue and gold *erkat agir*, the initials of the verses in red *erkat agir*.

**BINDING.** Brown leather over boards, covered with silver-gilt plates with engraved floral designs. In the centre of front cover a crucifix in relief; four peridots studded in the corners. Pl. 64a. On the end cover a cross made of one carnelian and four peridots; peridots also at the four corners. No metal back or flap.

**DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER.** Written in 1619-24 at Constantinople by Mik'ayel of Tokat for Tamur, Alt'un, and Safar.

**COLOPHON.** Fol. 254v. ‘Glory to the most Holy Trinity, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen. This was written in the year 1073 (≈ A.D. 1624), in the metropolis of Constantinople, by the hand of Mik'ayel of Tokat. Now I beseech you all ... remember the worthless scribe and my parents ... , and may God, at His second coming, remember those who remember (us). Amen. Our Father who art in Heaven.’

Fol. 254v. ‘Glory ... to the Holy Trinity. ... And now I ... Tamur, and Alt'un, and my parents Safar, who received from our rightful earnings this holy Gospel as a memorial of myself and of my parents, the pilgrim Alt'un and Safar. I beseech you, ... remember my parents. ... This holy Gospel was written in the year of the Armenians 1068 (≈ 1619) during the reign of Sultan Othman and the primacy of the catholicos Ter Melk'iset’. ...

On fol. 255 there is a brief note by Hmayak vardapet Dimak'sian, who on 10 August 1876 saw this manuscript in the town of Balekeser. A longer note written by the same on fol. 1 explains that in accordance with the instructions of the patriarch Nerses he gave the manuscript to the church of the Theotokos.

**ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.** Portraits of the Evangelists. Luke (fol. 124v.) is seated in an arm-chair, with an open book on his knees, and holds a pen in his left hand; there are two square towers on either side in the background. John (fol. 198v.) is seated on a bench, with a tall lectern at one end, and turns his head towards the rays descending from the starry segment of the sky. Gold background.

The rectangles over the *Letter of Eusebius* and the *Canon tables* are quite narrow and decorated with floral designs, tinted in red, drawn against a blue-green or a yellow background. Next to the rectangle on fol. 7v. a lion stands on his hind legs; next to that on fol. 8 there is a monkey holding a candle. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpius have not been represented. The *headpieces* are n-shaped, decorated with simple floral motifs forming a geometric pattern and painted against a gold background. The large marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel are formed by interlacing palmettes in different colours and gold; those of the pericopes have very simple floral designs and are tinted in red and blue. They are occasionally replaced by birds or by motifs connected with the text, such as a tree (fol. 53v.), temples (foll. 61v., 111, 185v.), and a cock (fol. 72).

**REMARKS.** The portraits of the Evangelists Luke and John, the headpieces, and the large marginal ornaments on the first page of each Gospel, painted in rich colours against a gold background, imitate the style of Cilician illuminations in the 13th century,
The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables are much simpler; the designs tinted in red, yellow, and green are drawn against a dark blue background. Contrary to the usual practice the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus have not been represented.

Many artists of this period, especially those who worked in Constantinople and in the cities of Asia Minor, copied Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century. The use of such a model is clearly stated by Mik'ayel of Tokat in the colophon of a Hymnal which he illustrated in Constantinople in 1629. He writes: 'This Hymnal was copied from a good and choice model. For the model was written at the metropolis of Sis, under the shelter of the Holy Cross, in the year 744 (= a.d. 1295), during the rule over the Armenians of Het'um, son of King Levon.'

Several other manuscripts copied or illustrated by Mik'ayel at Constantinople have survived: a Hymnal dated 1606; a Bible dated 1611; a Gospel dated 1615 (Jerusalem, no. 3259); the Book of Solomon and the Prophets dated 1618; two Gospels dated 1619 and 1621, illustrated with the portraits of the Evangelists and headpieces which again imitate the style of the 13th century; a Gospel dated 1625, illustrated with full-page miniatures placed at the beginning (Jerusalem, no. 2637); a Hymnal dated 1635, illustrated with marginal miniatures representing saints and scenes from the life of Christ; another Hymnal dated 1638. A Gospel copied by Mik'ayel in 1609 was illustrated by the priest Ghazar.

Mik'ayel of Tokat was a man of average ability and he is less skilful in his imitation of the Cilician paintings than other painters of his time. The Gospels he has written usually have only the portraits of the Evangelists and simple ornaments.

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FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1655


1 Ephrem Poghosian, 'Armenian Manuscripts in Sofia' (in Armenian), Hndes Amsorya, xl (1926), 342-3.
2 Paris, Arm. 71: F. Macler, Catalogue, p. 34.
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Gospel of John with preface at the end; foll. 317–25, Colophons and symbolical interpretation of the Canon tables. Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning and end.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17.5 × 13 cm.; written surface, 11.8 × 8.3 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines. 331 + 2 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Glazed paper. Bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters; the second and third lines and the initials of verses are in gold or blue erkat’agir. The words God, Christ, Lord, &c., are written in gold. Gold, blue, and red lines, forming a multifoil arch at the top, frame each column of text; the two columns together are inscribed in a rectangle.

BINDING. Blind-tooled brown leather over boards, with flap. On the front cover a tooled cross in cord motif on three steps; on the end cover a circular ornament with a geometric design inside it, and a border of cord motif. Flap with floral scroll and small rosettes.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. Written in 1655 at Shosh (Ispahan) by Hakob and illuminated by Hayrapet for the priest Grigor.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 317. 'Glory to the ... Holy Trinity and one Godhead, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and forever and ever, Amen. In the year of the Armenians 1104 (= A.D. 1655), this divine treasure was written.' This is followed by a short passage on the Evangelists and their symbols, and a long rhymed symbolic interpretation of the Canon tables. The colophon is resumed on fol. 321 with the heading: Colophon of the Holy Book. 'May the Lord have mercy on ... the soul of the owner ... Ter Grigor, native of Khoshap, son of the other Grigor who rests in heaven, and on his mother Khanagh and his brothers ...' (a list of all the relatives follows on foll. 321v. to 322v.). Foll. 322v.–324 ‘(This was written) in the year of the Armenians 1104 (= A.D. 1655) ... during the catholicosate of (the name is rubbed out) and of the learned vardapet Ter David, in the town of Shosh (Armenian name of Ispahan) in the village called T’oroskan under the protection of Saint Gregory our Illuminator, by the hand of the unworthy depir Hakob. May he, his parents, and all his relatives, be remembered here. ... Remember also the illuminator, who adorned this with many colours, the noble scribe Hayrapet, and the pupils of Hayrapet who worked on this, Nahapet and Hakob; may they receive the grace of God. Whoever reads this let him say “God have mercy” on Ter Grigor and all his blood relatives. Amen. Father. Remember again in Christ the Khat’un Dsaghik who gave ten gold pieces to have the Gospel illuminated ... and her husband Khodja Garak’ who has rested in Christ ... and her son paron Grigor and may God grant him long life ... and her other son paron Margaré who this year rested in Christ ...’ Foll. 324–324v. Long prayer addressed to the Virgin, for the salvation of the soul of Margaré. Fol. 325. ‘Remember again in Christ the deceased paron Urustum and say “God have mercy”. Remember again the parents of Dsaghik ... Ter Rustakes and his wife Khan’ari ... and may you be remembered in Christ.’
Fol. 25ov. 'Remember again in your pure prayers Khodja Khatchik, who rests in the Lord, and his wife the God-loving Khat'un Mariam, . . . their sons Hodja Kirakos and paron Safar and the tender and young paron Avetik'. May God keep them without troubles for many years on this earth until their old days. Amen.'

**ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.** Fol. 1v. *Vision of Ezekiel*. Pl. 52a. Inscription: 'The vision which Ezekiel saw on the river Chebar, and the hanging roll.'

Fol. 2v. *Annunciation*. The Angel, holding a small flower, and the Virgin who holds the spindle stand under arches crowned with turrets; between them is a table, with a chalice, covered with the cloth, placed under a small structure with a conical dome. Arched openings in the background. Inscription: 'The archangel Gabriel who gave the tidings to the Virgin Mary, the holy Theotokos.'

Fol. 3. *Visitation*. Pl. 52b. Inscription: 'The Theotokos went to Elizabeth and related her vision, and she (Elizabeth), rejoicing, kissed Mary.'

Fol. 4. *Nativity*. The Virgin is seated on a bench, next to the manger with the ass and ox. The three Magi, bareheaded, kneel before her, and raise in their hands golden caskets. Two segments are drawn at the upper corners against the starry sky; the ray of light, ending in a large star, descends from the segment on the left and an angel (slightly blurred) comes out of the segment on the right. Joseph is seated in the lower left corner, inside a scalloped frame; on the right a shepherd plays the flute and faces a large, horned animal. Inscription: 'The birth of Christ, whom they put in the manger of the animals, and the kings of the Magi who came to worship.'

Fol. 5. *Circumcision*. Christ is seated, full-face, high above the altar. Two old men sit at His sides, a little lower down, and hold His feet; the one on the left raises his knife; other men stand on both sides. A rich architectural setting of interlacing arches, from which hang many lanterns, fills the background. Five conical domes, with crosses, separated by large, stylized leaves, rest on the arches. Inscription: 'The circumcision of Christ, whom they circumcised when he was eight days old.'

Fol. 6v. *Presentation*. The Virgin and Joseph, with doves, Simeon, and another nimbed man (instead of Anna) stand at the sides of the altar; Christ appears to be standing on the chalice placed on this altar. Architectural setting with three arches and three conical domes with crosses. Inscription: 'They brought Christ to the temple on the fortieth day, and the old Simeon embraced and caressed Him and said “Now let (thy servant) depart.”'

Fol. 7. *Baptism*. John the Baptist, in a short tunic, baptizes Christ standing with folded arms in a horizontal band of water filled with fishes, and a dragon; on the right are two angels. The figures are framed by three arches; over the central one, inside a polygonal frame crowned with a dome, appears the bust of God the Father, arms spread; the dove descending head down seems to be the continuation of His beard. Small trees are drawn above the side arches. Inscription: 'The Baptism of Christ in the river Jordan, and the Father testifying from on high and the Spirit descended in the form of a dove.'

Fol. 8v. *Transfiguration*. In the upper part, under the arches of a building with five domes, stand Christ, in white raiment, Elijah on the left, and Moses, beardless, holding a book, on the right. Below, between the columns, the three apostles, kneeling;
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and turned to the left, look up. Inscription: ‘Illumination of Christ, who was illumined with light on Mount Thabor and revealed His Glory.’

Fol. 9. Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by the apostles, advances towards the small, shrouded figure of Lazarus, standing in the opening of a structure with a high dome; next to it stand two small figures in pointed bonnets. Over the extended architrave of the building appear five bearded heads; the hands of two men pass under the architrave. Below, Martha and Mary kneel facing one another and embrace Christ’s feet; on the right a young man in a pointed bonnet carries away the slab of stone. Inscription: ‘The resurrection of Lazarus whom Christ raised from the dead when he had been dead for four days.’

Fol. 10v. Crucifixion. Pl. 53a. Inscription: ‘The Crucifixion of Christ, whom the Jews crucified above Adam’s head, and the Theotokos and John were there.’

Fol. 11. Entombment. Joseph of Arimathea, with sleeves rolled up to his elbows, embraces the dead body of Christ and seems to be lowering it on a slab of stone drawn diagonally behind a ewer. Nicodemus stands behind Joseph, and three other, smaller men are on the right. A curtain hangs from the frame above, and from two small openings under it emerge the nude bodies of two angels, head down. Inscription: ‘The shrouding of Christ whom Joseph and Nicodemus and others shrouded.’

Fol. 12v. Harrowing of Hell. Christ, carrying a large, ornate cross, walks over the broken doors and takes by the hand Adam, who is kneeling in the middle of a black area; behind Adam is Eve, seated. John the Baptist and the two kings are represented lower down on the left, while three nude men, with tied hands, stand in the black area on the right. The tail of a large serpent, whose head is crushed by the broken gates, reaches up to these men. The heads of four angels emerge from the segments of sky in the upper corners. Inscription: ‘The Harrowing of Hell which Christ destroyed and He took Adam’s hand and freed his race.’

Fol. 13. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. The three Marys holding caskets and lamps stand next to the angel seated in the centre, on a circular stone. To the right is a small domed structure with a lamp hanging between the two columns. Below, separated by a narrow band, three soldiers in pointed caps and tight-fitting trousers lie asleep, their shields, axes, and a mace are on the ground next to them. One of the soldiers holds a curved sword, the swords of the two others are tied to their belts. Inscription: ‘Christ’s sepulchre, and the shining angel on the stone, the women bringing the anointment and the guards stunned.’


Fol. 16. Last Judgement. Pl. 54b. Inscription: ‘The Lord seated on the tetramorphic throne, the judgement and the scales which weigh the rewards and sins.’

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 30v.), Mark (fol. 109v.), and Luke (fol. 164v.) are seated writing or meditating in front of an architectural setting; John (fol. 251v.), head turned towards the segment of sky, dictates to Prochoros seated before a domed building on the left.
In addition to the trees (foll. 78, 79v., 142, 143v., 257v., 283v.), and crosses (foll. 100, 240, 303v., 308) which are painted in the margins when required by the text, there are several figures or vignettes: fol. 67v., Christ, (Mt. xvi. 13); fol. 104, Joseph of Arimathea (Mt. xxvii. 57); fol. 105, a holy woman (Mt. xxviii. 1); fol. 115v., cornfield (Mk. ii. 23); fol. 133v., Christ (Mt. viii. 27); fol. 160, Joseph of Arimathea (Mk. xv. 42); fol. 182v., cornfield (Lk. vi. 1); fol. 196, Christ (Lk. ix. 18); fol. 211, flames rising out of a bowl (Lk. xii. 49); fol. 243v., Joseph of Arimathea (Lk. xxiii. 50); fol. 285, Lazarus standing in the opening of his tomb (Jn. xi. 1); fol. 310, Joseph of Arimathea (Jn. xix. 38).

The rectangles over the Letter of Ettsebius and the Canon tables are supported by columns with elaborate capitals and bases. Triangles or arches are drawn in these rectangles; the geometric motifs of meanders, zigzags, and interlaces, as well as the floral ornaments, painted in brilliant colours on the gold ground, imitate the designs of the 13th and 14th centuries, but although the individual motifs are the same, the general effect is different. Multifoil arches open into the rectangular headpieces which are decorated with floral scrolls, linear interlaces, or with flowers drawn inside squares or lozenges.

REMARKS. This manuscript is an excellent example of the work done at Ispahan and New Julfa during the 17th century. The figures and ornaments are carefully drawn, and painted in rich, bright colours, with a predominance of blue, red, green, yellow, and lilac. The backgrounds of the ornamental compositions are always gold, while those of the full-page miniatures are partly gold, partly of different colours. The miniaturist, Hayrapet, who has painted his own portrait kneeling at the foot of the cross, opposite the owner of the manuscript (Pl. 54b), was one of the prominent artists of Ispahan and New Julfa. In 1648, together with three of his pupils and the painter Aghap'ari, he had illustrated a handsome Bible. The Biblical scenes at the beginning of the manuscript, copied from European engravings, are probably the work of Aghap'ari while, according to the colophon, Hayrapet and his assistants were chiefly responsible for the illuminations. But Hayrapet must also have painted some of the full-page miniatures in the body of the manuscript, for the image of Solomon, enthroned, closely resembles the portraits of the Evangelists in our manuscript. The name of the painter Hayrapet appears also in several other works of Ispahan: a Gospel written in 1631; a manuscript written in 1646 at the monastery of Tat'ev, continued at Ispahan and completed at Etchmiadzin in 1653 (Etchmiadzin, no. 1881/1742); two Bibles dated 1649 and 1660; and two Gospels dated 1678 and 1688. A scribe by the name of Hakob has signed a Hymnal written at Ispahan in 1654 and illustrated by the painter Hayrapet.

1 See Introduction, pp. xxxix-xli.
2 Venice, no. 693: Sarghissian, Catalogue, i. 25-44; Pazmaveb, 1935, nos. 9-12, figs. 40-43. The place where the manuscript was copied is indicated as the ‘assembly of the Gazketsik’; we know from other sources that this group of Armenians resided at T’oroskan, the suburb of Ispahan where the Beatty manuscript was written. See H. Ter Hovhannisants, History of New Julfa (in Armenian), New Julfa, 1880, p. 33.
3 Pazmaveb, l.c., fig. 42.
Astvadsatur, while a Gospel written at Ispahan in 1664 by the scribe Poghos is illustrated by a painter named Hakob.¹

Hayrapet has a very fine feeling for decorative effects. This is particularly apparent in the way in which he has drawn the wings of the angels. In the Ascension the heads of the angels form a garland around the mandorla, and their wings, spreading horizontally, fill the entire background (Pl. 53a). The same interest in ornamental effects has made him draw a spiky mane around the heads of the demons (Pl. 54b). In the Vision of Ezekiel (Pl. 52a) the sinuous stalks of reeds rise symmetrically at the sides of the river Chebar, and the spokes of the wheel terminate in floral motifs. Our painter also has a marked predilection for elaborate architectural settings which he introduces into the compositions even when they are not in keeping with the subject. Thus the Transfiguration (fol. 8v.) takes place in a two-storied church with five domes; arcades frame the figures of John, Christ and the angels in the Baptism, and small trees appear above the architrave (fol. 7); a small dome crowns the composition of the Ascension (Pl. 53b). The architectural setting also governs the size and proportions of the figures. The tall slender figures are even more elongated when placed in a narrow rectangular frame, for instance Mary and Elizabeth in the Visitation (Pl. 52b), while the Evangelists who have to fill a wide rectangle are shorter and slightly heavier than the other figures.

The miniatures of our manuscript are particularly close to those of a Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in 1637 (Jerusalem, no. 2617), and even more so to those of a Gospel illustrated in 1653 at the monastery of Ktuts, in Lake Van, by the scribe Sahak (Jerusalem, no. 2601). In this last case the similarities are so marked that we must suppose that the two manuscripts are derived from the same model.

The Vision of Ezekiel which precedes the Gospel cycle (Pl. 52a), the Crucifixion with the pelican feeding his young (Pl. 53a), the large ornate cross with the medallion of Christ and trumpeting angels, the Last Judgement (Pl. 54b) all follow the iconographic types which had passed from the works of the Van school to the general repertory of the artists of Khizan in the late 16th century, and were introduced to New Julfa in the following century. Some of the compositions are slightly more unusual. In the Visitation (Pl. 52b) two men, probably Joseph and Zacharias, stand at the sides of Mary and Elizabeth; this iconographic type occurs in the manuscripts illustrated by Sargis and Mesrop of Khizan.² In the Harrowing of Hell the nude, chained figures represented on Christ's left suggest the Last Judgement, for we have, on one side the sinners, and on the other, the righteous saved by Christ; the same composition may be seen in the Gospel of Jerusalem, no. 2601, and in one of the Gospels illustrated by Mesrop.³ The Entombment, where Joseph of Arimathea standing behind Christ lowers the body into the tomb, is identical with the miniature of Jerusalem, no. 2601; in an earlier example by Mesrop of Khizan the nude angels emerging from two openings in the sky had not been represented (Bodleian, Arm. d. 13). In the Presentation a bearded man takes the place of the prophetess Anna, as in Jerusalem, no. 2601.

³ Gospel, a.d. 1615: F. Macler, Miniatures arméniennes, pl. xxxviii, fig. 91.
while Mesrop had represented a younger man in Jerusalem, no. 2617. The Circumcision, which rarely figures in the Gospel cycle, also appears in Jerusalem, no. 2617; the symmetrical composition with the Christ Child in the centre, and the priests and elders at the sides, seems to have been patterned on the scene of Christ among the Doctors.

The influence of Western art is discernible only in secondary details: the angel of the Annunciation carries a bunch of flowers; Christ is nailed on the cross with three nails; in the Ascension He wears a long tunic and carries the banded cross (Pl. 53). The unusual representation of God the Father in the Baptism, with the dove forming the prolongation of His beard, can also be traced back to Western examples, to the group of the Trinity where the dove comes out of God's mouth.¹

The analogies noted above with the works of the Van and Khizan schools, as well as with those of Mesrop of Khizan, concern primarily the iconography. Although Hayrapet and other painters of New Julfa sometimes imitated the style of their immediate predecessors, they gradually abandoned the extreme stylization; under the influence of manuscripts of a much earlier period which they copied, perhaps also under that of European works, they tried to model the figures more carefully, and to imitate the natural forms.

579

FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1656


Lacunae. After foll. 295 with the end of the colophon. Fol. 147 continues the text of foll. 141v., but these last verses of Mark have been written again in a different writing on foll. 142. Foll. 138 and 139 are written in a different hand and probably replace missing folios; the script being smaller, half of the second column on fol. 139v. are left blank.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.5 × 15 cm.; written surface, 14 × 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 lines each. 295 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Paper. Irregular, medium size bolorgir in black ink. 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.

BINDING. Unbound.

¹ A. Heimann, L'Iconographie de la Trinité, pp. 50–51.
DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1656 for Khodja Ptum.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 295v: ‘Glory to the most Holy Trinity, to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost . . . This holy Gospel is in memory of Khodja Ptum, of his wife Gulnabat’, and their sons, faithful in the Lord, the tender child, paron Aghap’ir6 . . . Remember again in Christ, Lord of all, paron Khatchik who this year passed away to Christ . . . in the year of the Armenians 1105 ( = A.D. 1656) at the time of Barekendan, causing great sorrow and suffering to his parents and to his family. This Gospel (the end is missing).

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 16r), seated in front of a table, writes in his book; an angel, holding an open book, stands behind the table. A drapery hangs over the buildings in the background. The mantle of Matthew is arranged in a very unusual manner; it barely comes to his knees, in front, and looks more like an apron; at the back it reaches his ankles. The edge of the mantle forms a series of pointed scallops. Mark (fol. 91v) and Luke (fol. 147v) are seated, writing, in front of a plain table; their feet rest on their symbols. The background in both miniatures is the same as in the portrait of Matthew. John and Prochoros (fol. 230r) are seated in the opening of a cave; John turns his head towards the rays descending from the segment of sky in the upper left corner; he holds an open book on which an eagle is perched.

The Letter of Ensebius is written under narrow rectangles decorated with large floral motifs; multifoil arches frame the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus. The rectangles over the Canon tables are also decorated with floral designs; lions standing on their hind legs and monkeys holding candles replace the usual trees in the outer margins of fol. 7v, 8, 97v, and 10.

The headpiece of Matthew (fol. 17) is a large rectangle with a multifoil arch opening into it, decorated with five-lobed leaves drawn inside squares or lozenges. In the centre is a medallion with the Virgin holding the child on her left arm. The other headpieces have the same type of floral designs.

The large marginal ornament of the first page of each Gospel is formed by interlacing palmettes; smaller floral motifs mark the beginning of the pericopes, and are occasionally replaced by figures or other motifs required by the text. Fol. 21, John the Baptist, hand raised and holding an open scroll (Mt. iii. 1); fol. 34, Christ and the ruler kneeling before Him (Mt. ix. 18); fol. 43, a temple (Mt. xiii. 1); fol. 85v, Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Mt. xxvii. 57); fol. 128v, a temple (Mk. xiii. 1); fol. 140, Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Mk. xv. 42); fol. 149v–150, Annunciation (Lk. i. 26); fol. 214, a temple (Lk. xxi. 5); fol. 223v, Joseph of Arimathea kneeling (Lk. xxiii. 50).

REMARKS. The predominant colours are a deep reddish-purple and a bright orange frequently used in the 17th century. The backgrounds of the portraits and the headpieces are in gold; those of the Canon tables are painted a deep blue. The marginal miniatures are outlined in red and only occasionally shaded with pink.

The style of the miniatures comes closest to the paintings of the manuscripts written at Constantinople. In a Gospel dated 1586 (Paris, Margossian–Esmerian Collection, no. 12), and in another dated 1655 (Jerusalem, no. 2624), Matthew’s mantle is draped in
the same peculiar manner and falls on his knees like an apron; in both manuscripts the headpiece of Matthew is also decorated with an oval medallion framing the figures of the Virgin and Child. The iconographic types of the Evangelists, with their symbols crouching at their feet or standing next to them, imitate the compositions of Western engravings, and occur in a number of Armenian manuscripts of the 17th century. The representation of John and Prochoros, seated in the opening of a cave, is also an iconographic type commonly used in the 17th century.

FIVE GOSPELS
17TH CENTURY


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20.5 x 14.5 cm.; written surface 13.5 x 9 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 312 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, slightly yellowed. Bolorgir in black ink. 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 second and third lines and the initials of the verses are in gold, red, or blue erkat'agir.

BINDING. Black leather over boards, blind-tooled and considerably worn. Remnants of studs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 310. ‘This holy Gospel was renewed in the year 1199 (= A.D. 1750) by my hand, the vardapet Nerses, on the first of the month of March, for the happy enjoyment of Ter Margar. Amen.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists: Matthew (fol. 152v), Mark (fol. 103v) and Luke (fol. 162v) are seated, writing or meditating, in front of an architectural setting; John (fol. 249v), seated in the opening of a cave, holds an open scroll and, his head turned towards the segment of sky, he dictates to Prochoros, drawn on a much smaller scale on the right. Gold backgrounds.

1 See Codices nos. 581, 584, and 586; also Macler, Documents, pls. xci–xciii, figs. 217, 221, 223.
Thirty-four small figures or vignettes are drawn in red outline in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes. They are:

In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 17v., Joseph’s dream (i. 18); fol. 18, the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 19, flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 20, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 66v., Christ and the rich young man (xix. 16); fol. 69, temple (xx. 17); fol. 72, fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 80v., temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 98v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 99v., two holy women (xxviii. 1).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 128v., Christ and the blind man (viii. 22); fol. 137, temple (x. 32); fol. 139v., fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 141, temple (xi. 27); fol. 144v., temple (xii. 35); fol. 145v., temple (xiii. 1); fol. 157, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 164v.–165, Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 166, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 169, a shepherd, partly rubbed off (ii. 8); fol. 171v., temple (ii. 41); fol. 204, the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 211v., Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xiii. 10); fol. 225, temple (xviii. 31); fol. 229v., vineyard (xx. 9); fol. 232v., temple (xxi. 5); fol. 243, Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 262, temple (v. 1); fol. 271, temple (vii. 14), fol. 277, Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 282, Lazarus, shrouded, lying on a couch (xi. 1); fol. 304, Christ bearing the cross (xix. 16); fol. 306, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38).

The rectangles over the Letter of Eusebius are decorated with simple floral motifs; the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted in the lunettes. Similar floral motifs decorate the rectangles over the Canon tables; lions, standing on their hind legs, and monkeys, holding candles, replace the usual trees in the outer margins of foll. 9v, 10, 11v, and 12.

The headpieces consist of wide rectangles, with multifoil arches opening into them, and are decorated with floral scrolls or flowers inside lozenges painted on a gold ground. An angel, in a roundel, is drawn in the headpiece of Matthew.

REMARKS. In style and iconography this manuscript is closely connected with Codex no. 579 dated 1656. We again find the peculiar arrangement of the mantle of Matthew, falling over his knees with a scalloped edge, and the Evangelist holds a vellum scroll with both hands as in the two Constantinopolitan manuscripts mentioned in connexion with Codex no. 579.1

The decorations of the Letter of Eusebius, of the Canon tables, and the headpieces follow the same general pattern as in Codex no. 579, but the scale of the individual motifs is smaller, and the drawing shows greater care. The figures are also slightly more elongated in this manuscript. John and Prochoros are seated in the opening of the cave as in Codex no. 579. Mark and Luke are not accompanied by their symbols; in this respect as well as in the general style the miniatures are very close to those of Jerusalem, no. 2624, illustrated at Constantinople in 1655. We can therefore assign the present manuscript to Constantinople and date it in the 17th century.

1 Paris, Margossian–Esmerian Collection, no. 12; Jerusalem, no. 2624.
FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1668


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 7.5 x 5.5 cm.; written surface 4.5 x 3 cm. 2 columns of 21 lines each. 302 + 4 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. First quire fine, white vellum; other quires glazed, fine paper. Very small, neat bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist and the first line is written in zoomorphic letters on a gold band. The pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters, the first line in gold and the second in red bolorgir.

BINDING. Silver-gilt engraved with flowers in a medallion at the centre. On the flap, in high relief, Christ standing in profile, hands bound behind His back.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in a.d. 1668 at Tigranocerta (Amida) by the scribe Grigor for Onop'rius, bishop of Tigranocerta.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 106, 'and remember the sinful scribe Grigor'. Fol. 236v., 'O reader of this holy Gospel say once "have mercy" on this sinful scribe Grigor'.

Foll. 301—2. 'Glory. . . . This holy Gospel with the word of God was written in the metropolis of Tigranocerta, in the year of the Armenians 1117 (= a.d. 1668) . . . (I) Onop'rius, bishop and vardapet, metropolitan of Tigranocerta, received this holy Gospel, . . . adorned inside and outside with gold and silver, different colours and many hued flowers (ornaments). . . . You who encounter this . . . remember me, Onop'rius vardapet and my parents the pilgrim Khatchik and Khan Maghé . . . and may you be remembered in Christ's kingdom. And on it is a gold cross decorated with precious stones and beautiful ornaments and in it are placed relics of the tree of life (the cross), and a parcel of the stone of the sepulchre, a parcel of the light-spreading tomb of Christ, and relics of John the Baptist, of Thaddeus the apostle, and of the holy virgin Hrip'sime; with these it is bound and erected for the protection of those who enjoy this and of those who remember us and those who are remembered. I hope that they will not be separated from one another. Amen.'

On the second unnumbered folio at the beginning, in a modern hand: 'His High Excellency Sir Gorozli (i.e. Sir Gore Ouseley), the Ambassador of the English, who
had come to be ambassador to the Shah of Persia Fatali (i.e. Fath' Ali), while returning to his country with his family, passed by this holy see of Ararat. He showed much solicitude for us and all our congregation. Because of this, as a token of unforgettable love and a perpetual memorial, and as an occasion for blessings on the victorious kingdom of Britain, we offered this small Gospel to His High Excellency. June 4, 1814, at holy Etchmiadzin, (signed) Ep'rem Patriarch and Catholicos of all the Armenians.

His seal with the date 1259 (= A.D. 1810) is affixed. On the third unnumbered folio: 'Until the present time 146 years had passed since the writing of the holy Gospel.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. Annunciation. The angel, holding a lily, advances swiftly towards the Virgin, kneeling next to her desk; the dove and a ray of light come down from the clouds.

Fol. 2. Adoration of the Shepherds. The Virgin is seated, Joseph stands behind her and looks over her shoulder at the Christ Child lying on the ground. Shepherds, seen from the back, stand at the sides; an angel faces them on the right. The head of the ox is seen on the left; masses of clouds crown the composition.

Fol. 3v. Presentation. The Virgin, kneeling; presents the nude child to Simeon, seated on the left; Joseph stands behind the Virgin and two women behind Simeon. The architectural setting represents the lower part of a large columnar hall; a small building is seen through the arched opening.

Fol. 4. Baptism. Christ is kneeling before John the Baptist; two angels stand on the right; the dove flies down from the clouds.

Fol. 5v. Transfiguration. Jesus stands on the hill, one hand raised, between Elijah and Moses; the three apostles lie or kneel at the foot of the mountain.

Fol. 6. Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by the disciples, approaches Lazarus, seated on a rock, with a cloth covering his head; Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet; several Jews stand behind Lazarus. A large tree fills the background.

Fol. 7v. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, seated on the ass, is followed by three disciples and is greeted by several other men; a young man spreads his garments, a child is on a tree on the left. The city has not been represented.

Fol. 8. Last Supper. Christ and the disciples are seated at a round table, six are seen from the back; John leans on Christ's bosom.

Fol. 9v. Washing of the Feet. Christ, kneeling, holds the foot of Peter, who points to his head; the apostles stand in two groups at the sides in front of wide arches.

Fol. 10. Gethsemane. Christ is kneeling before the angel, who holds out a cup; the sleeping apostles are seen in the distance, on the left.

Fol. 11v. Betrayal. Judas, coming from the left, seen almost from the back, embraces Christ; unarmed soldiers stand at the sides. In the foreground, on the right, is Peter cutting the ear of Malchus.

Fol. 12. Carrying of the Cross. Christ, staggering under the weight of the cross, is pushed by a man and pulled by a soldier who holds the cord tied around Christ's neck. Two men stand on the left; a woman kneels before Christ. Hilly background.

Fol. 13v. Crucifixion. The powerful figure of Christ hangs from the cross; the Virgin and John stand at the sides.

Fol. 14. Resurrection. Christ, holding a banded cross in his right hand, rises from
a sarcophagus. Two soldiers are seen from the back, on the left; two others, on the right, bend forward and look in the sarcophagus.

Fol. 157. Ascension. Christ stands in the mandorla on a hill, His right hand raised; around Him are the apostles and the Virgin, all kneeling.

Fol. 16. Pentecost. The Virgin is seated under a canopy on the right, the apostles are grouped on the left, they all gaze at the gold rays descending on them from the dove.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 317r), Mark (fol. 1067r), and Luke (fol. 1567r) are seated and hold a book on their knees; their symbols are next to them: the angel standing, the lion and the ox crouching. John (fol. 2387r) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned to the rays of light descending from the segment of sky; next to him is his symbol, the eagle.

A number of figures and motifs, connected with the text, are drawn in the margins, at the beginning of the pericopes.

In the Gospel of Matthew: Foll. 327r-33, twelve ancestors of Christ, in separate medallions (i. 2-16); fol. 34, three Magi bearing gifts (ii. 1); fol. 36, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 497r, Christ and Matthew kneeling (ix. 9); fol. 50, Christ and Jairus kneeling (ix. 18); fol. 50r, Christ and two blind men kneeling (ix. 27); fol. 567r, cornfield (xii. 1); fol. 577r, Christ and the blind and dumb man (xii. 22); fol. 60, Christ and a Pharisee (xiv. 1); fol. 717r, Christ and the lunatic's father kneeling (xvii. 14); fol. 797r, Christ and the two blind men kneeling (xx. 29); fol. 807r, the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 88, a temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 102, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57).

In the Gospel of Mark: Fol. 111r, a cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 1327r, Christ blessing the children (x. 13); fol. 1337r, Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 135, Christ and the blind man kneeling (x. 46); fol. 136, the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 137, a temple (xi. 27); fol. 141, Christ and a disciple (xiii. 1); fol. 151, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: Fol. 159, Annunciation, the Virgin is kneeling (i. 26); fol. 162, Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 1717r, Christ and the leper kneeling (v. 12); fol. 174, a cornfield (vi. 1); fol. 1947r, Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 201, flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 203, a temple (xii. 22); fol. 216, Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 223, a temple (xxii. 35); fol. 2327r, Joseph of Arimathea (xiii. 50).

In the Gospel of John: Fol. 2427r, a servant pouring water into wine jars (ii. 1); foll. 244 and 2587r, temples (ii. 23, vii. 14); fol. 261, Christ and a Pharisee (viii. 12); fol. 264, Christ and the blind man (ix. 1); fol. 268, a temple (x. 22); fol. 276, Christ and a young man (xii. 44); fol. 2917r, Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 293, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38); fol. 297, Christ and Peter (xxi. 15).

In the Letter of Eusebius the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted under trefoil arches inscribed in the rectangles; lions standing on their hind legs and monkeys holding candles replace the floral motifs next to the Canon tables on foll. 237r, 24, 257r, and 26. The narrow rectangles are filled with floral motifs on gold ground.

The headpieces consist of large rectangles occupying about two-thirds of the page, with multifoil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral scrolls. Large ornaments of interlacing palmettes fill the outer margin of the first page of each Gospel; the marginal ornaments of the pericopes, wherever they are not replaced by miniatures, are formed by simpler floral interlaces and by birds.
REMARKS. The first quire, of fine white vellum, is contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, but has been illustrated by another person than the one who painted the portraits of the Evangelists and the marginal miniatures. The fine modelling of the figures, the correct perspective of the architectural elements, the feeling for space, which is quite remarkable in spite of the small size of the compositions, in short, every detail of style and iconography reveal the work of a skilled artist trained in the Baroque tradition. The Armenian painters of the 17th century who copied Western models always betray their origin by the conventional treatment of the draperies and by their inability to give convincing form to the figures. The painter who illustrated the first quire must have been a foreigner, or an Armenian who had been trained in Europe; how he came to be living at Amida at this time remains a mystery.

The portraits of the Evangelists, the numerous marginal miniatures, the headpieces, and other ornaments are the work of the Armenian scribe. As in many other manuscripts of this period the symbols of Mark, Luke, and John are represented crouching at the Evangelists' feet, following a type well known through European engravings. The marginal vignettes are also a common feature of Armenian Gospels of the 17th century.

The owner of the manuscript, Bishop Onop'rius, who in the wording of the colophon gives the impression of being a pious Christian, who greatly prized the relics he had assembled and placed in the cross attached to the binding, was actually one of the most corrupt men of his time, and he has been very severely judged by the contemporary Armenian historian, Zak'aria. He had been appointed metropolitan of Amida upon the request of the population, who had come to know him when he was sent to this city as a legate, but his evil conduct and shameful practices soon put an end to his popularity; he was forced to flee and seek refuge, first at Etchmiadzin and shortly after at Ispahan. He returned again to Etchmiadzin, but because of his intrigues against the Catholicos, and other misdeeds, he was finally unfrocked, imprisoned, and died in prison in the early seventies. The date of his escape from Amida is not known, but it must have taken place soon after 1668, when this Gospel was written.

The second colophon gives us the interesting information that this manuscript had been presented by the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin to Sir Gore Ouseley who, as Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, had gone to Persia in 1810 and returned to England in 1814.

We have two accounts of this embassy, one written by Sir William Ouseley, the brother and private secretary of the Ambassador, the other by James Morier, the secretary of the Embassy. Sir William Ouseley, who left Persia in 1812, describes his visit to Etchmiadzin, 'where, during two days, I had been induced almost to fancy myself in some European monastery or college, from the appearance of Crucifixes, fat old priests walking in the square, hooded Monks, students in their black gowns, boys reciting their lessons, the singing of psalms, the chiming of bells, and other circumstances.'

1 The cross and the relics have disappeared, but the other parts of the original binding still remain.
Sir Gore Ouseley's visit in June 1814 is described by Morier. As they approached Etchmiadzin 'the Ambassador was met by the Patriarch, who headed a long procession of fat and rosy monks, all dressed in black, and black hoods, making an exhibition completely novel to us. . . . His manners and general appearance were those of a perfect gentleman; and this was not to be wondered at, for he was a great traveller and had long frequented the court of Russia, where he was held in high estimation.' The party was then led to the church, where a short service was sung and 'the most precious relics belonging to the church' were exhibited. 'The first and principal one was said to be the head of the very spear with which the Roman soldier pierced the side of our Saviour. . . . The arm of St. Gregory, and the scalp of St. Repsime, are still there, but so incased in gold and ornaments that neither of them can be distinctly seen.' Unfortunately Morier does not mention the manuscript which was presented on that day, according to the date of the colophon. Morier returned alone to Etchmiadzin on three different occasions in the following months, one of his principal objects being 'to inspect the library of the monastery, where I had heard that treasures of literature lay buried, which no stranger had yet explored'. The visit proved to be a great disappointment. 'The books were ranged in thick rows along the sides of a small dark chamber, abundantly covered with dust, and apparently not much disturbed by their present possessors. I asked in vain for a catalogue; the majority of their books were treatises on religion, lives of saints, and copies of the Evangelists.' This is unfortunately a true picture of the sad neglect of the library of Etchmiadzin at that time, deplored also by Armenian writers, and his severe comments on the ignorance and indifference of the monks are also justified. But his statement that there were 'several Armenian manuscripts of the Gospel, but none worthy of remark' would be seriously questioned by all students of medieval art, for some of the finest illuminated manuscripts were preserved at Etchmiadzin.

FOUR GOSPELS
DATED A.D. 1675


Lacunae. One folio between foll. 12 and 13 with the portrait of Matthew.

1 J. Morier, A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816, London, 1818, p. 323.
2 Ibid., pp. 324–5.
3 Ibid., p. 333.
4 Ibid., p. 333.
MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 17 x 13 cm.; written surface, 10.8 x 7.5 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 291 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters, the second and third lines in blue and gold erkat agir, the initials of the verses in red.

BINDING. Light brown leather on boards, blind-tooled with simple linear frame; centre panel with fine thistle ornaments; two narrow leather straps.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1675 at Akn (Egin) by the scribe Khatchatur for Hohannes.

COLOPHONS. Foll. 288–90v., 'Glory to the holy Trinity... The Christ-loving and humble man Hohannes received this holy Gospel from his rightful earnings and gave it as a memorial to his parents and his deceased.... And he had the colophon of this holy Gospel written in the year of the Armenians 1124 (= A.D. 1675), by the hand of... the false and sinful scribe, the priest Khatchatur, who has only the name and not the deeds, in the city of Akn, called Ak (fountain) because of the fountain of water, under the shelter of the church of the Holy Theotokos. And he gave this holy Gospel as a memorial to the church of the Holy Theotokos.... For the church of the Holy Theotokos was restored in this year 1124 (= A.D. 1675), for this year there was much snow and frost....' In a different hand, 'And I the stupid and ignorant and the least of scribes I copied this holy Gospel in the year 1131 (= A.D. 1682)'.

Fol. 12v. Colophon dated 15 August 1924: 'This Gospel, which had been presented to the church of the Holy Theotokos, at Akn, I, Hakob, son of Ter Nikoghos, I offered it willingly to... the priest Timotheus, so that without ever forgetting he should bless and remember me.'


ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Mark (fol. 95v.) and Luke (fol. 147v.) are seated before an elaborate architectural background, holding a half-open book on their laps. John (fol. 227v.) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned towards the ray of light descending from the segment of sky on the left.

Small figures and motifs, connected with the text, are drawn in the margins at the beginning of the pericopes.

In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 13v., the ancestors of Christ represented by nine busts of nimbed men, one above the other (i. 2–8); fol. 15, three Magi holding gold chalices (ii. 1); fol. 16, Joseph sleeping, above him the bust of an angel (ii. 13); fol. 32v., Christ, smeared with ink and partly effaced, only His nimbed head is visible (ix. 18); fol. 33v., Christ and the two blind men, smeared with ink (ix. 27); fol. 39v., cornfield (xii. 1); fol. 56, Christ and the lunatic's father kneeling (xvii. 14); fol. 64, Christ and the two blind men, partly smeared with ink (xx. 29); fol. 66, a tree (xxi. 18); fol. 74, a temple (xiv. 1).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 97v., Christ healing the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 101, cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 124v., Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 125v., fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 130v., a temple (xiii. 1).
CATALOGUE

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 163v, Christ and the leper, smeared and almost completely obliterated (v. 12); fol. 183v, Christ and the lawyer, almost completely smeared with ink (x. 25); fol. 186, Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 192, flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 207, Christ and the blind man, smeared and almost completely obliterated (xviii. 35); fol. 209, Christ and two disciples (xix. 29); fol. 213, temple (xxi. 5); fol. 217, Christ kneeling in prayer (xxii. 39).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 253, Christ healing a blind man, smeared (ix. 1); fol. 256v, temple (x. 22); fol. 258, Christ standing near Lazarus lying in his bed (xi. 1); fol. 280v, Christ carrying a large cross (xix. 17).

The Letter of Eusebius has the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus drawn under the arches inscribed in the rectangles. The rectangles over the Canon tables are decorated with large and heavy floral scrolls, tinted with red and a little gold, and drawn against a blue background. Lions standing on their hind legs replace the usual floral motifs at the side of the rectangles on foll. 7v–8, and crowned monkeys holding candles on foll. 8v–9. Multifoil arches open into the rectangular headpieces, which are decorated with large floral scrolls, interlacing palmettes, or an all-over design of lozenges with three-lobed leaves. They are painted in bright colours against a gold background; the same colours and gold are used for the large marginal ornaments of interlacing palmettes; the smaller floral ornaments and birds drawn next to the pericopes are tinted in red.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists, the marginal miniatures, and the ornamental designs are characteristic of the style of illumination practised in the 17th century in Constantinople and in different Armenian centres far removed from one another. Many similarities may be observed, for instance, with the illustrations of the Gospel no. 581 copied at Amida in 1668, both in the marginal miniatures and the portraits of the Evangelists. In both manuscripts the Evangelists wear a mantle fastened on the breast, slightly thrown back over the right arm and forming a sharp angle just below it. The desk has been omitted and the Evangelists hold a half-open book or scroll on their knees.

FOUR GOSPELS DATED A.D. 1681


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 20 x 14.5 cm.; written surface, 14.5 x 9.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines each. 275 folios.
FOUR GOSPELS

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum, slightly yellowed. Medium size bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters; the second, third, and fourth lines and the initials of the verses are in red, purple, and blue erkat'agir.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards, blind-tooled with simple pattern.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in 1681 at Tumarza (Asia Minor) by the priest Georg and offered to the church of St. Peter.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 133. ‘I, the unworthy, wrote this. What shall I, the unworthy, become when Christ will sit on His throne and judge. Throwing myself down I pray the most-blessed mother, will she intercede to her son, the only begotten, for this Christian nation, adorer of the cross, and, also, for this foolish scribe, Georg? Again I beseech you, order of priests, when you read and copy this holy Gospel, which has the words of Christ, say “Father have mercy” on me, the ignorant and foolish servant, in this passing world, and later may He have mercy at His second coming.’

Fol. 209v. ‘May my hand rot and... become useless, but may my writing remain with you as a memorial. Read this with a loving heart, (written) by the foolish servant Georg, who throwing himself at your feet weeps (and asks) that you may say once, “Father have mercy”, and may the Lord God have mercy upon you. Amen. I wrote this in memory of my parents and of my brothers, living and dead, and of all my children. Amen.’

Fol. 270r.-272v. ‘Glory to the Holy Trinity.... This was written in the year of our era 1120 (= A.D. 1681) during the patriarchate at Etchmiadzin of Ter Hakob, Catholicos of the Armenians, and the primacy of Markos vardapet in this district of Caesarea, and when the bishop Ovakim was the primate of our province. Remember in the Lord my teacher, the priest Barsegh, who departed to Christ, and his son the priest Mik'ayel, who this year rested in Christ.... And I, the worthless and foolish scribe... the cleric Georg... I wrote this in the village of Tumarza, at the door of the Holy Theotokos and Saints Peter and Paul, and all the other saints who are gathered here. For many years I longed for this, with great desire, and God granted it to me and fulfilled my request. ... O my brothers do not condemn the mistakes of my writing and its large size; this was the best I could do... for my wits are strayed, and my mind obscured because of the difficult times. For in the year 1120 (= A.D. 1671) I was ordained, and in 1125 (= A.D. 1676) my wife departed to God, and I was left sad unto death. God have mercy. And now I beseech you... remember my brother Arak'el and his wife Shen Tikin... for they caused this holy Gospel... to be written...; and we placed it in the church of Saint Peter as a memorial to our father Dsaruk and our mother Khas Khat'un... (follows the list of other relatives). O children of the holy Church, who read and copy this holy Gospel, do not hold it without a cloth.... Those who beg for us may they be blessed by God and those who injure it may they be judged by the Lord. Our Father who art in heaven.’

Fol. 273. ‘Say “God have mercy on the soul of paron Petros who gave us the vellum.’
Fol. 275v. In notrigir, ‘Say “God have mercy” on the soul of Ter Gevork who worked much at this holy Gospel, bringer of good tidings.’

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 17v. Matthew, seated full-face, seen to the knees, writes on a book which he holds on his lap. His symbol, the angel, represented on the right, seems to be embracing him. The frame is decorated with floral motifs; Matthew’s name is written on the lower band.

Fol. 87v. Mark, seen to the knees and turned to the left, writes with his left hand. The head of the lion seems to be coming out of Mark’s hip. Rectangular frame intersected by a hexagon. Mark’s name is written on the lower band.

Fol. 133v. Luke, seen to the knees, is turned to the left, but his head, leaning on his hand, is seen full-face. On the right, next to him, the head of the ox. Luke’s name is written on the lower band of the frame.

Fol. 211v. John, bearded, seen to the knees, is seated full-face, holding a book and a pen. The eagle is slightly to the left.

There is no ornamental frame for the Letter of Eusebius, and the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are painted in the lunettes of the first two Canon tables (foll. 2v.–3). The Canon tables consist of simple rectangles filled with fairly large floral motifs on a blue ground. Crouching animals fill the lunettes inserted in the rectangles of foll. 4v.–5. The capitals and bases of the columns consist of circular medallions framing an animal head or, on foll. 2v. and 3, a figure, in bust, holding a book. The tables on fol. 10v. have not been filled in; the previous pages having been unduly crowded, the beginning of Canon 10 is on fol. 9; the last part is on fol. 11.

The headpieces of the Gospels are T-shaped or consist of rectangles, with multifoil arched openings, and decorated with floral motifs which are sometimes arranged to form geometric patterns. The large marginal ornaments are formed by interlacing palmettes; simpler interlaces accompany the pericope readings except when replaced by small figures or motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 62, 63v., 114, 115v.); temples (foll. 71, 120, 140, 192, 196v.); crosses (foll. 77v., 80v., 84, 122v., 127v., 198v., 200, 202v., 262); a seraph (fol. 84v., Mt. xxviii. 1); the angel next to the sepulchre (fol. 129v., Mk. xv. 42; fol. 206, Lk. xxiii. 50; fol. 263v., Jn. xix. 38).

All the figures and ornaments are in wash-colours, sometimes barely tinted; the backgrounds are sometimes in different colours.

REMARKS. The miniatures, awkwardly drawn with heavy, hesitant lines on a gold ground, are the work of an unskilled hand. But, in spite of their extreme crudeness, the portraits of the Evangelists are interesting, for they repeat (except for John who is bearded) the engravings of the first Armenian Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1666, and which are marked with the initials of Christopher van Sichem.

Tumarza, south of Caesarea, was an important Armenian settlement and, as late as 1890, the population was entirely Armenian.\(^1\) We have very little information about the early history of this settlement. In 1266 a Gospel was written at the monastery of

St. John the Baptist at Tumarza. From the 16th to the end of the 18th century, Tumarza was the see of a bishop, and a number of manuscripts were written during this period at the church or monastery of the Theotokos, very few of which seem to have been illustrated. In a Gospel of the year 1630 the Canon tables are decorated like those of our manuscript, the bases and capitals of the columns are formed by medallions framing human or animal figures.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 14.5 x 10.5 cm.; written surface, 9.5 x 6.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines each. 254 folios + 3 paper leaves at the beginning and 3 others at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist, the first line of each Gospel is in zoomorphic letters against a gold background; the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters. The second and third lines of each Gospel and the initials of the verses are in gold or blue erkatagir.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front board and flap covered with silver-gilt filigree work, and studded with silver bosses and green and red stones; in the centre, Christ crucified, in relief (Pl. 64b). End cover from another manuscript, silver-gilt with crowned Virgin and Child in relief at the centre, and heads of the angels in the four corners; border with floral scroll in relief. Plain silver back and two silver chains.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 17th century.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. Annunciation. The angel, holding flowers, approaches from the left; the Virgin stands before her throne; in the background is a ciborium between two rectangular buildings.

Fol. 2. Adoration of the Magi. The Virgin, holding the Christ Child, is seated in front of a large, walled city; Joseph stands next to her, leaning on a staff. The Magi hold gold chalices; the first two are kneeling.


2 Ibid., pp. 1855-58, 1867-70, 1872-3, 1876.

Fol. 3v. *Presentation.* Mary and Joseph, carrying two doves, and Simeon, holding the infant Jesus, stand at the sides of an altar; in the background is a ciborium with two turrets.

Fol. 4v. *Baptism.* John in a long tunic and mantle, standing behind a tree on the slope of a hill, baptizes Jesus standing full-face in the water; at the right are two angels. The dove descends from the segment of sky in the centre.

Fol. 5v. *Transfiguration.* Christ is in an oval mandorla between Elijah and Moses, each one standing on a separate peak. In the foreground Peter and James kneel at the sides, John is prostrate in the centre.

Fol. 6v. *Raising of Lazarus.* Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, advances towards Lazarus, standing in a rock-cut tomb; Martha and Mary kneel at His feet. Three Jews stand in the background, in front of a walled city hemmed in by mountains.

Fol. 7v. *Entry into Jerusalem.* Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, is greeted by a woman holding a child in her arms, and by several men standing in front of a walled city. In the foreground are three children; one of them spreads his garment before the ass's feet, the others hold small branches.

Fol. 8v. *Last Supper.* Christ and the apostles are seated at a round table with a cloth draped around the edge. Judas, the second apostle on Christ's left, leans over and takes the morsel from a large bowl in the centre of the table. Behind the high walls of the room can be seen a large ciborium with a dome, flanked by two turrets and two rectangular buildings.

Fol. 9v. *Washing of the Feet.* Christ, kneeling, washes the feet of Peter, who points to his head; the other apostles are seated next to Peter on the same bench. The entire background is filled with a large domed building flanked by two turrets.

Fol. 10v. *Betrayal.* Judas, coming from the left, embraces Christ; helmeted soldiers carrying lances and a torch surround them. In the lower right corner Peter, kneeling, raises his sword over Malchus, who lies on the floor and is represented like a small child.

Fol. 11v. *Christ on the way to Golgotha.* In the background, before rocky hills, Simon of Cyrene, carrying a large cross on his left shoulder, has fallen on his knees; in the foreground, Christ, hands bound, is led by a soldier and followed by four other soldiers.

Fol. 12v. *Crucifixion.* Christ is nailed to the cross raised over Adam's skull; the Virgin and John stand at the sides. Clouds, drawn in a semicircle, may be seen above the wall, in the background, and, higher up, the sun and the moon.

Fol. 13v. *Resurrection.* Christ, nude save for a loin-cloth and mantle, and surrounded by clouds drawn in a semicircle, rises from the tomb holding a banded cross. In the foreground two soldiers lie asleep, one on each side of the sarcophagus.

Fol. 14v. *Ascension.* Christ is in a circular mandorla borne by two angels. In the foreground stand the Virgin, flanked by two angels who are half hidden by her, and the apostles.

Fol. 15v. *Pentecost.* The Virgin in the centre and the apostles at her sides are seated in front of two buildings; small red lines radiate from the segment of sky. In the foreground, under a large trefoil arch, an aged, crowned figure holds a napkin with both hands.

Fol. 16v. *Last Judgement.* Christ is seated in a mandorla; at His sides are the Virgin and John the Baptist standing in the attitude of supplication, and the apostles, seated.
Below, against a starry blue background, Adam and Eve kneel at the sides of an empty throne from which hang the scales; an angel pierces with his lance a small demon who touches one of the trays with a long hook. Four round, cloud-like forms are drawn on the left, and, on the right, the river of fire issuing from Christ's mandorla and running into the open jaws of a dragon; human heads are drawn in the river and, next to it, a small demon. In the foreground Peter, holding two large keys, and followed by a compact group of nimbed men, approaches a walled enclosure inside which is seated Abraham, holding a large cloth with both hands.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 30v.) is seated in front of an architectural setting, with a domed ciborium; the angel stands next to him. The symbols of Mark (fol. 92v.), and Luke (fol. 134v.) crouch at their feet. John (fol. 201v.), seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned to the ray of light on the left, dictates to Prochoros seated at the side of the cave.

Numerous small figures or motifs, connected with the text, are painted in the margins.

In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 31, ancestors of Christ in twelve medallions; above, the Virgin and the Child; below, an angel surrounded by clouds drawn in a semicircle (i. 1); fol. 32v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 32v., the three Magi; two crowned, one with a turban (ii. 1); fol. 34, John the Baptist (iii. 1); foll. 36v., 37v., and 41v., Christ teaching (v. 1, v. 17, vii. 1); fol. 44, Christ and a scribe (viii. 18); fol. 45v., Christ and Levi (ix. 9); fol. 46, Christ and the daughter of Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 46v., Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 47, Christ teaching (ix. 35); fol. 49v., Christ and one of John's disciples (xi. 1); fol. 51, Christ praying (xi. 23); fol. 52, Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 53, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); fol. 54 and 56, Christ teaching (xiii. 1 and 36); fol. 57v., beheading of John the Baptist (xiv. 1); fol. 58, Christ and two apostles (xiv. 13); fol. 60, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xx. 21); fol. 60v., Christ healing the sick (xx. 29); fol. 61v., Christ and a disciple (xxvi. 13); fol. 63v., Christ and the lunatic's father (xxvii. 14); fol. 67v., Christ and the rich young man (xxix. 16); fol. 70, Christ and two blind men (xxx. 29); fol. 71, Christ and the fig-tree (xxxi. 18); fol. 72, cornfield (xxxi. 33); fol. 73v., Christ and a Pharisee (xxxi. 13); fol. 75, Christ teaching (xxii. 1); fol. 77, Christ and two apostles standing before a temple (xxiii. 1); fol. 82, Christ anointed (xxvi. 3); fol. 83, Christ and an apostle (xxvi. 17); fol. 83v., Christ praying (xxvi. 31); fol. 85, Christ arrested (xxvi. 57); fol. 86, Christ before Pilate (xxvii. 1); fol. 89, Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 94v., Christ teaching (i. 21); fol. 95, Christ praying (i. 35); fol. 95v., Christ and the paralytic (?) standing (ii. 1); fol. 96, Christ and Levi (ii. 13); fol. 97, Christ and the apostles in the cornfield (ii. 23); fol. 97v., Christ teaching (iii. 6); fol. 98, Christ and three apostles (iii. 13); fol. 98v., Christ, His mother, and brother (iii. 31); fol. 100v., stilling of the tempest (iv. 35); fol. 102, Christ and Jairus (v. 21); fol. 102v., Christ and Jairus (v. 35); fol. 105, Christ and three apostles (vi. 39); fol. 106, Christ praying (vi. 45); fol. 106v., Christ and a Pharisee (vii. 1); fol. 108, Christ and the deaf and dumb man (vii. 31); fol. 110, Christ and an apostle (viii. 27); fol. 111v., Christ and the demoniac's father (ix. 13); fol. 114, Christ blessing a small child (x. 13); fol. 116, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 117, a fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 118, a temple (xi. 27); fol. 119v., Christ and two Sadducees (xii. 18); fol. 120v., Christ teaching before the
temple (xii. 35); fol. 121, a temple (xiii. 1); fol. 125, Christ and Peter (xiv. 27); fol. 129, Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 136, Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 137, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 139, the Virgin, kneeling, holds the Christ child; Joseph stands behind her (ii. 1); fol. 139, Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 140, Presentation (ii. 22); fol. 141, temple (ii. 41); fol. 145, Christ and the demoniac (iv. 31); fol. 146, Christ teaching (iv. 42); fol. 147, Christ and the leper (v. 12); fol. 147, Christ teaching (v. 17); fol. 148, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 148, Christ and a Pharisee (vi. 1); fol. 149, Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 151, Christ and the centurion's servant (vii. 1); fol. 152, Christ and the widow's son (vii. 11); fol. 154, Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 156, stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 158, Christ and two apostles (ix. 1); fol. 160, Christ and the lunatic and his father (ix. 37); fol. 161, Christ and an apostle (ix. 51); fol. 163, Christ and the lawyer (x. 25); fol. 164, Christ praying (x. 1); fol. 165, Christ and the dumb man (xi. 14); foll. 168, Christ teaching (xii. 13 and 32); fol. 170, flames rising from a bowl (xii. 49); fol. 171, Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xiii. 10); fol. 173, Christ and the man with the dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 177, Christ teaching (xvi. 1); fol. 180, Christ praying (xviii. 1); fol. 182, Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 184, Christ and an apostle (xix. 29); fol. 185, temple (xx. 1); fol. 186 and 186, Christ teaching (xx. 9 and 20); fol. 187, Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 187, Christ teaching (xx. 41); fol. 188, Christ sitting on the temple steps and teaching (xxi. 3); fol. 193, Christ and two men (xxii. 66); fol. 196, Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 203, Christ, the good shepherd (i. 29); fol. 204, Christ and two disciples (i. 35); fol. 204, Christ and Philip (i. 43); fol. 205, Christ changing the water into wine (i. 1); fol. 205, Christ cleansing the temple (i. 12); fol. 206, Christ and two men (ii. 23); fol. 207, Christ and the serpent raised on a rod (iii. 13); fol. 208, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well (iv. 1); fol. 209, Christ and the Samaritan woman (iv. 24); fol. 210, Christ and the ruler (iv. 43); fol. 212, Christ teaching (v. 19); fol. 213, Christ teaching (vi. 1); fol. 217, Christ teaching before the temple (vii. 14); foll. 218 and 219, Christ teaching (vii. 24 and 37); fol. 222, Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 225, temple (x. 22); fol. 226, the raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 229, Christ and a man standing before Him (xi. 47); fol. 230, Entry into Jerusalem (xii. 12); fol. 230, cornfield (xii. 24); fol. 231, Christ teaching (xii. 27); fol. 232, Christ teaching (xii. 44); fol. 233, Christ teaching (xii. 16); fol. 235, Christ teaching (xiv. 15); fol. 238, Christ teaching (xvi. 5); fol. 238, Christ teaching (xvi. 20); fol. 244, Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 246, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38).

The rectangles drawn over the Letter of Eusebius are decorated with large flowers, or floral and geometric motifs on a gold ground; Eusebius and Carpianus, represented in the lunettes, hold lances. The rectangles over the Canon tables have similar large floral motifs; on foll. 235–24 an arch is inscribed in the rectangle, and the head and wings of angels are drawn in the spandrels; in the outer margin two lions stand on their hind legs, while on foll. 257–26 there are monkeys holding candles.

The headpiece of Matthew (fol. 31), with a multifoil arch opening into it, occupies about three-fourths of the page and is filled with three-lobed leaves disposed in chequerboard fashion. The ancestors of Christ in medallions, mentioned above, replace the usual marginal ornament of floral interlaces. The headpiece of Mark (fol. 93) is
FOUR GOSPELS

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decorated with pointed, interlacing ovals; in the headpiece of Luke (fol. 135) two men holding open scrolls appear among the foliage. The Deesis is drawn above the headpiece of John (fol. 202); in the centre is Christ, in bust, holding a globe, at His sides the Virgin and John the Baptist in the attitude of prayer. The heads have been partly trimmed off with the upper margin.

The marginal ornaments of the pericopes consist of simple floral interlaces or birds; these are frequently replaced by the vignettes listed above.

REMARKS. In the portraits of the Evangelists the peculiar manner of draping the mantles, the shape of the bench, the absence of a desk, the types of buildings in the background (except for the ciborium), recall the miniatures of Codex no. 582, illustrated at Akn in 1675 and even more those of Codex no. 581, illustrated at Amida in 1668, for in the latter the symbols of the Evangelists are represented next to them, as they are here. There are also other similarities with the Gospel from Amida: the composition of many of the marginal miniatures; the use of a gold band as a background for the first line of each Gospel, and the somewhat unusual design of the first initial of the Gospel of Matthew, namely, the angel holding a trumpet which forms the loop of the letter M. Many of the full-page illustrations are quite close, in their iconography, though not in style, to the corresponding miniatures of the Gospel, formerly in the Sevadjian Collection, no. 3, illustrated at Constantinople in 1650. We find, for instance, in both manuscripts the representation of the Way of the Cross, with Simon of Cyrene carrying the large cross, a scene which is rather rare, though not unknown in Armenian manuscripts; in the Last Judgement (fol. 16), which follows the Byzantine type, the groups of the blessed appearing above the clouds have been eliminated and only circular clouds remain.

The similarities with manuscripts written in the 17th century at Akn (Egin), Amida, and Constantinople show that it is easier to determine the date of our Gospel than to assign it to a particular locality. The iconography of the Gospel scenes is characteristic of the 17th century in general: in the Raising of Lazarus the Jews stand before a walled city hemmed in by the mountains; in the Last Supper Christ and the apostles are seated at a round table; the Western type of Christ rising from the tomb and holding a bannered cross has replaced the Byzantine composition of the Harrowing of Hell; in the Pentecost the Virgin is in the upper chamber with the apostles.

A few compositions differ slightly from the usual types. In the majority of the 17th-century Gospels the ancestors of Christ appear in the meanders of the scrolls drawn in the margin of the first pages of the Gospel of Matthew; the composition of our manuscript (fol. 31), crowned with the group of the Virgin and Child, is based on the representation of the Tree of Jesse as it appears in Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century.

1 Macler, *Documents*, pls. lixxv-xlviii. See also Jerusalem, nos. 1970 and 2561, illustrated at Constantinople in 1651 and 1654-70.
2 Ibid., pl. lxxxvii, fig. 202.
3 Ibid., pl. lxxxvii, fig. 206. The Byzantine type of the Last Judgement, already represented in Cilicia in the 13th century (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 593; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pl. xxviii), reappears in numerous manuscripts of the 17th century; see other examples in Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, fig. 133 and the following manuscripts of Jerusalem: no. 2593 (A.D. 1667); no. 2590 (A.D. 1653); no. 2599 (A.D. 1654); no. 2634 (A.D. 1687-9).
5 Jerusalem, no. 2668; Etchmiadzin, no. 1035.
but the figure of Jesse has been replaced by a standing angel, surrounded by clouds, whose presence cannot be explained by the Biblical text.

The walled city in the Adoration of the Magi is more characteristic of Western art than it is of Armenian or Byzantine painting.

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**FOUR GOSPELS**

**17TH CENTURY**


**Lacunae.** Fol. 265, Jn. xxi. 23–25 and colophon. Fol. 267 (Jn. i. 1–15) and fol. 268 (Lk. xxiv) belong to another manuscript.

**MEASUREMENTS, ETC.** 16.8 × 12 cm.; written surface, 11 × 7.5 cm.; 2 columns of 24 lines. 268 folios.

**PAPER AND WRITING.** Vellum, stained in places. Bolorgir in black ink. 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 floral or zoomorphic letters; the second line and the initials of the verses are in gold or blue erkatagir.

**BINDING.** Brown leather over boards, blind-tooled; holes for thongs, pegs, and metal cover.

**DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER.** 17th century.

**ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS.** Fol. 5v. **Annunciation.** The angel holding a lily approaches from the left; the Virgin stands before her throne, hand raised. The buildings in the background are connected with a drapery.

Fol. 6. **Adoration of the Magi.** The Virgin, holding the Child, is seated on the left; Joseph stands behind her. One of the Magi, kneeling, kisses Christ's feet; his crown is on the ground, next to a gold chalice. The second, also crowned, stands full-face in the background, holding a small gold chalice; both wear long fur-lined mantles. To the right, the third king, dark-faced, wears a turban and a tunic with wide sleeves; he also holds a gold chalice.

Fol. 7v. **Presentation.** The Virgin and Joseph stand to the left of the altar placed before a ciborium; to the right Simeon, bent low, holds the Child. In the background, buildings connected with a drapery.
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Fol. 8. Baptism. John, wearing a long tunic and mantle, baptizes Christ, who stands full-face in the water. On the right are three angels, one above the other. Three rays of light, with the dove, descend from the segment of sky in the centre; the tree, with the axe, is in the foreground.

Fol. 9v. Transfiguration. Christ stands in an oval mandorla inside which a rectangle and a lozenge have been drawn. At His sides the half-figures of Elijah, and of Moses holding the tables of the law, emerge from the clouds; both wear the high-priest's head-dress. Below, at the foot of step-faced mountains, are the three apostles, without nimbs, two kneeling, the third prostrate.

Fol. 10. The Raising of Lazarus. Christ, followed by a compact group of apostles, approaches Lazarus standing, shrouded, in the opening of a cave. Martha and Mary kneel at Christ's feet. In the background, between two mountains, two men stand inside a city gate.

Fol. 11v. Entry into Jerusalem. Christ, followed by His disciples, approaches from the right and is greeted by two old men inside a city gate over which can be seen houses. One child spreads his garment under the ass's feet.

Fol. 12. The Last Supper. Christ and the disciples are seated around a rectangular table, covered with a cloth partly draped around the edges. Christ is in the centre, next to Him is John, leaning forward on the table, his hand stretched out in a gesture which recalls that of Judas in other examples.

Fol. 13v. The Washing of the Feet. The apostles are divided into two groups: on the left, six standing; on the right, three seated on a bench and the others standing. In the centre, Christ, kneeling, with a cloth tied around his waist, holds Peter's leg. In the background is an arched colonnade between two small buildings connected by a drapery.

Fol. 14. Betrayal. Judas, approaching from the left, embraces Jesus; around them stand an old man in short tunic, and four helmeted soldiers carrying lances and a torch. In the lower right corner Peter, kneeling, raises his sword; in front of him Malchus, lying on the ground, is represented like a small child.

Fol. 15v. Christ before Pilate. Pilate, wearing a red tunic, a green fur-lined coat, and a pointed bonnet is seated in front of a tent; Christ stands between two soldiers, He wears a purple tunic decorated with stars, and a blue mantle.

Fol. 16. Crucifixion. Christ on the cross, behind it clouds, in a semicircle, and below the clouds, the sun and moon. The Virgin and St. John stand on either side.

Fol. 17v. Resurrection. Christ, wearing a wide red mantle, and holding the bannered cross, rises from a sarcophagus; blue clouds surround Him. A soldier stands on the left, another is asleep in front.

Fol. 18. Ascension. Christ, seated in a mandorla borne by two angels, blesses with both hands. Below are the Virgin and the apostles kneeling; the Virgin is turned to the right.

Fol. 19v Pentecost. The Virgin, orans, and the apostles are seated in a room; the segment of sky with the dove and tongues of fire appear above the ceiling.

Fol. 20. Last Judgement. Christ is enthroned between the Virgin and St. John, in the attitude of supplication; the apostles are seated in a semicircle. Below, against a blue, starry background, Adam and Eve kneel at the sides of the empty throne, and
an angel holds the scales. The river of fire, in which can be seen human heads, issues from Christ's throne and flows into the open jaws of a dragon in the lower right corner. On the left, Abraham is seated inside a rectangular frame, holding a large cloth with both hands; Peter, followed by a group of saints, stands before the gate guarded by a red seraph.

Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 34v.), Mark (fol. 99v.), and Luke (fol. 145v.), each one holding a book, are seated before an elaborate architectural setting; John (fol. 215v.) is seated in the opening of a cave, his head turned towards the rays of light descending from the segment of sky in the upper left corner. Luke's mantle is knotted at the neck, leaving free his right arm; Matthew's mantle is fastened in front with a brooch.

Numerous marginal miniatures are painted at the beginning of the pericopes. In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 35v.–36. Ancestors of Christ, six roundels on each page with the bust of a nimbed man holding a phylactery (i. 2–17); fol. 36v., Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 37, the three Magi (ii. 1); fol. 37v., Flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 38, Massacre of the Innocents (ii. 16); fol. 38v., John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 39v., Baptism (iii. 13); fol. 41v., Christ teaching (v. 1); fol. 46v., Christ teaching (vii. 1); fol. 49v, Christ and the scribe (viii. 18); fol. 49v., Christ and Matthew (ix. 9); fol. 50, Christ and the ruler (ix. 18); fol. 50v., Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 55v., Christ praying (xi. 25); fol. 56v., Christ and an apostle and a child (xii. 1); fol. 56v, Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 57, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); fol. 62v., Christ and a man standing; in the background two fish (xiv. 13); fol. 64, Christ and a Pharisee (xv. 1); fol. 65, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 65v., Christ healing the blind, the lame, and the maimed (xv. 29); fol. 68v., Christ and the lunatic's father (xvii. 14); fol. 69, Christ and an apostle (xvii. 21); fol. 71v., Christ healing (xix. 1); fol. 72v., Christ and the rich young man (xix. 16); fol. 74v., Christ and a scribe (?) (xx. 17); fol. 75, Christ and two blind men (xx. 29); fol. 76v., Christ and the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 77, a cornfield (xxi. 33); fol. 79, Christ questioned about paying the tribute-money (xxii. 15); fol. 82v., temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 91, Christ arrested (xxvii. 15); fol. 92v., Christ before Pilate (xxvii. 1); fol. 94v., Crucifixion (xxvii. 38); fol. 95v., Joseph of Arimathea (xxvii. 57); fol. 96v., Angel at the sepulchre (xxviii. 1).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 101v., Christ and the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 102, Christ praying (i. 35); fol. 103, Christ and the paralytic (ii. 1); fol. 103v., Christ and Matthew (ii. 13); fol. 104v., Christ and two apostles (ii. 23); fol. 106, Christ and two men, one cut off by the margin (iii. 20); fol. 106v., Christ, His mother, and brother (iii. 31); fol. 110v., Christ healing the daughter of Jairus (v. 21); fol. 111, Christ healing the daughter of Jairus (v. 35); fol. 112, Christ and the apostles (vi. 6); fol. 114v., Stilling of the tempest (vi. 45); fol. 117, Christ healing the deaf and dumb man (vii. 31); fol. 123v., Christ blesses the children (x. 13); fol. 124v., Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 126, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 127, Christ and the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 128, temple (xi. 27); fol. 129v., Christ and a Sadducee (xii. 18); fol. 130v., Christ teaching (xii. 35); fol. 131, temple (xiii. 1); fol. 133v., Christ anointed (xiv. 1); fol. 138, Christ before Pilate (xv. 1); fol. 140v., Joseph of Arimathea (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 147v., Annunciation (i. 26); fol. 148v., Visitation (i. 38); fol. 151v., Annunciation to the shepherds (ii. 8); fol. 158v., Christ and the demoniac
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(iv. 31); fol. 160, Christ and the leper; Christ and the paralytic (v. 12, 17); fol. 161, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 162, Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 165, Christ healing the centurion's servant (vii. i); fol. 165, Christ and the widow's son (vii. 11); fol. 167, Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 169, Stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 174, Christ healing the lunatic (ix. 37); fol. 177, Christ and the lawyer (x. 23); fol. 178, Christ praying (xi. 1); fol. 179, Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 186, Christ and the bent woman (xiii. 10); fol. 187, Christ teaching (xiii. 22); fol. 188, Christ healing the man with the dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 194, Christ praying (xviii. 1); fol. 195, Christ blessing two children (xviii. 15); fol. 196, Christ and the blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 200, a cornfield (xx. 9); fol. 201, Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 202, temple (xxi. 5); fol. 210, Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 217, Christ and John the Baptist (i. 29); fol. 218, Christ and two disciples of John the Baptist (i. 33); fol. 219, Christ turning the water into wine (ii. 1); fol. 219, temple (ii. 12); fol. 221, Christ pointing to the raised serpent (iii. 13); fol. 223, Christ and the woman of Samaria (iv. 24); fol. 224, Christ and the nobleman's son (iv. 43); fol. 225, Christ and the sick man of Bethesda (v. 1); fol. 231, Christ teaching at the temple (vii. 14); fol. 232, Christ teaching (vii. 37); fol. 235, Christ and a Jew (viii. 31); fol. 237, Christ and the man born blind (ix. 1); fol. 240, temple (x. 22); fol. 241, Raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 242, Christ and a Jew (xi. 47); fol. 245, Christ entering Jerusalem (xii. 12); fol. 246, Christ teaching (xii. 44); fol. 259, Christ bearing the cross (xix. 17); fol. 261, Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38); fol. 262, Christ holding the cross, and two apostles (xx. 26).

The rectangles over the Letter of Eusebius, with the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus under pointed arches, and those over the Canon tables, are decorated with large flowers and linear interlaces painted in bright colours against a gold background. Birds, lions, and monkeys are drawn in the outer margins, next to these rectangles, and the usual trees, with birds perched on them, next to the columns. The capitals of the columns are formed by human or animal heads and, occasionally, an angel's head framed by two wings.

The large headpieces, with multifoil arches opening into them, are covered with floral scrolls and interlaces. The marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel are based on the usual designs of interlacing palmettes; smaller ornaments of the same type, flowers, and birds accompany the pericopes whenever no figures are represented.

REMARKS. This manuscript, like the preceding one which it closely resembles in style and iconography, is a typical example of the 17th-century Gospels written in different Armenian centres, and illustrated with full-page miniatures and numerous marginal vignettes. Only a few scenes differ from the usual types. The composition of the Ascension (fol. 18), with the Virgin and Apostles kneeling in the foreground, appears already in the late 16th century: in the Hymnal no. 592 of this Collection, dated 1588; in a Gospel illustrated at Khizan in 1589 (Jerusalem, no. 1944); and in a Hymnal illustrated at Zeitun in 1592 (Jerusalem, no. 2359). During the 17th century this iconographic type occurs in manuscripts written at Tokat or Constantinople (Jerusalem, nos. 2634 and 2593). The Judgement scene (fol. 15v.) must represent Christ before Pilate, when Herod, having arrayed Him in a gorgeous robe, sent Him again
to Pilate (Lk. xxiii. 11). In an identical composition represented in a Gospel written at Tokat in 1607 (Jerusalem, no. 2634), the person who is seated in front of the tent is crowned. The crown might have suggested Herod rather than Pilate, but in similar representations in other manuscripts we can have no doubt that the crowned figure represents Pilate, for he is shown washing his hands.¹

In some of the miniatures the contours of the faces, the features and the hair have been retouched with black ink. The full-page miniatures and large ornamental compositions are painted against a gold ground; the predominating colours are red and blue.

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FOUR GOSPELS
17TH–18TH CENTURY


Lacunae. After fol. 327, with the end of the colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 25.2 x 18.8 cm.; written surface 17.5 x 12.2 cm.; 2 columns of 19 lines each. 327 + 3 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Laid paper with watermark of three crescents; gilt edges. Large bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of the Gospel of Matthew is formed by the crowned Virgin holding the Christ child on her right arm and a book in her left hand; the first letters of the Gospels of Mark and John are formed by the symbols of the Evangelists; that of Luke is formed by a wide band of interlace. The first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the initials of the lessons are in gold erkal'agir. The words said by the priest before reading the lesson in church, such as ‘our Lord Jesus Christ says’, are written in small red bolorgir at the beginning of each pericope.

BINDING. Modern, red leather, gilt borders and fleurons; back gilt, loose.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th–18th century.

COLOPHON. Foll. 326v.–7v. Long preamble on Christ and the Evangelists; the end, with the information about the copy of the manuscript, is missing.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (Pl. 62a), Mark (fol. 101v.), and Luke (fol. 161v.) are seated before an architectural background, similar to that of Matthew; their symbols, the lion and the ox, crouch

¹ Jerusalem, nos. 2651 and 2607, illustrated in Constantinople in A.D. 1638 and 1648.
next to them. John and Prochoros (fol. 258v) are seated in the opening of a cave; John's symbol, the eagle, soars over Prochoros. Small marginal miniatures accompany most of the pericopes. There are 153 such miniatures in all.

In the Gospel of Matthew: fol. 142r–15, Ancestors of Christ; their busts emerge from the flowers of an undulating stem (i. 2–17); fol. 152v, Joseph's dream (i. 18); fol. 16, Adoration of the Magi (ii. 1); fol. 17, Flight into Egypt (ii. 13); fol. 18v, John the Baptist (iii. 1); fol. 19v, Temptation (iv. 1); fol. 20v, Christ teaching (iv. 12); fol. 22, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man kneeling (v. 1); fol. 23, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man standing (v. 17); fol. 25v, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated (vi. 1); fol. 27v, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated, and a man standing (vi. 22); fol. 28v, Sermon on the Mount: Christ seated (vii. 1); fol. 32, Christ and the scribe (viii. 18); fol. 33v, Christ and Matthew (ix. 9); fol. 34v, Christ and Jairus (ix. 18); fol. 35v, Christ and two blind men (ix. 27); fol. 36, Christ seated (ix. 35); fol. 39v, Christ seated (x. 1); fol. 41v, Christ praying (x. 25); fol. 43v, Christ and the demoniac (xii. 22); fol. 45, Christ and a Pharisee (xii. 38); fol. 46, temple (xiii. 1); fol. 51, Beheading of John the Baptist, the executioner's face is erased, (xiv. 1); fol. 52v, Christ and two disciples in a boat (xiv. 22); fol. 55, Christ and the woman of Canaan (xv. 21); fol. 55v, Christ and two men kneeling (xv. 29); fol. 59v, Christ and the lunatic's father (xvii. 14); fol. 60v, Christ, and Peter casting his net (xvii. 21); fol. 62, Christ and a child (xviii. 10); fol. 64, Christ and a Pharisee (xix. 1); fol. 68, Christ, the sons of Zebedee and their mother (xx. 17); fol. 69, Christ and two blind men (xx. 29); fol. 70v, Christ cursing the fig-tree (xxi. 18); fol. 74, Christ questioned about paying tribute (xxii. 15); fol. 79, temple (xxiv. 1); fol. 87, Christ and the woman with a bottle of oil (xxvi. 3); fol. 88, Christ and a disciple (xxvi. 17); fol. 89, Christ, Peter, and the cock (xxvi. 31); fol. 91v, Christ seized by two soldiers, their faces are erased (xxvi. 57); fol. 93, Crucifixion with Mary kneeling and John standing (xxvii. 1); fol. 97v, Joseph of Arimathea kneeling by a sarcophagus (xxviii. 57); fol. 98v, Christ rising from the tomb, holding the banded cross (xxviii. 1).

In the Gospel of Mark: fol. 104, Christ and the demoniac (i. 21); fol. 105, Christ and a sick man (i. 35); fol. 106, Christ and the paralytic (ii. 1); fol. 107, Christ and Levi (ii. 13); fol. 108, temple (ii. 23); fol. 112, Christ teaching (iv. 10); fol. 113, Christ standing (iv. 26); fol. 114, Stilling of the tempest (iv. 35); fol. 116, Christ and Jairus (v. 21); fol. 117, Christ and Jairus (v. 35); fol. 118v, Christ seated (vi. 6); fol. 121v, Christ praying (vi. 45); fol. 122v, Christ seated (vi. 1); fol. 123v, Christ and the Syro-Phoenician woman (vii. 17); fol. 124v, Christ and the deaf man (vii. 31); fol. 126, Christ standing (viii. 10); fol. 127, temple (viii. 27); fol. 129v, Christ and the demoniac (ix. 13); fol. 132v, Christ and a Pharisee (x. 1); fol. 133, Christ and a child (x. 13); fol. 134v, Christ and Peter (x. 28); fol. 136, Christ and the blind man (x. 46); fol. 137v, Christ and the fig-tree (xi. 12); fol. 139, Christ and a high-priest (xi. 27); fol. 141, Christ and a Sadducee (xii. 18); fol. 143v, temple (xiii. 1); fol. 147, Christ anointed (xiv. 1); fol. 148, Christ and a man carrying a bucket on his back (xiv. 12); fol. 149, Christ, Peter, and the cock (xiv. 27); fol. 153, Crucifixion: Mary kneeling and John standing (xv. 1); fol. 156, Joseph of Arimathea standing next to the sarcophagus placed in front of a cross (xv. 42).

In the Gospel of Luke: fol. 164, Annunciation, the Virgin is crowned, the angel holds a flower (i. 26); fol. 165, Visitation (i. 39); fol. 168v, Virgin and child enthroned
and the nobleman (iv. 43); fol. 271v., Christ and the leper (v. 12); fol. 180, Christ and the paralytic (v. 17); fol. 181, Christ and Levi (v. 27); fol. 182, Christ blesses a man kneeling (vi. 1); fol. 183, Christ praying (vi. 12); fol. 186v., Christ and the centurion (vii. 1); fol. 190, Christ anointed (vii. 36); fol. 193, Stilling of the tempest (viii. 22); fol. 196v., Christ and an apostle (ix. 1); fol. 198, Christ and an apostle (ix. 18); fol. 201, Christ (ix. 51); fol. 202, Christ and one of the seventy (x. 1); fol. 204, Christ and the lawyer (x. 25); fol. 206v., Christ and the demoniac (xi. 14); fol. 208v., temple (xi. 33); fol. 213, Christ and a man standing (xii. 32); fol. 214v., Christ and a man standing (xii. 49); fol. 216v., Christ and the bent woman kneeling (xii. 10); fol. 217v., temple (xiii. 22); fol. 219, Christ and the man with dropsy (xiv. 1); fol. 221, Christ and a man standing (xiv. 25); fol. 224v., Christ and a man standing (xvi. 1); fol. 227v., Christ and a man standing (xvii. 1); fol. 229, Christ and a Pharisee (xvii. 20); fol. 230v., Christ and a man standing (xviii. 1); fol. 231v., Christ and a child (xviii. 13); fol. 233, Christ and a blind man (xviii. 35); fol. 235v., Entry into Jerusalem (xix. 29); fol. 237v., temple (xx. 1); fol. 238, Christ and a man standing (xx. 9); fol. 239v., Christ and a Sadducee (xx. 27); fol. 241v., temple (xxi. 5); fol. 244, Christ seized by two soldiers (their faces are erased), and a man kneeling before Him (xxii. 1); fol. 248v., Crucifixion with the Virgin kneeling and John standing (xxii. 66); fol. 252v., temple (xxiii. 50).

In the Gospel of John: fol. 260, John the Baptist (i. 18); fol. 261, Baptism (i. 29); fol. 264v., Christ turning the water into wine (ii. 1); fol. 265v., temple (ii. 12); fol. 264v., Christ and Nicodemus (ii. 23); fol. 267v., Christ and the woman of Samaria (iv. 1); fol. 270v., Christ and the nobleman (iv. 43); fol. 271v., Christ and the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda (v. 1); fol. 273, Christ and a man standing (v. 19); fol. 274, Christ and a man standing (v. 31); fol. 276v., Christ and an apostle (vi. 22); fol. 280v., Christ seated (vii. 1); fol. 281, Christ seated in the temple (vii. 44); fol. 283, Christ seated (vii. 37); fol. 284, Christ and a Pharisee (viii. 12); fol. 285, Christ and a Jew (viii. 21); fol. 285v., Christ and a Jew (viii. 31); fol. 288, Christ and the blind man (ix. 1); fol. 291v., Christ seated (x. 11); fol. 292v., temple (x. 22); fol. 294, Raising of Lazarus (xi. 1); fol. 301v., Christ and a man standing (xii. 44); fol. 303, Christ seated (xiii. 16); fol. 305v., Christ and a man standing (xiv. 15); fol. 310v., Christ and a man standing (xvi. 20); fol. 311v., Christ seated (xvi. 33); fol. 312v., Christ praying (xvii. 13); fol. 313v., Betrayal, the faces of the soldiers are erased (xviii. 2); fol. 316, Flagellation, the faces of the soldiers are erased (xviii. 28); fol. 318v., Crucifixion with the Virgin kneeling and John standing (xix. 17); fol. 320v., Joseph of Arimathea kneeling by the side of a sarcophagus placed before the cross (xix. 38); fol. 323, Christ stands holding the banded cross; next to Him, Thomas kneeling (xx. 26); fol. 323v., Peter casting the net (xxi. 1); fol. 325, Christ seated, John standing and Peter kneeling (xxi. 15). Fol. 326v., at the beginning of the Colophon, Christ and the donors: a woman, kneeling, presents a book to Him, behind her stands a turbaned man.

Letter of Eusebius and Canon tables. The rectangles, supported by columns, are decorated with floral motifs interrupted, in the centre, by a medallion, lozenge, or triangle, framing a small figure or vignette. Peacocks, lions, deer, monkeys, take the place of the small trees or plants next to the rectangles. In the Letter of Eusebius we
see the portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus as usual; the other figures or vignettes are more unusual: fol. 3v., canon 1, the three-quarter figure of a nude man in the attitude of Christ in the Baptism, but without a nimb; fol. 4, canon 2, bust of a nimbed man in a chalice(?); fol. 5v., canons 3-4, a bearded man in a sail-boat (Noah?); fol. 6, canon 5, two bearded men facing one another and standing at the sides of a ciborium or temple; fol. 7v., canons 6-7, Moses holding the tables of the Law; fol. 8, canons 8-9, a bearded man; fol. 9v., canon 10, Baptism; fol. 10, canon 10, Christ holding a globe with the cross.

The headpieces (Pl. 62b) consist of rectangles, with multi-foil arches opening into them, and decorated with floral scrolls painted in bright colours against a greenish-gold background. Vases of flowers are drawn under the arches of fol. 162 and 259. The marginal floral ornaments and birds are occasionally replaced by bunches of flowers.

REMARKS. The portraits of the Evangelists, with slightly protruding eyes and dark shadows on the eyelids; their iconographic types, with the angel standing next to Matthew (Pl. 62a), the lion and ox crouching before Mark and Luke, the eagle hovering over John and Prochoros seated in the opening of a cave; finally the backgrounds with buildings appearing above a colonnade, are almost identical with the portraits of a Gospel in the Margossian–Esmérian Collection in Paris, no. 5. Further similarities between these two manuscripts may be noted in the numerous marginal miniatures, in the initial of Matthew formed by the crowned Virgin holding the Christ Child (instead of the angel); in the vignettes drawn in some of the Canon tables, and in the rubric ‘our Lord Jesus Christ says’ which sometimes precedes the lections. All this shows that the two manuscripts are the products of the same scriptorium although they do not seem to be by the same hand.

The colophon of the Margossian–Esmérian Gospel also begins with a long preamble on Christ and the Evangelists, it gives the name of the owner, the pilgrim Martiros, but unfortunately the end, with the name of the scribe, the date, and the place of the copy, is lost. A brief colophon added by a different scribe reports that this Gospel was offered in 1720 to the monastery of Joachim and Ann at Tokat, recently restored by Martiros, the owner of the manuscript. This Gospel must therefore have been written at Tokat, shortly before 1720.

This is confirmed by another manuscript of the same collection, the Service book no. 24 written at Tokat in 1717 by the scribe Eghia of Marsvan. There are only a few miniatures in this manuscript, a portrait of a bishop and one of a priest, but their style is so close to the illustrations of the Gospel no. 5 that they can be accepted as the work of the same scribe.

On the basis of these two manuscripts we can assign Codex no. 586 to Tokat and date it in the early 18th century or in the last years of the 17th. Connexions with the scriptorium of Tokat are further suggested by the type of initial used for the Gospel of Luke: a wide band of interlace similar to the initials painted by the scribes Mkrtitch and Astvadsatur of Tokat. The deep shadows around the eyes also characterize the style of these two painters.

With a few exceptions, such as the kneeling Virgin in the Crucifixion, or Joseph of Arimathea and other figures also represented kneeling, the marginal miniatures follow
the usual types of the 17th century represented by several manuscripts in this collection. The most interesting elements of the illustrations are the vignettes introduced into the Canon tables and inspired by the symbolical interpretation of the Canon tables.

This text had been composed by the catholicos Nerses the Gracious and in some Cilician manuscripts of the late 12th century we find, above the rectangles of the Canon tables, figures or representations which can only be explained through this symbolical interpretation. Different versions of this text were included in the Gospel manuscripts; we have an example in Codex no. 578, and the scribes of the 16th, and especially the 17th century, sometimes wrote it, in an abbreviated form, under the Canon tables.

According to these brief notations the first canon is an image of the divinity; the second and third figure the angels; the fourth, the paradise of Adam; the fifth, Noah's ark; the sixth, the altar raised by Abraham; the seventh and eighth, the Holy of Holies of Moses and the outer temple; the ninth, the temple of Solomon; the tenth, the holy Church.

There is not always an exact correspondence between the vignettes of our manuscript and the symbolic meaning of the specific canons, but there are sufficient similarities to show a definite attempt to translate into pictorial form the hidden meaning of the canons. Thus in the seventh canon, figuring the Holy of Holies, we see Moses holding the tables of the Law (fol. 7v); in the tenth canon, which is an image of the holy Church and the reign of God established through the second coming of Christ, we see Christ holding the globe (fol. 10). The old man in a boat (fol. 5v) must represent Noah but he should have figured over canon 5, instead of over canon 4 which is the image of the garden of Eden.

Similar examples occur in other manuscripts. A few vignettes have been included, as was mentioned above, in the Canon tables of the Gospel in the Margossian–Esmerian Collection no. 5. Christ holding the Gospel book and God the Father holding a globe are represented in the rectangles of canons 1 and 2; in the outer margin of canon 3 Adam and Eve stand at the sides of the tree with the serpent. In the Gospel illustrated by Mesrop of Khizan in 1608 (Brit. Mus. Or. 5737) the Trinity is substituted for the portrait of Eusebius, in conformity with the brief interpretation written in the lower margin. A seraph is drawn in the lunette of the first canon, and over the rectangle of the eighth canon there is an altar with horns, and birds around it. The explanation written under this canon reads: 'the altar and the doves; some of them look back to the altar; some look ahead. The two horns which figure Moses and Aaron.' These same vignettes appear in the Canon tables of a Gospel of A.D. 1629 (Jerusalem, no. 2348), and, in addition, Noah's ark for canons 2 and 3, the ram hanging from a tree next to canons 4 and 5. In a Bible written at Constantinople between the years 1654 and 1670 (Jerusalem, no. 2561) we find a complete set of images with accompanying

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1 S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens*, pp. 58-61. The portraits of the prophets represented in the Canon tables of some Cilician Gospels of the 13th century (e.g. Jerusalem, nos. 251 and 2669; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 539) are not connected with these interpretations. A different type is again represented by the Byzantine Gospel in Berlin, Hamilton 246, with the figures of Christ, the Virgin, and saints, and the compositions of the Nativity and the Baptism: J. Ebersolt, 'Miniatures byzantines de Berlin', *Revue archéologique*, 1905, vol. ii, pp. 55-70, figs. 1-5.

2 The Trinity is represented in the lunette of the tenth canon of a 17th-century Gospel in Venice, no. 1950: *Pammuteb*, 1935, nos. 9-12, fig. 37.
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explanations: canon 1, the Trinity; canons 2 and 3, angels; canon 4, the Garden of Eden; canon 5, Noah's ark; canon 6, Hospitality of Abraham; canon 7, Aaron and Moses; canon 8, an altar with the tables of the law; canon 9, a temple; canon 10, a church.

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FOUR GOSPELS

17TH CENTURY


Vellum fly-leaves at the beginning taken from a Gospel written in angular sloping erkatagir. Two vellum fly-leaves at the end taken from a large Gospel written in rounded erkatagir.

Lacunae. Several leaves between foll. 201 and 202: Lk. xxiv. 47-53; headings, preface, and portrait of John.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 18.5 x 13.5 cm.; written surface, 12 x 9 cm.; 2 columns of 21 lines each. 253 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. White vellum, slightly soiled in places. Bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters; the first two lines of each Gospel are written in gold and green letters.

BINDING. Pale red velvet over boards fixed with large round studs. Silver plate of 13.5 x 6.2 cm. on front cover with embossed figure of St. Anthony. Four corner heads in brass. Plain silver cross, studded with trefoil ornaments on the end cover, and a short inscription by a certain Arut', with the date 1177 ( = a.d. 1728).

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th century.

COLOPHON. Fol. 253v., a short notice in modern script indicates that the manuscript was given by Arut' to the church of the Holy Cross. This was probably added in 1728, at the time of the binding.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 12v.), Mark (fol. 84v.), and Luke (fol. 131v.) are seated, writing, on a cushioned bench; the Hand of God or a ray comes out of the segment of sky in the upper corner. The backgrounds are blue with groups of small white dots. The name of each Evangelist is written under the upper frame.

The rectangles of the Letter of Eusebius are decorated with the usual portraits and floral scrolls in white, with touches of pink, against a green background. Those of the
Canon tables have simple geometric or floral designs, drawn in white, touched with red, against a bluish-green background. On fol. 7v. and 8 a polychrome arch, inscribed in the rectangle, frames a floral interlace; canon 8 and the end of canon 10 have not been written in.

The headpieces consist of rectangles with trefoil or multifoil arches opening into them, and are decorated with squares and lozenges framing small flowers. On fol. 202 a delicate scroll with flowers formed by small dots covers the rectangle into which opens a pointed, horse-shoe arch. The background of the headpiece on fol. 13 is gold; the other backgrounds are a cherry-red, and gold appears only in parts of the ornaments. The marginal ornaments of the first page of each Gospel consist of interlacing palmettes painted in various colours and gold; the smaller ornaments of the pericopes and the birds are drawn in red. These are occasionally replaced by motifs connected with the text, such as trees (foll. 59, 60v., 112, 113, 184v., 232), temples (foll. 67v., 114, 118, 190v., 219, 227), and crosses (foll. 78, 125, 194v., 196). On fol. 205 six vases disposed in two rows illustrate the reading of the Marriage at Cana (Jn. ii. 1); a bird with a cross nimbl is drawn in the margin of fol. 237v. (Jn. xiv. 15).

REMARKS. The ornaments of the headpieces, the first initial of each Gospel are much more carefully drawn than those of the Canon tables and the portraits of the Evangelists. The seat of the Evangelists is awkwardly represented. The coloured area, limited by a narrow frame, drawn around the cushion and occupying the entire width of the miniature, looks like a rug, but it may be a stylization of a bench. There is no desk or lectern.

The drawing and the colours, in particular the cherry-red and purple, the green tunic and yellow mantle of Mark are indicative of a late date, and the manuscript was probably written in the latter part of the 17th century.

FOUR GOSPELS
17TH CENTURY


MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 13 x 9.5 cm.; written surface, 8.5 x 5.5 cm.; 2 columns of 23 lines each. 279 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Fine, white vellum. Small bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel (except Luke) is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the first line of each Gospel and the pericope initials are in floral or zoomorphic letters. Inspector’s seal in Persian, with the date A.H. 1318 on the first and last pages.
BINDING. Silver-gilt with hinges. In high relief, on front cover, Christ, beardless, seated within flower scrolls, holding the lamb and the shepherd’s crook; on end cover Christ, beardless, standing within foliage scrolls, blessing and holding the globe with the cross. Flower design also on the hinge.

DATE, PLACE, Scribe, Owner. 17th century.

COLOPHON. None.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. The rectangles of the Letter of Eusebius and of the Canon tables are decorated with large floral motifs, tinted pink, and drawn against a red or blue background. The trees or birds at the sides have been replaced by lions standing on their hind legs and holding a book, on foll. 7v–8, and by monkeys holding a candle, on foll. 9v–10. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus have not been represented. The floral motifs of the headpieces are similar to those of the Canon tables, but they are painted in different colours against a gold background. Two sirens mingle with the foliage in the headpiece on fol. 224.

The marginal ornaments consist of simple floral designs or birds; the only figure is the head of John the Baptist on a platter on fol. 111v.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 15 x 10.5 cm.; written surface, 10 x 7 cm.; 2 columns of 22 lines each. 225 folios.

PAPER AND WRITING. Vellum. Small irregular bolorgir in black ink. The first letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist; the pericope initials are in zoomorphic or floral letters, the initials of the verses in gold or blue erkal'agir.

BINDING. Light-brown stamped leather over boards.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. 17th–18th centuries.

COLOPHON. Fol. 11, by a later hand, in notorgir: ‘This Gospel is a memorial of the tailor Paghtasar of Aleppo, son of Khatchatur, on the mountain of Lebanon, in the
CATALOGUE

newly-built monastery of the Saviour belonging to the truth-loving Armenians. God have mercy on the souls of his parents. In the year of the Armenians 1175 (= A.D. 1726), on the 21st of the month of January. By the hand of Ter Hakob. Fol. 225v., seal of the Andonian monastery of Ortakeuy near Constantinople. In the front cover, Catalogue indication of the library of this monastery by the hand of the late Patriarch Malachia Ormanian.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Portraits of the Evangelists. Matthew (fol. 12v.), Mark (fol. 74v.), and Luke (fol. 114v.) are seated writing or meditating, in front of an architectural setting; John and Prochoros are seated in the opening of a cave (fol. 179v.). John holds an open scroll in his left hand, Prochoros dips his pen in an ink-pot.

The Letter of Eusebius and the Canon tables are written under narrow rectangles filled with floral motifs tinted blue, red, or orange. The portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus are drawn under pointed arches which cut the upper frame of the rectangle. The headpieces are π-shaped or consist of rectangles with an arch opening into them; they are decorated with floral scrolls, or floral motifs forming squares, tinted blue, red, or orange, and drawn against a pale green background. The eagle, holding a book, is perched on the headpiece of the Gospel of John. No gold has been used. The usual large ornaments of interlacing palmettes are drawn in the outer margin of the first page of each Gospel; the smaller floral ornaments of the pericopes are occasionally replaced by other motifs, such as trees (fol. 98, 99, 163, 207; Mk. x. 46, xi. 12; Lk. xix. 29; Jn. xii. 12); temples (fol. 59, 167; Mt. xxiv. 1; Lk. xxi. 5); crosses (fol. 68v., 109, 172, 218v.; Mt. xxvii. 1; Mk. xv. 1; Lk. xxii. 66; Jn. xviii. 28); and Jonah in the mouth of the whale (fol. 35v., Mt. xii. 38).

REMARKS. The Evangelists, with their long narrow faces, light complexions, and some with narrow, slit eyes, differ from those represented in other manuscripts. The drawing is very awkward; the figures are precariously balanced on the benches placed diagonally. Thin white lines indicate the folds of the garments, and white dots are drawn around the gold nimbs and along the hems of the garments. Thin white lines and dots are also drawn on the buildings, the rocks, and in general over the entire background, the lower part of which is usually painted in different shades of grey, pale green, and blue, while the upper part is gold.

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PSALTER

DATED A.D. 1625

SUBJECT AND ARRANGEMENT. Fol. 1v., Miniature; foll. 2–24, Psalms, i–xvii; foll. 24–28v., Canticle of Moses (Exod. xv. 1–19); foll. 29–56v., Pss. xviii–xxxv; foll. 56v.–61, Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1–21); foll. 61v.–93v., Pss. xxxvi–liv; foll. 93v.–98v., Canticle of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 22–43); foll. 99–126, Pss. lv–lxxi; foll. 126–92v., Canticle

1 The expression ‘the truth-loving Armenians’ probably means the Armenian Roman Catholic congregation.
of Hannah (I Sam. ii. 1-10); foll. 130-63, Pss. lxxii-lxxxviii; foll. 165v.-165, Canticle of Isaiah (Isa. xxvi. 9-20); foll. 165v.-164v., Pss. lxxxix-cxv; foll. 195-196v., Canticle of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10-20); foll. 197-227v., Pss. cxi-cxviii; foll. 227v.-229, Canticles of Isaiah and Jonah (Isa. xlii. 10-20; Jonah ii. 3-10); foll. 229v.-258, Pss. cxix-cxlvi; foll. 258-60v., Canticle of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 1-19); foll. 261-3, Pss. cxlvii-cxlviii; foll. 263v.-264, Supplementary Ps. cl; foll. 264-6v., Prayer of Manasseh (Apocryphal); foll. 266v.-267v., Canticle of the Virgin (Lk. i. 46-55); foll. 267v.-268v., Canticles of Zacharias and Simeon (Lk. i. 68-79; ii. 9-32); foll. 268v.-272v., Canticle of the Three Children (Dan. iii. 26-88); foll. 273-8, Prayer of St. Nerses the Gracious for the twenty-four hours of the day (Havadov khostovanim); foll. 278-81, Colophon.

Lacunae. Two leaves between foll. 280 and 281 with large part of the Colophon.

MEASUREMENTS, ETC. 10 x 7.5 cm.; written surface 6.3 x 4 cm.; single column of 16 lines. 281 folios plus one blank folio at the beginning and three others at the end.

PAPER AND WRITING. Fine white vellum. Notogir in black ink. Ornate initials for each Psalm and Canticle; the first two lines of each canon and the other initials are in red or blue erkat agir.

BINDING. Brown leather over boards. Front cover with blind-tooled centre of interlacing ovals and cord border; interlacing bands on end cover. Holes for pegs and thongs.

DATE, PLACE, SCRIBE, OWNER. Written in A.D. 1625 by a scribe native of Poland.

COLOPHONS. Fol. 129v. 'I beseech you, noble brother, remember in the Lord the sinful scribe, a native of Poland (Lehtsi) and my parents.'

Foll. 278-80v. Long preamble on the Psalter. On the last lines of foll. 280v.: 'In the year of the Armenians 1074 (= A.D. 1625) during the prelacy in Cilicia of the catholicos Ter Minas' (folios missing). Fol. 281, 'the scribe and my parents and all my family, and Christ God who is bountiful in His good gifts may He have mercy on you who remember and on us who are remembered. And glory to Him forever and ever. Amen.'

ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUMINATIONS. Fol. 1v. David, crowned, seated full-face, and playing the lute. Small marginal figures accompany all the Canticles with the exception of the Canticles which follow the Supplementary Psalm. Fol. 24, Miriam playing a tambourine; fol. 56v., Moses, beardless, hands raised; fol. 93v., Moses, beardless, holding a staff; fol. 126, Hannah, praying; fol. 163v., Isaiah, holding an open scroll; fol. 195, Hezekiah, kneeling; fol. 227v., Isaiah, holding an open scroll; fol. 258, Habakkuk, holding an open scroll.

On fol. 80v., a young man, dancing, is drawn next to Ps. xlvi; and on foll. 17 and 110 a small temple next to Pss. xv and lxiv. Small marginal ornaments, tinted in red, accompany the other Psalms.

The large headpiece of fol. 2 and the narrow bands on foll. 29, 61v., 99, 130, 165v., 197, 220v. are decorated with simple floral motifs. No gold has been used, and the figures are rather crudely drawn.