

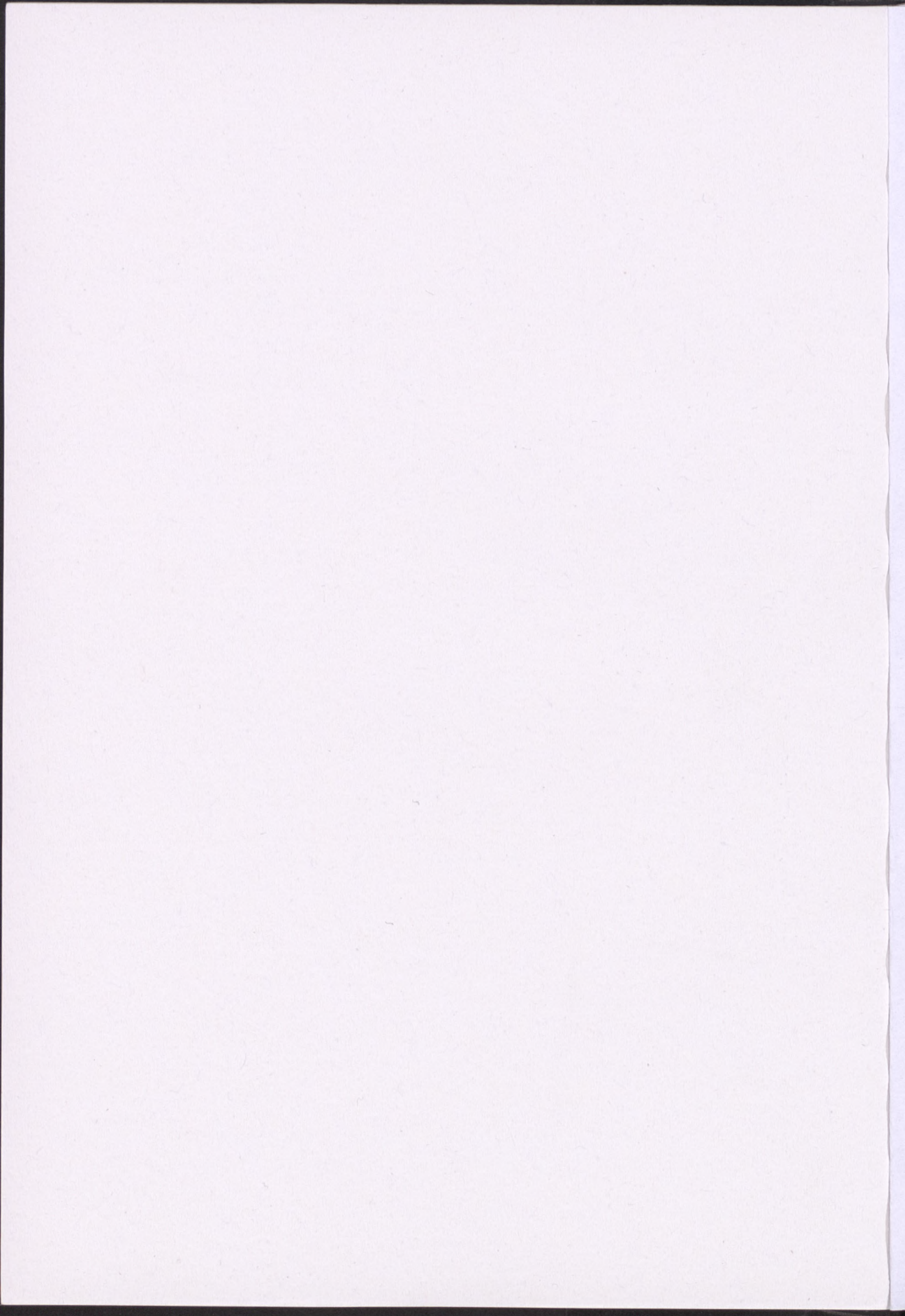
SERIES BYZANTINA

Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art



VOLUME XV

Warsaw 2017



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Art of the Armenian Diaspora
Proceedings of the Second Conference
Gdańsk, June 16-18, 2016



INSTITUT DLA STUDIÓW NAJWIĘKSZEJ SZKOLY
KRAJOWA SZKOLA WYSZYNSKI UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF OSTRAVA

Warsaw 2017

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Virgin Mary; glassware decoration, from catacombs in Rome, 4th c. AD;
N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonoграфия Bogomateri*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 77

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Cover design, typographic project, illustrations editing and typesetting by Paweł Wróblewski

Continuation of the series published by the NERITON Publishing House

The issue subsidized by the Teresa Sahakian Foundation

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ISSN 1733-5787

Printed by Sowa – Druk na Życzenie

www.sowadruk.pl

tel. (48 22) 431 81 40

Edition of 400 copies

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Introduction

The 15th volume of the *Byzantine Series* is dedicated to the art of the Armenian Diaspora, the monuments that are gaining more and more interest in Central Europe. In 1999, Beata Biedrońska-Słota organized an exhibition at the National Museum in Cracow titled: *Polish Armenians. Separation and Assimilation*. At that time, after more than sixty years, new research into Armenian art began. In the same year, Armenian monuments were shown at the exhibition of Persian art, prepared by Tadeusz Majda at the National Museum in Warsaw. In 2006 we joined the trend of scientific research, beginning the inventory of monuments located in Poland. We helped the Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians, then located in the Archdiocese Archive in Bielany in Warsaw. We also took up international cooperation. The first results of the study were presented at an international conference organized at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba on the initiative of Bálint Kovács. The first meeting in the region gained a publication in Hungary and a book published in Leipzig in 2014, also at the initiative of the Hungarian scholar.

Years of inventory work, discussions at seminars, contributed to the preparation of a Polish-Ukrainian exhibition at the Zamość Museum in 2010, organised by Piotr Kondraciuk. Anyone who has experience in such ventures knows how difficult it is to prepare all the materials on time. A Catalogue accompany-



Fig. 1. Gospel of Matthew, 17 century, Historical Museum, Lviv

ing the exhibition under the title *Ars Armeniaca* has become a memoir of several years of work conducted jointly with colleagues from many museums and students of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University. The diaries from the exhibitions, which were once published at the National Museum in Warsaw, have become the model. The title of the exhibition, with reference to Austrian and Hungarian publications from the turn of the 19th and 20th century, where the word *armeniaca* was used for the first time, may sound somewhat archaic today. The Zamość publication has received an in-depth review in which a number of comments have been considered important.

In 2010, the mentioned exhibition was accompanied by an international conference entitled *Art of Armenian Diaspora*. It was attended by researchers from many countries. The materials were published in the 9th volume of the *Series Byzantina*. We were inspired by the idea of dialogue and the desire to progress, even if some publications are not perfect. They often opened up new research fields and contributed to the search by the young generation of art historians. At that time, enduring friendships of already experienced scholars were made. It should be emphasized that a few years later a Hungarian researcher, Bálint Kovács, prepared another exhibition at the Historical Museum in Budapest, showing a number of unknown artefacts, including those of Transylvanian origin.

One year after the exhibition and conference in Zamość, we decided to prepare a national conference entitled: *Armenians in Lviv: History, Culture, Art*. The idea of the symposium was to start the discussion by celebrating the 650th anniversary of the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv in 2013. Recently, discussion papers have been published which were created on the basis of this Warsaw conference, and also during discussions held in seminars in 2010–2015.

We open the second chapter of research. In June 2016, another international conference was held at the National Museum in Gdańsk entitled: *Art of Armenian Diaspora*.



Fig. 2. Entrance to Jerusalem, Armenian miniature from the National Museum in Warsaw, lost during Second World War

The second part took place in Warsaw in March 2017 on the occasion of the 650th Anniversary of the Royal Privilege, for Armenian Church, in the Polish Kingdom. This volume contains articles on issues taken up in the first part of the meetings and discussions conducted by many scholars in recent years. Let's hope this time our initiatives will also give impetus to further scientific ventures.

I would like to thank to Alyson Wharton-Durgaryan, who made the scientific and linguistic corrections on the majority of the articles.

Waldemar Deluga

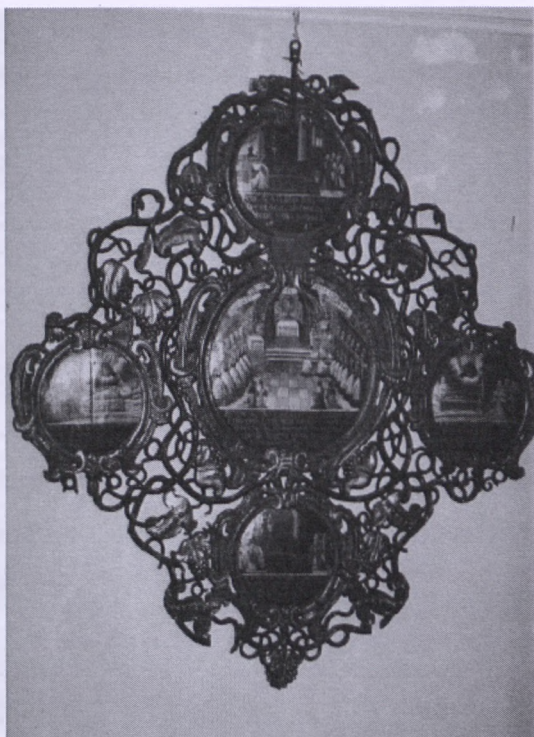


Fig. 3. Bishop Mikołaj Torosowicz established the Union with Catholic Church, 1630. Picture from Kamenets Podilskij (?), today in Olesko Castle Museum, Ukraine

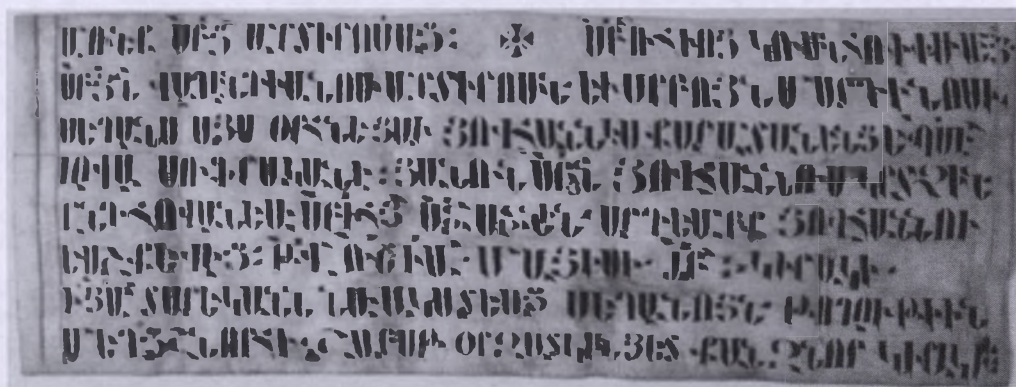


Fig. 4. Document from the Historical Museum, Lviv (Ruk 226). Inscriptions: *relics of the holy martyrs, the holy virgin Hripsime, / Saint Valendianos, Martirios and St. Martinos / this altar was blessed by Bishop Yovhannes Karmatanents / suffragan of L[v]ov, in the name of St. John the Baptist / under the protection of the Holy Theotokos, with the means of Yovhannes / Eashkevits, year 1121 (=1672), Sunday May 12 / Every year a commemoration of the altar's dedication for the grace of forgiveness / of sins, the Saturday after Easter [before?] New Sunday.*
Translation by Georg Bournotian



Fig. 5. The view of the main altar in St. Peter and Paul church, Gdańsk

About Miniaturist Grigor Mlijetsi and the Illustrations of the Lviv Gospels of 1197

Levon Chookaszian, Yerevan State University

The Armenian state of Cilicia that existed on the Mediterranean coast in the 12th–14th centuries is famous for its remarkable book art. Cilician book illustrations represent exceptional artistic value and comprise a part of the treasury of world culture. The art of book illumination in Cilicia attained an unprecedented level of excellence in terms of the scope and quantity of the executed manuscripts. It demonstrates an unusual pictorial refinement and luxury and surpasses the achievements of Armenian miniature paintings of previous centuries, stimulating numerous achievements of other people of the Mediterranean in the book art of the 12th–14th centuries. Cilician book painting is one of striking artistic phenomena that form the enormous contribution of the Armenian people to the treasury of Mediterranean culture.

Famous monasteries such as Drazark, Skevra, Hromkla and Grner were Cilician centers of miniature painting, where the celebrated painters Theodoros Kesuntsi, Grigor Mlijetsi, Costandin, Kirakos, Hovhannes, Toros Roslin, Hovasap, Archbishop Hovhannes (brother of King Hetum I), Toros the Philosopher, Sargis Pitsak, and many others worked.

The historic reality of the Cilician Kingdom was vividly and diversely reflected in the illustrations of manuscripts. The images are related to all kinds of political, economic, commercial and other connections of Cilicia with the surrounding countries and people, and reflect the mentality of Armenians inhabiting this land, their art, theatrical traditions, customs, principles of city-building, the national costume, as well as plant and animal world.

A multitude of splendidly illustrated manuscripts, whose illustrators' names sometimes do not recur in any other manuscript, has come down to us. There are also manuscripts that have not preserved the names of the artists at all.

The miniatures of the Armenian Gospels of 1197, illustrated by a copyist and painter Grigor Mlijetsi and stored earlier in Lviv, later in Gniezno (Poland),¹ and now in Warsaw National Library (Ak.17680) then are classified as the best examples of Cilician book art. Another manuscript has miraculously survived and come down to us as well – Gospels (Isfahan, Holy Savior Monastery Museum, Ms. 546(25) illustrated by Grigor Mlijetsi that he started in 1215 but did not complete.²

The manuscript of 1197 is known as the Lviv or Skevra Gospel, and up to 1941 it was stored in Lviv in the collection of the Armenian Catholic archiepiscopate.

This Gospel is written on beautiful parchment bought by priest Stepanos on the island of Cyprus and it is decorated with luxurious *khorans* (canons tables), exquisite portraits of the four evangelists, title pages of the four Gospels, the scenes of the Gospel narration on the margins, fleurons and decorated initials. On the basis of the colophons of the Gospel it is considered that it was used during the coronation of Levon I, the king of Cilicia, which took place on the 6th of January 1198 in the Cathedral of Tarson. It is believed that the manuscript was created specifically for that royal ceremony.

The luxuriously illustrated Gospel has attracted the attention of researchers before the Second World War, during its stay in Lviv, it was mentioned by various researchers in their books or papers. In the pre-war literature related to this manuscript, the most important and thorough article was published by a philologist, father Nerses Akinian, a member of the Vienna Mekhitarist congregation, and for many decades it remained the main source concerning the manuscript. It contains black and white reproductions of a number of its miniatures.

¹ Cf. H. Gluck, *Die christliche Kunst des Ostens*, Berlin 1923, fig. 6-7; F. Macler, 'Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Galicie et en Bukovine', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 7 (1927), I, pp. 97-107, fig. 1-4; N. Akinian, 'Das Skevra-Evangeliar vom Jahre 1197, aufbewahrt im Archive des armenischen Erzbistums Lemberg', in: *Materialien zur Geschichte der armenischen Kunst, Palaographie und Miniaturmalerei*, Wien 1930; S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitaristes de Venise*, Paris 1937, pp. 54, 55, 62, 69, 70, 72; Eadem, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Washington DC 1993 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 31), vol. 1, pp. XV, 13, 15, 16-18, 20-21, 24, 28, 35, 37, 39-40; G. Prinzing, 'Neue Funde, Ein verschollenes Prachtwerk der armenischen Buchmalerei in Gnesen wiederentdeckt', *Kunstchronik*, 1993, no. 6, pp. 310-314; *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. G. Prinzing, A. Schmidt, A. von Euv, Ch. Hannick, M. K. Krikorian, A. Lang-Edwards, G. Prinzing, A. Schmidt, Ch. Weise, Weisbaden, 1997; M. Smorąg-Różycka, 'Problem adaptacji wzorów bizantyńskich w skryptoriach Armenii Cylicyjskiej na przykładzie lwowskiego Evangeliarza ze Skewry (1198/1199)', *Lehahayer, czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich*, 1 (2010), pp. 13-29; K. Stopka, 'Lwowscy właściciele Evangeliarza ormiańskiego z XII wieku'. Lehahayer, czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich, 1 (2010), pp. 31-60; J. Wolańska, 'Motyw zwierząt zjadających się wzajemnie byłby do wyzyskania w katedrze na skale większą': miniatury Evangeliarza ze Skewry jako źródło inspiracji artystów pracujących przy odnowieniu katedry ormiańskiej we Lwowie', *Lehahayer, czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Ormian polskich*, 1 (2010), pp. 61-86.

² Cf. S. Der Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *Miniatures Arméniennes d'Ispahan*, Preface et Introduction de S.S. le Catholique Karékine II, Brussels 1986, p. 30-31.

Thanks to the work of father N. Akinian the name of Grigor Mlijetsi and his Gospel found their place in a number of general publications related to the Armenian medieval art and in different handbooks and encyclopedias.

The manuscript has disappeared from Lviv during the Second World War. The interest of scholars, however, did not vanish either during or after the war, and the Gospel continued to be present in the books and papers of art historians. Scholars searched for the manuscript and, not finding it, still cherished it in the soul, and hoped that it was not lost forever.

In the history of the exploration of Grigor Mlijetsi's Gospel and its artistic legacy the accidental discovery of this manuscript by a German scholar G. Prinzing in the library of the archiepiscopate in Gniezno in the early 90's was crucial. Later he and A. Schmidt jointly wrote and published a book devoted to the study of the manuscript. Their work has stimulated the creation of other publications.

Grigor Mlijetsi was one of the most brilliant Armenian miniaturists who worked on the territory of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Regarding the life and work of Grigor Mlijetsi, as in the case of other Armenian painters, little is known. The place of his birth is also unknown; perhaps he was born around 1150. He died in 1215 and Deacon Grigor, who continued and finished the illustration of Gospels of Isfahan, saved this date. Deacon Grigor was a pupil and assistant of Grigor Mlijetsi. It is noteworthy that in the history of Armenian book painting those cases when the exact date of death of an Armenian miniaturist is known are very rare.

The beauty of the rendering of the *khorans* (canon tables) and title pages of the manuscript immediately enchains the viewer of the Lviv Gospels. Geometrical and floral motifs such as flowers and trees with fruits, as well as peacocks and other real and fantastic birds and beasts, are portrayed with harmoniously of vivid colors. This impression owes much to the presentation of winged griffins or dragons with long knotted tails and coiled dragons or sirens with tails in the composition of these miniatures.

The griffin and lion combat that appears over the headpiece of one of the incipit pages of the Lviv Gospel deserves special attention. The griffin is represented standing on a conventional lion over the headpiece of the title-page in the Gospel of Mark (fol.130r).³ The griffin is shown on the lion's back, locked in an embrace.

Armenian artists before Grigor Mlijetsi also showed interest in such narratives. One of the canon-tables of the Gospels of Moughni of the 11th century persuades us about this (the composition under consideration is placed inside the headpiece). Here, the beasts are already seized by the fit of struggle, but their confrontation has not yet entered a decisive stage.⁴ The subject of the combat between a griffin and a lion can be considered as one of those artistic traditions that the miniaturists of Cilicia of the 12-13th centuries inherited

³ G. Prinzing, op. cit., pp. 310-314; *Das Lemberger Evangeliar ...*, fig. XIII.

⁴ T. Izmailova, *Miniature armenienne: Hovhannes Sandoughkavanetsi*, Erevan 1986, fig. 32.



Fig. 1. Griffin and lion, The title-page in the Gospel of Mark in the L'viv Gospel

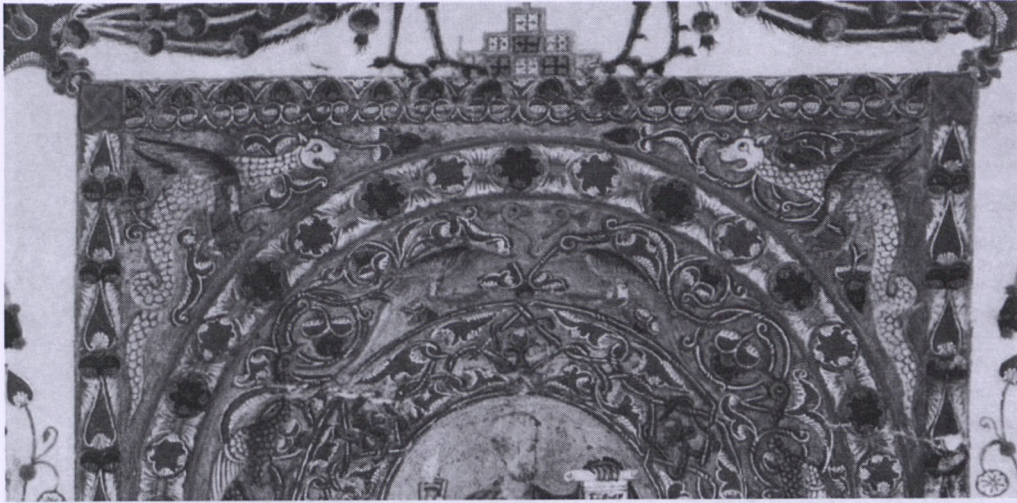


Fig. 2. Winged Dragons, Khoran of the Lviv Gospel (fragment)

from the Armenian book illumination of the 11th century.⁵ Separate examples of Byzantine textile production could have encouraged the contact of the Armenian miniaturist with this theme. Among the former, one should mention the fabrics of the 8th-10th centuries from the sepulcher of St. Ursula (where a griffin is represented standing on a lion) or the 8th-century fabric from the Textile Museum in Lyon (representing a griffin attacking a bull).⁶

Among the fabulous beasts of the miniatures of the Lviv Gospels one of the most interesting ornamental motives is the image of a winged dragon with a snake's body.⁷ It is portrayed in headpieces of two *khorans* containing the Letter of Eusebius (folio 2v, 3r).⁸ The Letter of Eusebius of the abovementioned Gospels of Isfahan written in the quatrefoil space enclosed in a rectangle demonstrates the same creature symmetrically placed in four corners of the rectangle.⁹ It can indicate that Grigor Mlijetsi himself illustrated the frame of the Letter of Eusebius from the Isfahan manuscript. Among numerous representations of these beasts decorating the Armenian medieval artworks¹⁰ the winged dragon appears very seldom¹¹, but it is carved on the walls of certain architectural monuments of Seljuks erected

⁵ L. Chookaszian, 'The Motif of the Sphinx in the Decoration of Manuscripts Illuminated by T'oros Roslin', in: *Between Paris and Fresno, Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian*, ed. B. Der Mugrdchian, Costa Mesa 2008, pp. 66-90.

⁶ T. Talbot Rice, 'Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art', in: *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson, G. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1975, fig. 7c, 7d.

⁷ S. Kuehn, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art*, Leiden 2011, pl. 3, fig. 9.

⁸ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. I-II.

⁹ S. Der Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

¹⁰ S. Kuehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118, 120-123, 127, 128, fig. 11, 14, 26, 27, 31-33, 47, 55, 56, 60, 64, 71-76, 89.

¹¹ It is illustrated in one of headpieces of Mush Homiliary of 1204 (Yerevan, Matenadaran Collection, Ms. 7729). Cf. S. Kuehn, *op. cit.*, fig. 61.

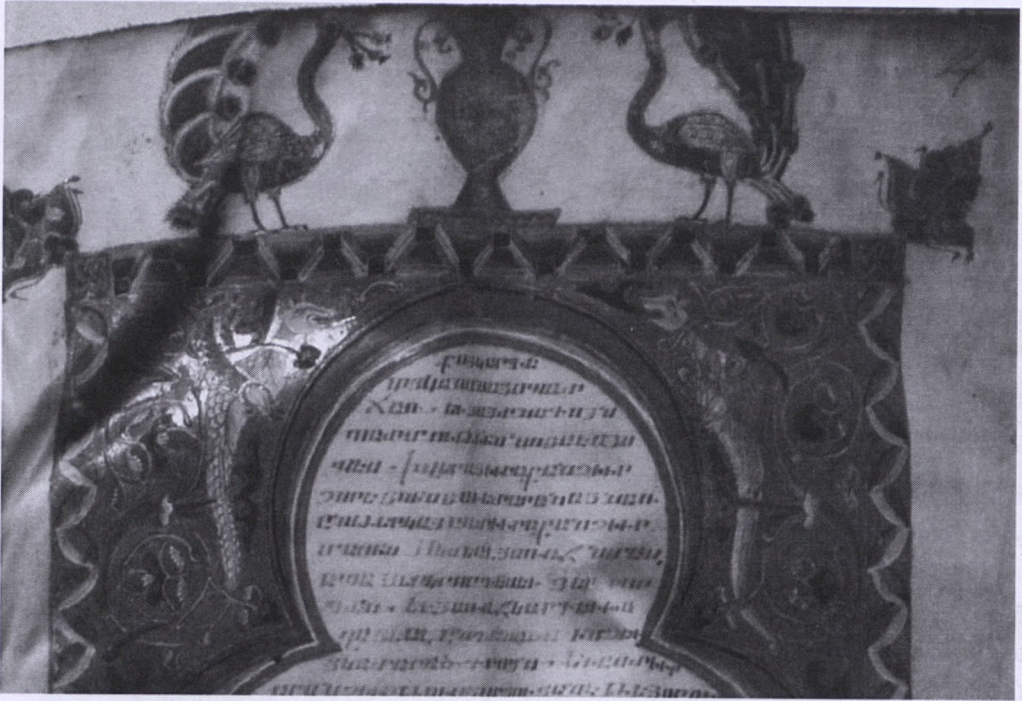


Fig. 3. Letter of Eusebius of Gospel of 1215 (Isfahan, Holy Saviour monastery collection, no. 546/25)

after the Lviv Gospels was created.¹² It is also known in Arabic sculpture from the beginning of the 13th century.¹³

Moreover, the miniatures of the Lviv Gospels demonstrate “dragon tailed regardant bird”¹⁴ as a marginal ornament in one of *khorans* (fol.9v)¹⁵. S. Der Nersessian had noticed this motif over the headpiece of Mathew of the Skevra Gospels of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro, Mekhitarists Collection, no.1635/125),¹⁶ painted by Kostandin at Skevra monastery and she describes it as a “combat of snake and bird that is stylized so much that forms one body”. The same group is also represented in Gospels of Isfahan over the head-piece of Gospel of Mark.¹⁷ These parallels indicate that the painters in Skevra monastery were using the same models.

¹² The sculpture of winged dragon with is curved on the wall of citadel of around 1221 and also that of Indjeh Minare Medresseh at Konya of the same period. Cf. T. Talbot Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, London 1961, fig. 57; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/uhmuseum/23946338220>

¹³ It was represented on the Talisman gate of Bagdad of 1221–1222 destroyed in First WW. Cf. S. Kuehn, *op. cit.*, p.124, pl. 34, fig 139 a, b.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pl. 63, fig.72.

¹⁵ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. VIII.

¹⁶ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles ...*, p. 69, Pl. XXIV, fig.46.

¹⁷ S. Der Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *op. cit.*, p. 33, fig. 9. According to S. Der Nersessian, the orna-



Fig. 4. "Dragon tailed regardant bird",
Khoran of the Lviv Gospel (fragment)

tion, no.1635/125)²³ and the Gospels of 1193 of Poghoskan monastery (Baltimore, Walters Museum, Ms.W538)²⁴. The connections in the rendering of the head-pieces of the same miniatures from these manuscripts are manifested also by the representation of the "rainbow" ornament.

The comparison of the composition of the Lviv Gospels' first pages with those of other Cilician codices from the same epoch demonstrates the connections with the illumination of other manuscripts originating from Hromkla. The double Π shaped bands, joined by an or-

mental similarities between the illustrations of the Lviv Gospel and the Gospel of Isfahan indicate that the deacon Grigor was inspired by the miniatures of his teacher.

¹⁸ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. IV, V.

¹⁹ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles ...*, pl. XIX, fig. 41, pl. XX, fig. 42.

²⁰ S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1973, fig. 19, 20.

²¹ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. VI, VII.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 52.

²³ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles ...*, pl. XXI, fig. 43.

²⁴ *Eadem, Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery ...*, fig. 21, 22.

The decoration of certain *khorans* in the Lviv Gospels (fol.5v,6r)¹⁸ demonstrates analogies with those of the Skevra Gospels of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro),¹⁹ and the Gospels of 1193 of Baltimore²⁰ in the portrayal of adorned birds which form the capitals of columns.

The capitals of columns of certain *khorans* in the Lviv Gospels (fol.7v,8r)²¹ and in the Gospels of Isfahan are decorated with lions or "wolves" (expression of A.von Euw)²² masks. The same phenomenon appears also in the *khorans* of other Cilician manuscripts of the same period, in the Skevra Gospels of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro, Mekhitharists Collec-

nate cross and crowned by peacocks, used for the head-piece of the Gospel of Matthew in the Lviv Gospels (fol.207r)²⁵ are almost identical with the head-pieces of the Gospel of Luke in the manuscripts of A.D. 1166²⁶ and of the two pages of a Gospels illustrated also at Hromkla in 1174 (formerly at Tokat and now lost). According to the colophon it was commissioned by a famous Cilician catholicos, a poet and composer Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali) and later it belonged to his nephew and successor, Grigor Tgha. The scribe's name is Grigor. Only the first pages of the Gospels of Mark and Luke from the latter manuscript are known through photographs.²⁷ The double Π shaped bands, joined by an ornate cross and crowned by peacocks, used for the head-piece are also represented in the first page of the Gospel of Luke in the manuscript of 1193 (Baltimore, Walters Museum, Ms.W538) and in the first page of Gospel of Luke in three Gospels copied by scribe Kozma, who is probably also the illuminator of those codices. One of his Gospels was illustrated at Hromkla in 1166 (Yerevan, Matenadaran collection, Ms.7347)²⁸. The second Gospels copied by him is dated to late 12th or early 13th century (Detroit, Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum). The commissioner of the book was Ter Kostandin, the bishop of Rapan (near Hromkla).²⁹ The third manuscript called Kharberd Gospels is dated to A.D.1205 (Venice, San Lazzaro, Ms. 938).³⁰ The



Fig. 5. Title page of Mathew of the Gospel of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro)

²⁵ Cf. *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, p. XV.

²⁶ Т. А. Измайлова, 'Мурганский образец в армянской миниатюрной живописи', *Труды Государственного Эрмитажа, Культура и искусство народов Востока*, 5 (1961), p. 88, fig. 9.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 95–97, fig.13,14; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery ...*, p. 9, pl. 24, fig. 34.

²⁸ Т. А. Измайлова, *op. cit.*, p. 88, fig. 9.

²⁹ *A Legacy of Armenian Treasures, Testimony to a People*, The Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, Michigan 2013, p. 20.

³⁰ M. Janashian, *Armenian Miniatures*, Venice 1966, fig. 65. Five manuscripts were copied and perhaps illuminated by a scribe named Kozma (1155–1220). Cf. Նորայր արք. Մովսիսի, *Հայ նկարողներ (ԺԱ.-ԺԷ. դար)*, Երևանում 1989, p. 11–13; S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia ...*, vol. 1, p. 10–12; *A Legacy of Armenian Treasures, Testimony to a People ...*, p. 21, 318.

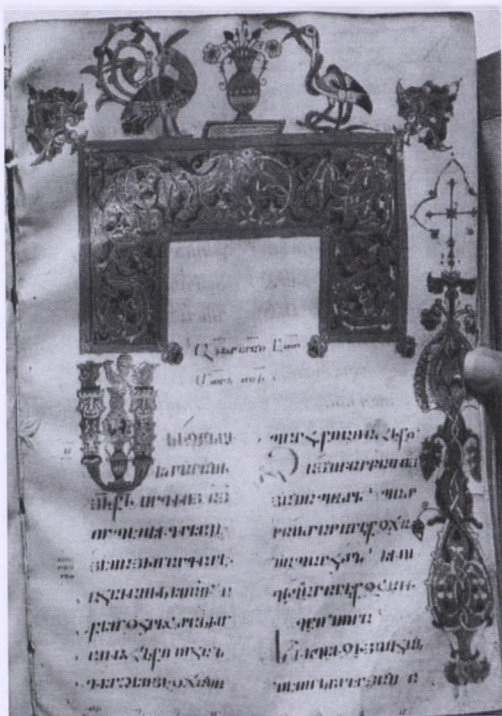


Fig. 6. Title page of the Gospel of Luke in Gospel of 1215 (Isfahan, Holy Saviour monastery collection, no. 546/25)

double Π shaped bands, joined by an ornate cross and crowned by peacocks also appear in the first page of the Gospel of Luke in another Gospels, already mentioned above, illustrated by Grigor Mlijetsi, started in 1215 but not completed.³¹

The comparison of the composition of the Lviv Gospels' initial pages with those of other Cilician codices from the same epoch allows to conclude that for all the above-mentioned codices' first pages the same prototype was used, which, however, was not used in next centuries.

The juxtaposition of the ornamentation of the first pages from all these codices reveals other interesting similarities too, especially when it comes to the decorated initials. It is evident that an angel, the symbol of Evangelist, who forms the initial (G) of the Gospel of Matthew in the Lviv Gospels (fol.12r)³² is almost identical with that of the Gospels of 1193 by a painter Kostandin.³³ In both cases the angel extends its right arm holding the book while it also holds the edge of its wings with the left hand.

Raised wings of the lion delineate two vertical bars of the initial U (S) of Mark's Gospel (fol.130r)³⁴ and the lion holds the Gospel in its claws. It is not hard to notice that the artist referred here to one of the favourite initials of Cilician miniaturists of the 12-13th centuries, where the beardless adolescent figure of Christ Emmanuel stands on the lion's back.³⁵

This initial emerges after its appearance on the title page of Mark's Gospel³⁶. This and other illustrated pages were added in the 12th century to the Sebastia Gospels of 1066 (Matenadaran, No.311) which belonged to a famous Cilician catholicos, poet and composer

³¹ S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilician ...*, vol. 2, p.1, fig.104.

³² *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrifts ...*, pl. XI.

³³ S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles ...*, pl. XXIV, fig.46; J. Wolanska, *op. cit.*, fig. 21b, 21c.

³⁴ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig.. XIII.

³⁵ L.Chookaszian, 'Decorated Initials of Toros Roslin', *Հասկ Հայագիտական տարեգիրք*, 2009, p. 449-462.

³⁶ L. A. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, New York, 1961, fig. 13.

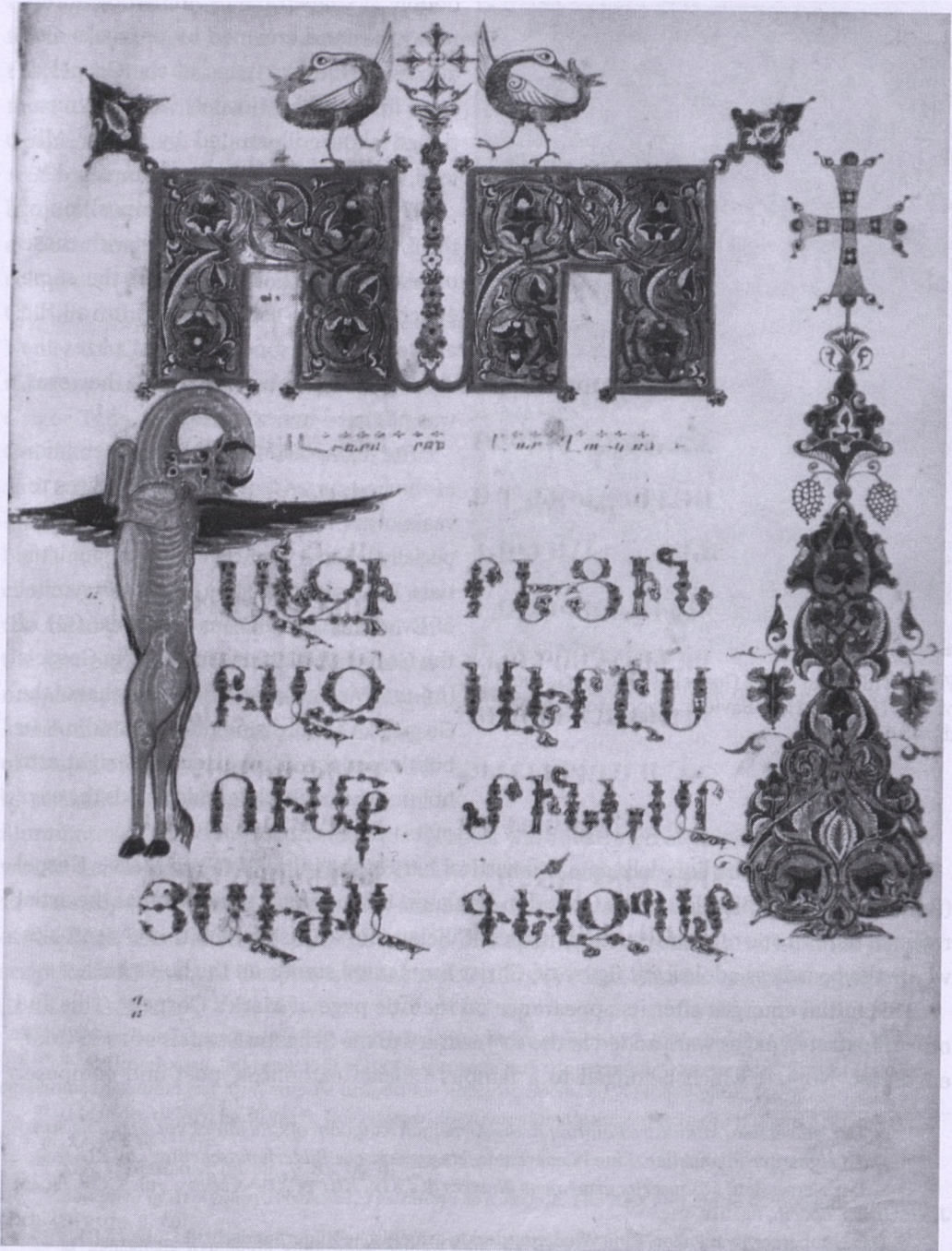


Fig. 7. Title page of the Gospel of Luke in Lviv Gospel



Fig. 8. Title page of the Gospel of Luke in Gospel of late 12th or early 13th Century (Detroit, Alex & Mary Manoogian Museum)

whole page like a belt spangled with flowers. The initial resembles delicate jewellery with its rendering. An eagle, the symbol of the Evangelist is perched on the top of the vertical bar of the initial highlighting its monumentality. John's half-figure, holding the Gospel in his hands, appears under the Evangelist's symbol. The tail of the letter is decorated with a human head and a bunch of flowers coming out from its mouth. The lion's mask represented in the middle of the bar bridges upper and lower parts of the initial. An identical letter is portrayed in the title pages of the Gospel of John in the Gospels of Hromkla of 1166 (Matenadaran, No.7347), in the manuscript of 1193 (collection in Venice), in Gospels copied by Kozma and dated to late 12th or early 13th century (Detroit, Alex and Marie Manoogian

Nerses the Gracious (Shnorhali)³⁷. There is no doubt that the winged bull, the symbol of Evangelist who forms the initial Թ (Q) of the Gospel of Luke in the Lviv Gospels (fol.207r)³⁸ is almost identical with that of the Gospels of 1193 by a painter Kostandin.³⁹ The animal's head is rotated here, while the muzzle leans on its back forming the ring of the initial. The column of the initial is conveyed by the elongated body of the bull while the horizontal bar is constituted by the wings pointing at different directions. We have an impression that the idea of decorating the initial in this manner originated from the decoration of the Gospel of Hromkla (Matenadaran, No. 7737) from the mid-12th century. It is illuminated with the motif of wicker, and the ring is constituted by the rotated head of the bull with its muzzle leaning on its back⁴⁰.

The character Ի (I), the initial of John in the Lviv Gospels (fol.327r)⁴¹ is particularly distinguished. Grigor Mlijetsi filled the vertical bar of the initial with a cross-like flower ornament. It stretches throughout the

³⁷ J. Wolanska, *op. cit.*, fig. 22b.

³⁸ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. XI.

³⁹ S. Der Nersessian, 'Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles ...', pl. XXV.

⁴⁰ L. A. Dournovo, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁴¹ *Das Lemberger Evangeliar, Eine Wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift ...*, fig. XVII.

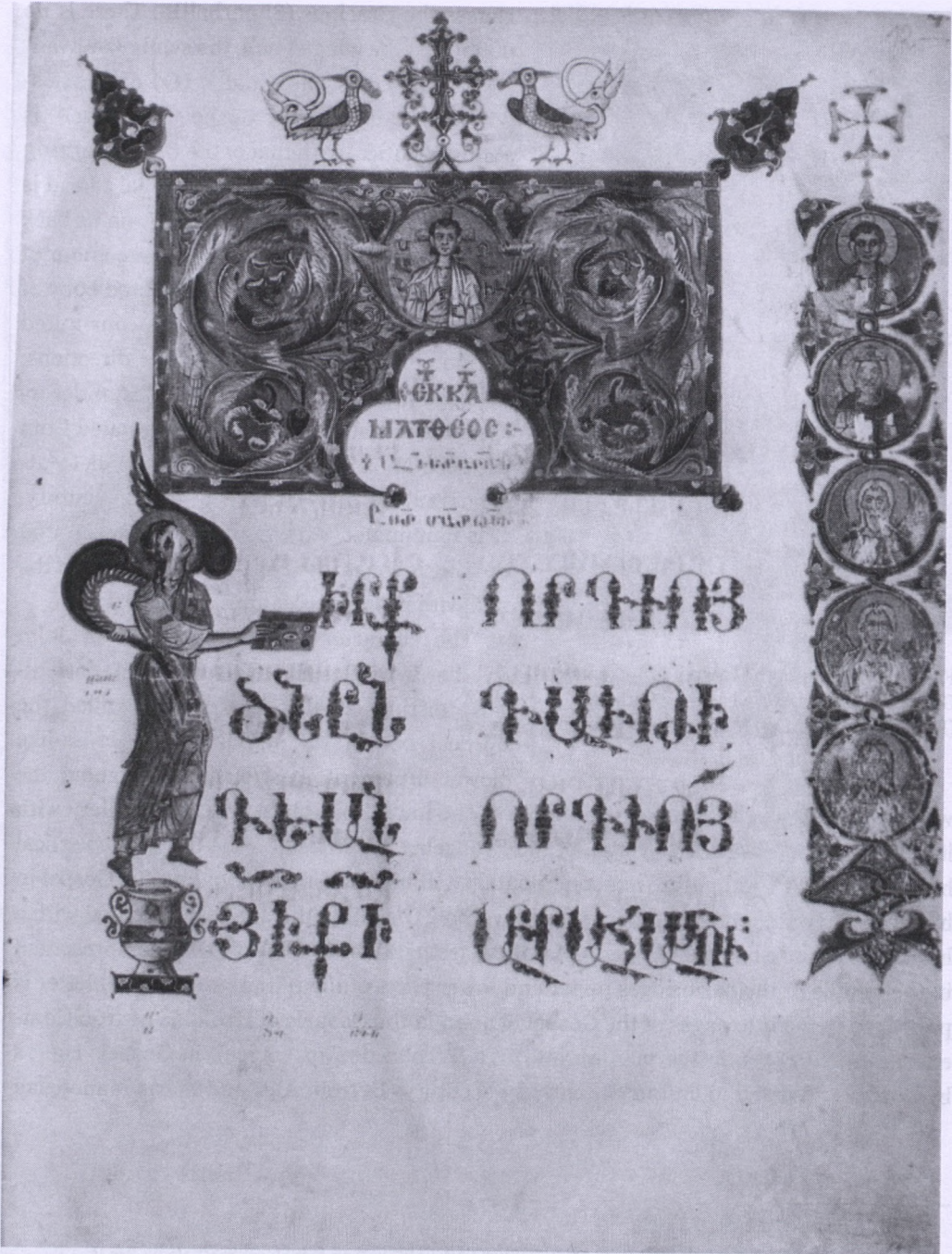


Fig. 9. Title page of the Gospel of Mathew in Lviv Gospel



Fig. 10. Title page of Mathew of the Gospel of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro, no.1635/125)



Fig. 11. Title page of the Gospel of Mark in Sebastia Gospel (Yerevan, Matenadaran collection, No.311)

Museum)⁴² and in several Cilician manuscripts of the 13th century⁴³. In all these examples, the tail of the initial somehow thrusts into the human head.

It is worth mentioning that this feature appears in one of Italian codices, particularly a Tuscan manuscript from the 12th century (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana), in the structure of the character **P**⁴⁴. We should mention that the initial presents us with the only known Italian example where the tail of the character ends with a human head holding flowers in the mouth. The reciprocal influence of Cilician and Tuscan manuscripts is natural since there were strong artistic connections between the Italian and Armenian communities that fostered the exchange of art production.

Among the marginal miniatures of Grigor Mlijetsi in the Lviv Gospels certain illustrations deserve special attention as they help not only to define the place of his artworks in the history of the Armenian book illumination but also offer some additional comprehen-

⁴² *A Legacy of Armenian Treasures, Testimony to a People, The Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum ...*, p.23.

⁴³ S. Der-Nersessian, 'Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles ...', pl. XXIX; B.Brentjes, St. Mnatsakanjan, N. Stepanjan, *Kunst der Mittelalters in Armenien*, Berlin 1981, fig. 230.

⁴⁴ K. Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, Oslo 1968, fig. 71.



Fig. 12. Title page of the Gospel of Luke in the Gospel of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro, no.1635/125)

sion of the prototypes that served as the source of inspiration for him.

The Incredulity of Thomas of the Lviv Gospels is the first work on this subject in the Armenian art, particularly in miniature painting. Therefore, it is impossible to find the type of canons or traditions that Grigor Mlijetsi inherited from his predecessors' experience. This is the reason why we have to turn to the monuments of neighboring and other nations to clarify as well as understand the uniqueness of the character of the artist's work.

Jesus takes Thomas's right hand with a strong, highly expressive gesture (as if preparing to punish him) and brings it closer to the wound on his side. The artist particularly stresses the strength of this hand. Besides, opposing the straight pose of Christ to the weak-willed, unattractive figure of Thomas, Grigor Mlijetsi emphasizes Christ's magnificence. With the use of this, he increases the spiritual gap between the two central personages.

As a rule, Byzantine and Syrian painters portrayed Christ against the background of door, between two groups of disciples⁴⁵. This composition dates back to the early Christian art: it appears on one of the ampoules from Palestine in Monza Cathedral (6th century)⁴⁶. In mid-Byzantine period and in the 11th century similar symmetric iconographic formulas were finally formed, gained a finished and polished shape and began to be copied throughout centuries.

Along with these kinds of artworks others were created and spread, where doubting Thomas is presented standing in solitude or together with other disciples in a non-symmetrical arrangement on Christ's left or right. This tradition is more ancient than the one from the ampoule of Monza Cathedral. The evidence of this is the relief on the sarcophagus from St. Celcia's church in Milan (second half of the 4th c.), an ivory diptych from the Treasury of Milan Cathedral (5th

⁴⁵ Cf. E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar, The Cycle of Text Illustrations*, vol. 2, Chicago 1936, p. 417-419; A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Berlin 1934, fig.15, 127; G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, vol.3, Gütersloh 1971, p. 110, fig. 347,349.

⁴⁶ E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willboughby, *op. cit.*, p. 417; J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaque a peintures conservés dans les Bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris 1964, p. 277; G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, fig. 268, 341, 345.



Fig. 13. Title page of the Gospel of John in Lviv Gospel



Fig. 14. Title page of John of the Gospel of 1193 (Venice, San Lazzaro, no. 1635/125)

century), the image from the silver reliquary of Pascal I (817-824)⁴⁷. Despite the fact that in the art of Western Europe, and in Italian art in particular, the preferable Byzantine prototype became renowned, images with asymmetrical composition also gained popularity⁴⁸.

Observing the above-mentioned examples illustrating the same scene, art historians distinguished three main types of the Incredulity of Thomas images. One part of works represents Christ with a raised hand, demonstrating his wounded side to Thomas. The Incredulity of Thomas is mainly rendered in this way in Byzantine and in several European examples⁴⁹. The other group of illustrations interprets the same story in another way: the Teacher catches the disciple's hand and approaches it to his side, so the latter is able to make sure of the presence of the wound⁵⁰. Grigor Mlijetsi gave a preference to this rarely used canonic version. The studied scenes picture Christ taking Thomas's hand to

the wound very infrequently. Works with an identical feature are rare.

The sculpture on the tympanum of St. Thomas's church in Strasbourg is considered to be the first example with the detail of our interest⁵¹. Being similar to Grigor Mlijetsi's miniature on the one hand, this German sculpture has several important differences; two main personages are depicted between Peter and John, there are no other apostles or doors, etc⁵².

Several scholars date the Strasbourg sculpture to the 20's of the 13th century, others to approximately 1230 or 1250-1255.⁵³ Certain scholars, without proving their opinions,

⁴⁷ G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 343.

⁴⁸ A. M. Latil, *Le Miniature nel rotoli dell'Exultet*, Montecassino 1899, fig. 3; E. Sandberg-Vavala, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, Verona 1929, fig. 332-337.

⁴⁹ Cf. Ch. Rehaut de Fleury, *Les Saints de la Messe et leurs Monuments*, vol. 9, Paris 1899, fig. IV-VIII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXV; *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1971, p. 383-384.

⁵⁰ *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 4, Rom, Frieberg, Basel, Wien 1972, p. 301-303.

⁵¹ G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 361. Cf. В.Н.Лазарев, *Византийское и древнерусское искусство*, Москва 1978, p. 97-105.

⁵² O. Schmitt, *Gotische Skulpturen des Strassburger Munster*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main, 1924, fig. 33.

⁵³ H. Jantzen, *Deutsche Bildhauer des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 68, fig. 28.

consider that German works have something in common with Byzantine art⁵⁴, dismissing the fact that the studied iconography was not known to Byzantine masters.

The miniature of the Lviv Gospel shows some similarity not only to the Strasbourg example, but also to Syrian iconography: Thomas and Christ are represented in the same way in the miniatures of two Syrian Gospels of the same time. Those codices are the manuscript of 1226 (Midiat, Syrian-orthodox episcopate) and the manuscript of the beginning of the 13th c. (Paris, National Library, syr. 355)⁵⁵. Having one common trait with the miniature of Grigor Mlijetsi and the German sculpture,

the Syrian illustrations differ from them in other essential features. The compared examples indicate a middle transitional stage between the first and the third group of artworks. All these groups are not cut off from each other but coexist and are related to one another.

Grigor Mlijetsi's miniature reveals certain connections with the third group portraying Incredulity of Thomas. This group of artworks represents Christ in the moment when he brings the disciple's hand into his wound⁵⁶. Sometimes being considered an innovative⁵⁷, in reality this version goes back to early Christianity. Highly spread in Europe and considered Western, this iconographic scheme has ancient oriental roots⁵⁸. We can see it in the above-mentioned ampoule from Monza⁵⁹.

It is not accidental that a number of illuminators of Syrian manuscripts from 12–13th



Fig. 15. Incredulity of Thomas in the Lviv Gospels

⁵⁴ Cf. H. Jantzen, *op. cit.*, s. 57.

⁵⁵ J. Leroy, *op. cit.*, pl. 109. 3, 69.1.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ K. Laske, O. Holl, R. von Dobschutz, G. Jászari, *op. cit.*, p. 301–303.

⁵⁸ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, p. 290, 345.

⁵⁹ E. C. Colwell and H. R. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 417; J. Leroy, *op. cit.*, p. 277; G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, fig. 343.

centuries⁶⁰ - two Arabic and Copt-Arabic manuscripts⁶¹ as well as the creator of the Syrian mosaic of 1169 in the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem⁶² followed this iconographic type.

This version appears only in the miniature of the Byzantine Gospels (Vienna, National Library, Theol. Gr. 154) of the 3rd quarter of 11th century⁶³ and in several Western examples as well- in the miniature of the Gospels of the Abbey of St. Martin in Cologne⁶⁴, and that of the French Psalter of Blanche de Castille of 1230⁶⁵ and other works.

The scene of Christ and the Samaritan Woman (fig. 16) is represented in one of the margins of the Lviv Gospels (folio 339r.). It is a simple composition, which consists solely of images of Christ and the Woman of Samaria. The first Armenian artwork illustrating this theme that has come down to us is the miniature of the Gospels from the 11th century from Yerevan Matenadaran (No.10780). It is also an abbreviated version, where the right side of the composition is occupied by Christ and the left by the Woman. Christ is seated and conversing with the standing Woman holding the rope of a bucket. In the Lviv Gospels miniature, as in the case of the Matenadaran manuscript's illustration, the apostles or people of Samaria are not included, but they often appear in Byzantine examples. This compositional scheme is characteristic for works of the early period and is rare in the mid-Byzantine era.⁶⁶ This simple scene corresponds to "monumental Hellenistic tradition of the metropolis" and the oriental tradition is observed in examples that contain the episode of the Samaritan Woman speaking to Samaritans.⁶⁷ The scene appears rather in the artworks created before the 12th century and is rare in the next centuries.⁶⁸ In the Lviv Gospels the scene of Christ and the Samaritan Woman corresponds with the iconography of the mid-Byzantine formula. The sitting Christ and the Woman holding the rope with one hand remind us of the earliest prototype, the one showing the standing Woman holding a bucket. Besides this, the miniature of the Lviv Gospels contains traits characteristic for certain German artworks of the 12th century, namely Christ is seated on the left and the Woman is standing on the right, the Woman also holds the rope with one hand and the well is with a roll.⁶⁹ The illustrations of Syriac manuscripts of 12-13th centuries do not show this abbreviated

⁶⁰ J. Leroy, *op. cit.*, pl. 94.3, 94.4, 135.1, 145.2.

⁶¹ K. Wessel, *op. cit.*, s. 385-386.

⁶² Cf. W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton, H. A. A. Cruso, A. C. Headlam, *The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, London, 1910, pl. 2.

⁶³ Cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont Athos*, Paris, 1960, p. 577, no. 5; K. Wessel, *op. cit.*, p. 385-386.

⁶⁴ G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Cf. W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton, H. A. A. Cruso, A. C. Headlam, *The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, London 1910, fig. 2; В. Н. Лазарев, *История византийского искусства*, vol. I, Москва 1986, p. 104.

⁶⁵ J. Dupont et C. Gnudi, *La peinture gothique*, Geneve, 1954, p. 28.

⁶⁶ S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, vol. 1, Paris 1966, p.24, pl.6.

⁶⁷ O. Demus, *Norman Sicily ...*, p. 282.

⁶⁸ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1, London 1971, p. 456.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, fig. 454, 456.

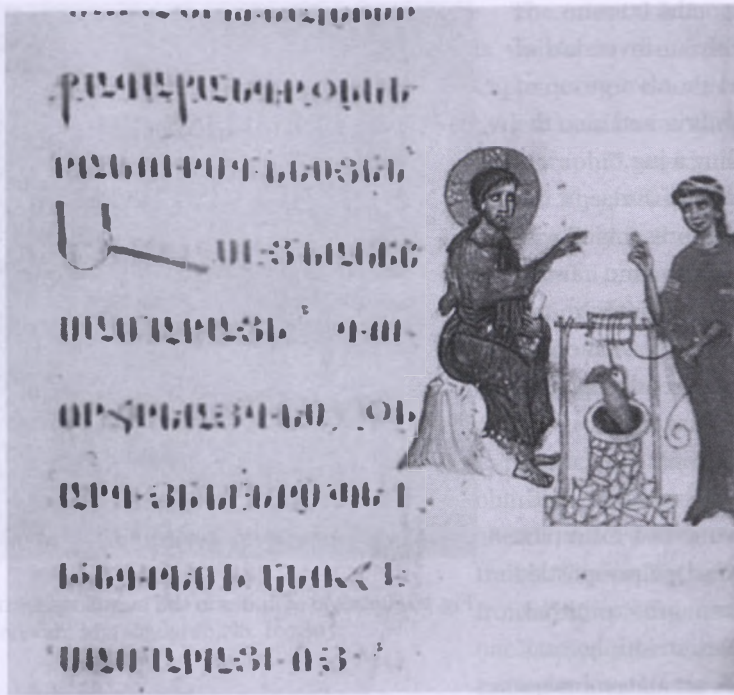


Fig. 16. Christ and the Samaritan Woman in Lviv Gospel



Fig. 17. Christ & the Samaritan Woman, Gospel of 11th century (Yerevan, Matenadaran, No. 10780)

composition, the scene is portrayed with an inversion of the sides and shows a group of people of Samaria and also the Woman holding a jug.⁷⁰

The betrayal of Judas in the Lviv Gospels represents Christ standing straight and Judas approaching from the right and embracing him. The Armenian painter is not rendering the episode of the kiss. Judas is not portrayed in profile "a posture traditionally associated with evil" as in numerous examples in Christian art. The apostles and soldiers are omitted. Judas advances stealthily, as if ashamed of his act and embraces Christ's shoulders. Medieval

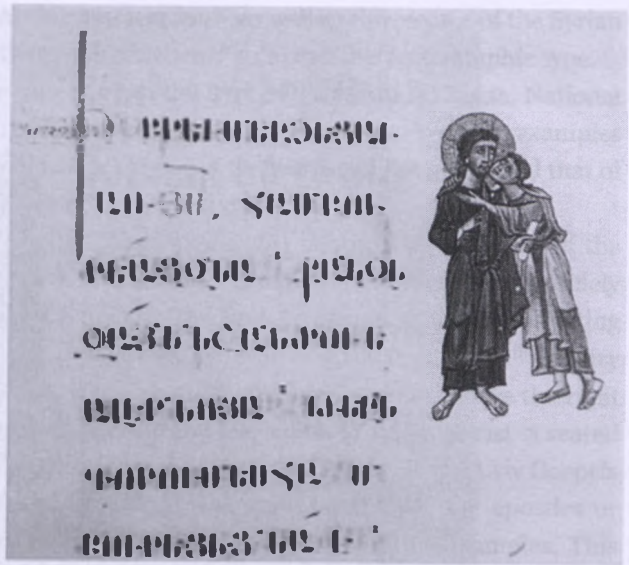


Fig. 18. Betrayal of Judas in the Lviv Gospel

artists have tried various means to oppose Christ to Judas. One of the most common of the canons was rendering the image of Judas much smaller than the figure of Christ.⁷¹ Christ in the Lviv Gospels is more than a head taller than the traitor. Moreover, Grigor Mlijetsi refers to other methods in his work. Here, next to the frozen, strong figure of Christ a sinister Judas is shown.

Judas approaching from the right is characteristic for the oriental type of iconography of this theme, and his approach from the left corresponds to the Hellenistic type.⁷² The betrayal of Judas is found for the first time in the Armenian miniature in the 11th century in manuscripts copied in Minor Armenia. The authors of these illustrations follow the Hellenistic iconography.⁷³ During the same period in Armenian book illumination appears also the oriental version of the Betrayal of Judas. It occurs in the miniature of the Gospels from the 11th century from Yerevan Matenadaran (No.10780) that was mentioned above. Here, as in the Lviv Gospels, Judas occupies the right side.

⁷⁰ J. Leroy, *op.cit.*, fig. 96.3, 96.4, 116.2

⁷¹ L. Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chretien*, vol. 2, Paris 1957, p. 434.

⁷² G.Millet, *Recherches...*, p. 326.

⁷³ T. A. Ismailova, 'L'iconographie du cycle de fêtes d'une groupe de codex armeniens d'Asie Mineure', *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes*, 4 (1967), p.149, fig. 24, 25, 26.



Fig. 19. The Betrayal of Judas, The miniatures of Gospel of 11th century (Yerevan, Matenadaran, No. 10780)

The oriental iconographic type is visible in the frescoes of the Cappadocian churches.⁷⁴ In the Syrian miniatures the Hellenistic iconographic version is seen more often. The oriental formula is present only in the illustrations of two Syrian manuscripts from the beginning of the 13th century.⁷⁵ The figure of Christ with a scroll and blessing gesture in the miniature of the Lviv Gospels reminds the Cappadocian frescoes. Christ, oblivious to Judas, stares blankly ahead, not rushing to meet the traitor. These quiet, motionless and frontal interpretations of this image one can see in certain Cappadocian examples such as frescoes in

Karanlek Kilise, Elmalı Kilise and Charekle Kilise, dating from the 11th or 12th century.

The facts and observations mentioned above demonstrate the parallels of the Lviv Gospels' miniatures and help understand the world of artistic inspirations of Grigor Mlijetsi much better. Further research of the illustrations of the Lviv Gospels can reveal more facts about the work of this painter and introduce other connections of his miniatures with the artifacts of Armenian and non-Armenian masters.

Les quatre bases entourées
sont des dessins linéaires et des formes circulaires. La première ressemble à un toit, la
deuxième à un arc, la troisième à un losange, la quatrième a de grands pieds en fer et
des courbes forment un dôme avec un tour de la base. Même si, naturellement, cette image
n'est pas la représentation littérale de la croix, cependant le miniaturiste a tout fait pour
donner à la scène une impression reconnaissable.

Dans le prospectus de Dandil le premier bas est décrit ainsi : « La première ressem-
blait à un toit, et avait des ailes d'aigle. Pendant que le regardais, ses ailes ont déployé-

⁷⁴ G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle Province de l'Art Byzantin, Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, vol. I, Paris 1925, pl. 49, fig. 1 ; pl. 62, fig. 2; *Ibidem*, vol. II, Paris 1928, pl.105, fig. 5 ; pl. 120, fig. 4 ; pl. 129, fig. 4, pl. 140, fig. 3; *Ibidem*, vol. II, Paris 1934, pl.177, fig. 3); N. et M.Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, fig.28; Ж. Лафонтэн-Дозонь, 'Росписи церкви, называемой Чемлекчи Килисеи проблема присутствия армян в Каппадокии', in: *Византия, южные славяне и Древняя Русь, Западная Европа. Сборник статей в честь В. Н. Лазарева*, Москва 1973 p. 86.

⁷⁵ J. Leroy, *op.cit.*, pl. 89, fig. 3; pl. 109, fig. 2.

La vision du Prophète Daniel dans le Lectionnaire du Prince Het'um II

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Probablement l'une des plus luxueuses et mystérieuses scènes du manuscrit, « La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes », décore de haut en bas la marge du folio 129a du Lectionnaire écrit et illustré en 1286 sur l'ordre du prince Het'um II¹. Cette représentation est, comme les autres images marginales de ce manuscrit, un exemple incomparable dans la peinture arménienne. Sa particularité n'est pas seulement le thème, dont quelques exemples sont connus, mais aussi le style qui est, dans l'art arménien, une totale innovation.

Au-dessus de la marge de la page, Dieu le Père est dessiné dans le médaillon rayonné, et la vision elle-même se développe dans la marge latérale. Au-dessus de la page un ange s'approche de l'image de Daniel endormi horizontalement, et le touche de la main. Au-dessous on peut distinguer avec difficulté, dans l'image marginale, les quatre bêtes entrelacées avec des dessins feuillus et des formes animales. La première ressemble à un lion, la deuxième à un ours, la troisième à un léopard ; la quatrième a de grandes dents en fer et ses dix cornes forment un demi-cercle autour de la tête. Même si, naturellement, cette image n'est pas la représentation littérale de la vision, cependant le miniaturiste a tout fait pour donner à la scène une impression percutante.

Dans la prophétie de Daniel la première bête est décrite ainsi : « La première ressemblait à un lion, et avait des ailes d'aigle. Pendant que je regardais, ses ailes ont été arrachées, elle a été soulevée de terre et mise debout sur ses pattes comme un homme, et un cœur d'homme lui a été donné »². Dans l'image du Lectionnaire de Het'um, la tête et les ailes du lion sont clairement visibles, mais les ailes ne ressemblent pas beaucoup à celles

¹ Erevan, Maténadaran M. Maštoc', manuscrit 979, folio 129a, image 1.

² La prophétie de Daniel 4-5.

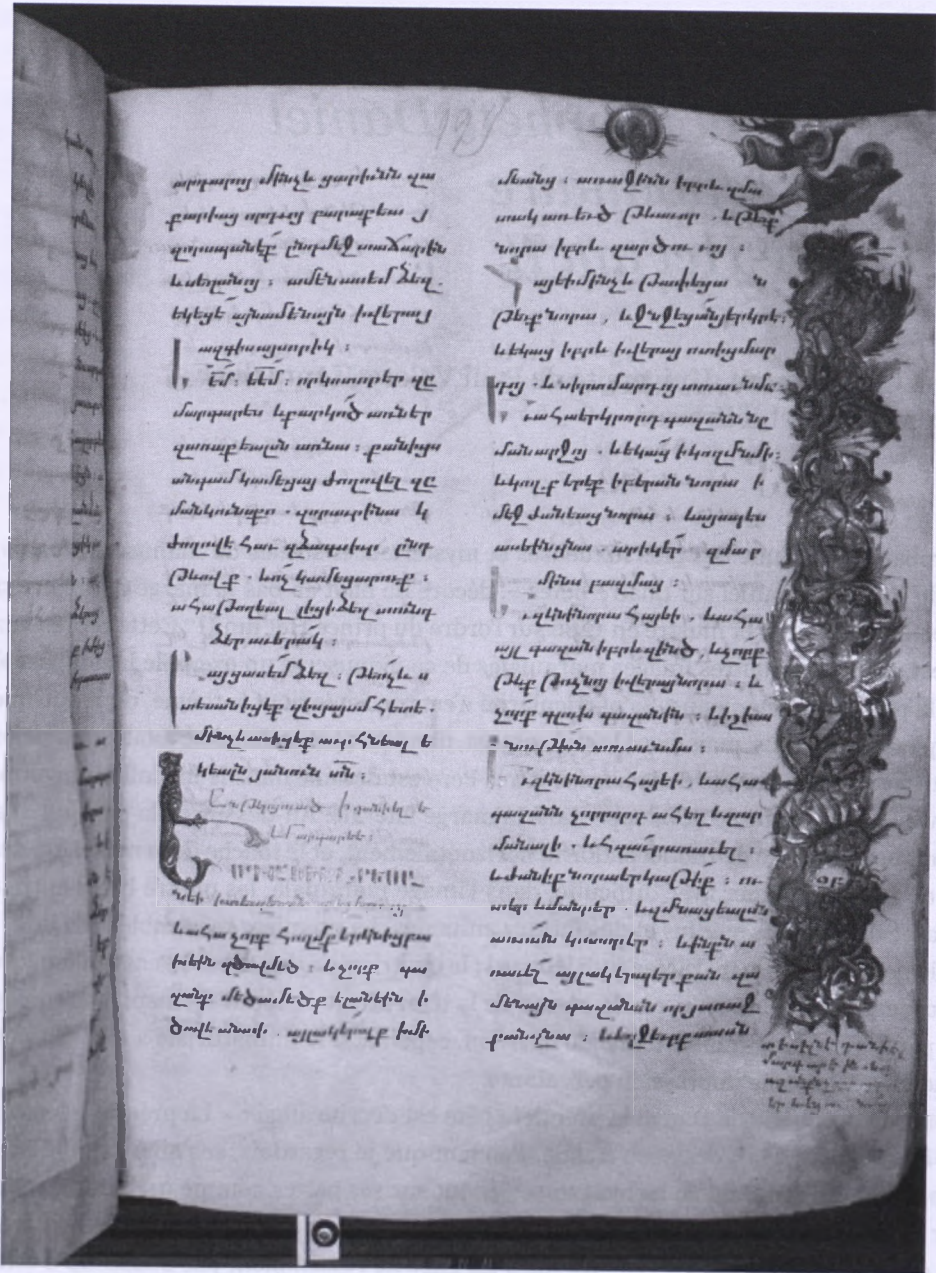


Fig. 1. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Lectionnaire du prince Het'um II de 1286, Erevan, Maténadaran M. Maštoc', Ms. 979, folio 129a

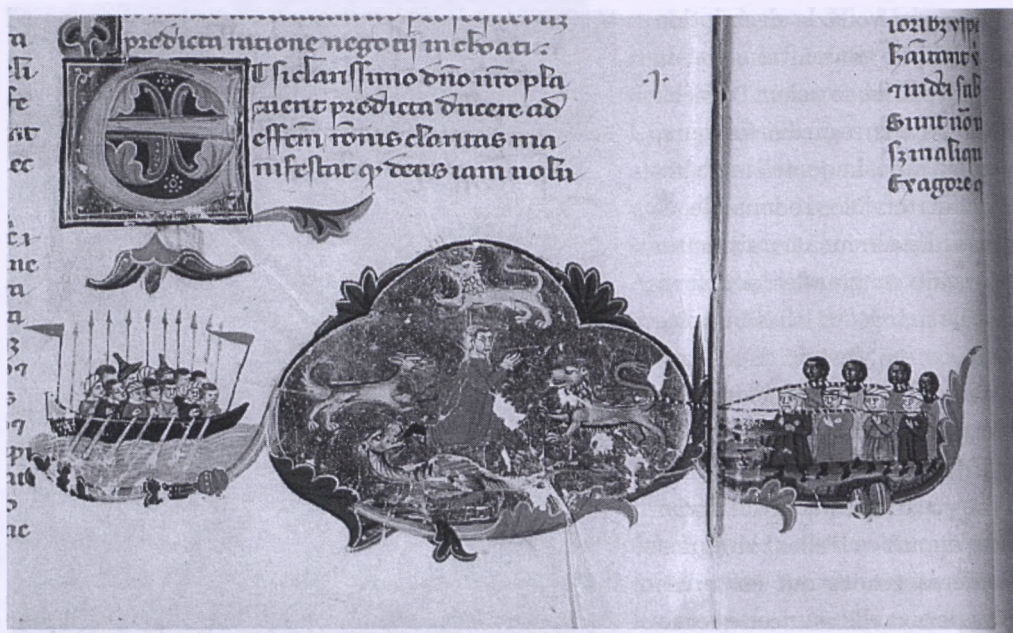


Fig. 2. Het'um II entre quatre bêtes, illustration dans la copie du XIV^e siècle du *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* de Marino Sanuto (1321), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 548, f. 13v-14

de l'aigle. Le corps de la bête se compose de quelques animaux : ce sont le lièvre, l'ours, le poisson et la panthère. Dans le corps on aperçoit deux têtes humaines à la barbe grise.

D'après Daniel la deuxième bête avait l'apparence suivante et puis est apparue la deuxième bête qui ressemblait à un ours, elle était dressée sur un côté et elle avait trois côtes dans la gueule entre les dents. On lui disait : « Lève-toi, mange beaucoup de viande »³. Dans notre miniature la deuxième bête ressemble plus à un crocodile qu'à un ours, même si deux ours, un lièvre et une biche font partie du corps de la bête ; dans sa gueule, on voit clairement les trois côtes.

Dans la prophétie de Daniel la troisième bête est décrite ainsi : « Après ça je regardai et voilà j'ai vu une autre bête qui me ressemblait : sur lui il y avait quatre ailes comme celles d'un oiseau : la bête avait quatre têtes, et la domination lui a été donnée »⁴. Cet animal est illustré dans le Lectionnaire avec l'apparence d'un léopard avec quatre têtes, deux ailes, et les parties du corps sont composées de deux poissons, d'un lièvre et d'un autre animal vert difficile à identifier, pareil à un reptile. Dans le corps trois têtes humaines grises sont cachées.

³ La prophétie de Daniel 5-6.

⁴ La prophétie de Daniel 6-7.

Et enfin voilà la description de la bête la plus affreuse et la plus mystérieuse selon Daniel : « Après ça je regardai toujours, et voilà j'ai vu la quatrième bête, qui était terrible, redoutable et extraordinairement puissante. Elle avait de grandes dents en fer. Elle mangeait, brisait et piétinait ce qui restait. Elle était différente de toutes les bêtes précédentes et avait dix cornes. Je regardais très étonné ses cornes et j'ai vu une autre petite corne sortir du milieu d'elles : trois des premières cornes ont été arrachées devant elle : sur cette corne il y avait des yeux pareils à ceux d'un homme et une bouche qui parlait avec arrogance »⁵.

Le maître illustrant le *Lectonnaire* a peint cette bête en deux visages : humain et animal.

Le visage animal ressemble à un lion. Les dix cornes sont illustrées clairement et la petite corne arrachée de la dixième corne, qui a reçu un visage humain. Le corps de la bête est composé des images de la biche, du léopard et du poisson, et ici on aperçoit aussi deux têtes aux barbes grises humaines cachées.

La vision nocturne du Prophète Daniel a été commentée par plusieurs chercheurs, qui ont proposé diverses opinions en comparant les bêtes avec les grands royaumes et les grandes monarchies, qui ont été détruits avec le temps⁶. Même au Moyen Âge, dans divers pays, les hommes ont essayé de lier le rêve de Daniel avec les monarques et les rois de leurs temps. Par conséquent, de telles analyses existaient également dans le Royaume arménien de Cilicie.

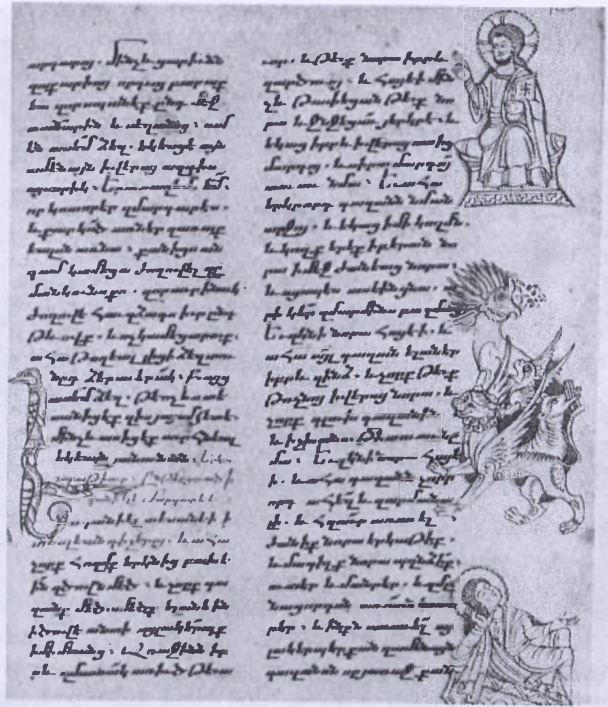


Fig. 3. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, *Lectonnaire* de Tonrak, 1331, Patriarcat arménien de Jérusalem Ms. 95, fol. 142

⁵ La prophétie de Daniel 7–8.

⁶ À la fin des années 1800, l'écrivain Clarence Larkin, pasteur de l'église américaine, avait commenté en détail, dans le livre « *The Book of Daniel* » (Clarence Larkin, *The Book of Daniel*, Kessinger Publishing, 2004, p. 35) toutes les visions de Daniel. Il a dessiné avec des calculs précis et il a établi des parallèles entre la statue de fer du roi Nabuchodonosor et les quatre bêtes de la vision de Daniel. D'après C. Larkin, la première bête est Babylone, la deuxième bête est l'Empire Mède-Perse, la troisième est la Grèce/les quatre têtes de la bête symbolisent l'Empire d'Alexandre de Macédoine/, et la quatrième bête est l'Empire de Rome.

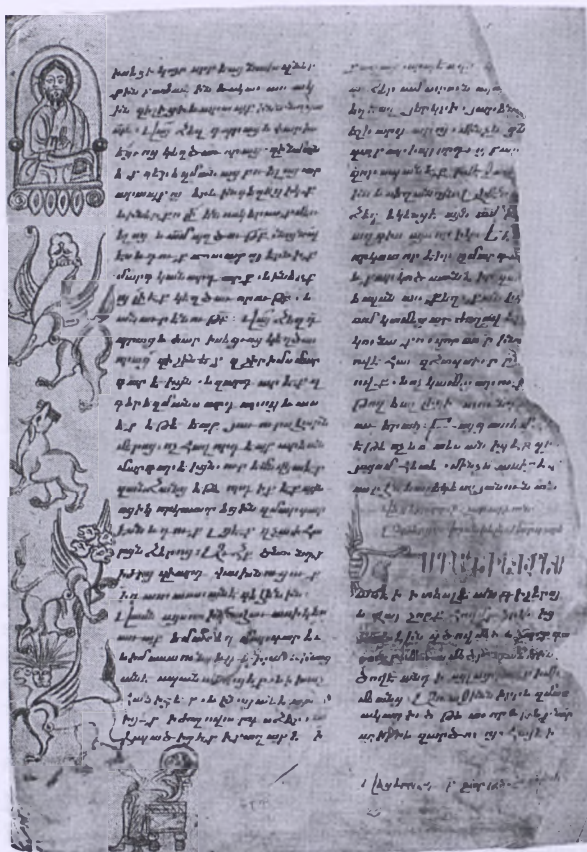


Fig. 4. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Lec- tionnaire de Yeznka de 1362, Maténadaran M. Maštoc', MS 4519, fol. 32

Le règne de Het'um II représente la période la plus difficile de l'histoire de la Cilicie. L'indépendance du royaume était alors menacée par les coups ris- qués du jeune Het'um. A cause de son comportement latinophile, Al- Ashraf Khalil, le sultan d'Egypte, avait annulé le traité de paix de 10 ans signé en 1285 et avait, en 1292, assiégé et envahi la rési- dence du catholicos, la forteresse de Hromkla. L'avance future des troupes du sultanat fut enrayée en échange de la cession de quelques forteresses⁷. Au printemps 1298, les troupes du sultanat d'Egypte et du califat voisin avaient envahi les régions Sud-Est du pays avec quelques villes fortifiées⁸.

Marino Sanuto, historien et géographe italien du quinzième siècle, résume, en usant d'expres- sions imagées, l'état peu reluisant du pays : « Le roi de l'Arménie, Het'um II,- écrit- il, se trouve sous les crocs des quatre prédateurs,

sous ceux du lion ou des Tatares, à qui il paie des impôts lourds, sous ceux du léopard ou du Sultan, qui détruit nuit et jour ses frontières, sous ceux du loup ou des Turcs, qui ruinent son pouvoir, et sous ceux du serpent ou des pirates de nos mers, qui rongent les os des chrétiens de l'Arménie. »⁹. Dans une copie du XIV^e siècle du *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*¹⁰ de Marino Sanuto (1321), une illustration présentant Het'um II entre quatre bêtes,

⁷ C. Mutafian, Entre le trône et le couvent. Het'oum II Roi d'Arménie (1289-1307), dans : *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins, fin XI-milieu XV^e siècle*, Textes réunis par Isabelle Augé et Gérard Dedeyan, (Orient Chrétien Médiéval), Geuthner 2009, p. 3-5

⁸ Ibid. p. 6-7.

⁹ L. Տեր-Պետրոսյան, *Խաչակիրները և Հայերը, Ուսումնասիրություններ*, Volume A, Études et tra- ductions, Երևան 2005, pages 409-410.

¹⁰ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 548, f. 13v-14.



Fig. 5. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Beatus de Saint-Sever, XI^e siècle, BNF Latin 8878, folio 51



Fig. 6. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Beatus de Liébana, une imitation réalisé en 1109 à Saint-Dominique de Silos, British Library, MS 11695, fol. 240

a même été préservée¹¹. On peut considérer ce commentaire comme une hypothèse originale pour supposer que, pendant le règne du roi Het'um II, les interprétations de la vision de Daniel ont eu lieu dans le Royaume arménien, en liaison avec l'état du pays.

Dans la miniature arménienne, les illustrations des visions commencent à apparaître à la fin du XIII^e siècle, et plus tard, elles deviennent la partie traditionnelle de la Bible.¹² Pour l'illustration de ces thèmes n'ayant pas de prototypes, les miniaturistes étaient obligés d'inventer des conceptions toutes nouvelles en utilisant toute leur imagination. Il est à noter que la scène « La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes » se rencontre encore dans deux manuscrits de la miniature arménienne qui remontent au XIV^e siècle. Il est surtout intéressant de noter que ces deux manuscrits sont des Lectionnaires et que, dans chacun, la scène qui nous intéresse est présentée comme une image marginale¹³. Sans doute le Lectionnaire de Het'um II a-t-il été le prototype pour ces deux représentations. Dans le premier des deux manuscrits, le Lectionnaire de T'onrak daté de 1331 (image 3), les bêtes ne sont pas illustrées totalement ou tout au long de la page comme dans le Lectionnaire

¹¹ Image 2 ; publiée dans C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XI^e-XIV^e siècle)*, Paris 2012, vol. 2, image 111.

¹² E. Korkhmazian, I. Drampian, G. Hakobian, *Armenian Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Leningrad 1984, plate 6.

¹³ Images 3 et 4.

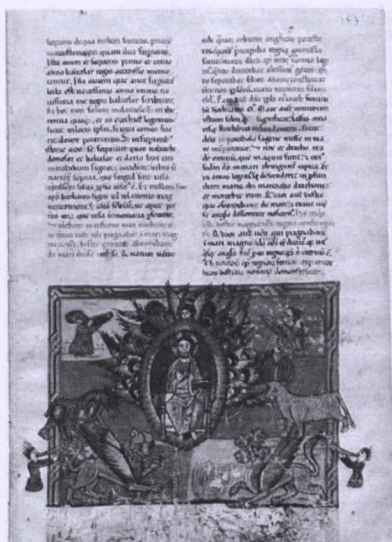


Fig. 7. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Apocalypse de Las Huelgas de 1220, Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan, New York, MS M.429, fol. 163



Fig. 8. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, Beatus de Liébana de 1220 réalisé au Monastère San Andrés de Aroyo de Palencia, collection privée de Bernard Breslauer (New York)

de Het'um. Dans cet exemple on voit à moitié les têtes de trois bêtes et c'est seulement la première bête qui est entièrement illustrée. Au-dessus de la page on voit l'image de Dieu le Père sur le trône et, au-dessous, c'est Daniel dormant. On observe presque la même conception dans le deuxième manuscrit, qui est le Lectionnaire de Yeznka de 1362 (Maténadaran MS 4519)¹⁴. Ici, les bêtes sont illustrées entièrement, à part, le long de la marge (image 4). Les deux images marginales sont schématiques, graphiques, sans couleurs, et très primitives à la différence de la miniature du Lectionnaire de Het'um.

Comment peut-on expliquer l'apparition de cette image fantastique dans le Lectionnaire de Het'um II et, en général, dans les deux Lectionnaires suivants ? On doit chercher la réponse à cette question dans un extrait de texte des manuscrits, en n'oubliant pas que l'on a affaire à un type de manuscrit qui est une collection de cantiques, de prières et d'extraits choisis de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament qu'on lit pendant les liturgies¹⁵.

L'image marginale « La vision du Prophète Daniel des quatre bêtes » dans le Lectionnaire correspond à la lecture du sixième mercredi de Carême. Le sixième dimanche de Carême est appelé le Dimanche des Rameaux, et toute la sixième semaine symbolise la première venue de Jésus Christ. « Une telle vérité a été confirmée que l'humanité a eu la possibilité de

¹⁴ E. Korkhmazian, I. Drampian, G. Hakobian, *Armenian manuscripts ...*, plate 6, Daniel's Vision.

¹⁵ Ch. Renu, « La création et le développement du livre "Lectionnaire" », *Revue historique-pédagogique*, 2 (1987), p. 28-45.

prendre la voie de salut avec la venue du Sauveur »¹⁶. Ce dimanche porte en même temps le conseil de la seconde venue du Christ.

Dans les Évangiles et les Épîtres des Apôtres il y a plusieurs extraits et réflexions consacrés à la seconde venue du Christ. Dieu annonce cette seconde venue et ses présages: « Vous entendrez des voix des guerres et des nouvelles des guerres ... Des nations se battront les unes contre les autres, et des Royaumes les uns contre les autres, et il y aura des famines, des épidémies et des tremblements de terre par endroit. Mais tout cela est le début des douleurs ... Et il y aura plusieurs faux prophètes qui duperont beaucoup de monde. Et l'amour de beaucoup de gens s'épuisera à cause de l'augmentation de l'injustice. Mais qui patiente jusqu'à la fin, il doit être sauvé »¹⁷. Quel est le lien de la deuxième venue avec Daniel et sa vision? Essayons de le comprendre qui était Daniel et quel était le conseil transmis par sa vision.

Daniel et ses amis se trouvaient avec les prisonniers juifs emmenés à Babylone en 597 par le roi Nabuchodonosor. Grâce à leur sagesse, ils avaient gagné la faveur du roi, mais restaient toujours fidèles à leur Dieu et refusaient de diviniser les idoles. De ce fait, les jeunes prisonniers furent persécutés par le roi pour leur foi inébranlable. Les trois amis de Daniel furent jetés dans le four de feu et Daniel dans la fosse aux lions ; à chaque fois, Dieu les avaient sauvés.

¹⁶ Շնորհք արքեպիսկոպոս Գալուստյան Մեծ պահքի կիրակիների ոսկե շրթան, Էջմիածին 2001, p. 88–90.

¹⁷ Mat. 24: 4–13.

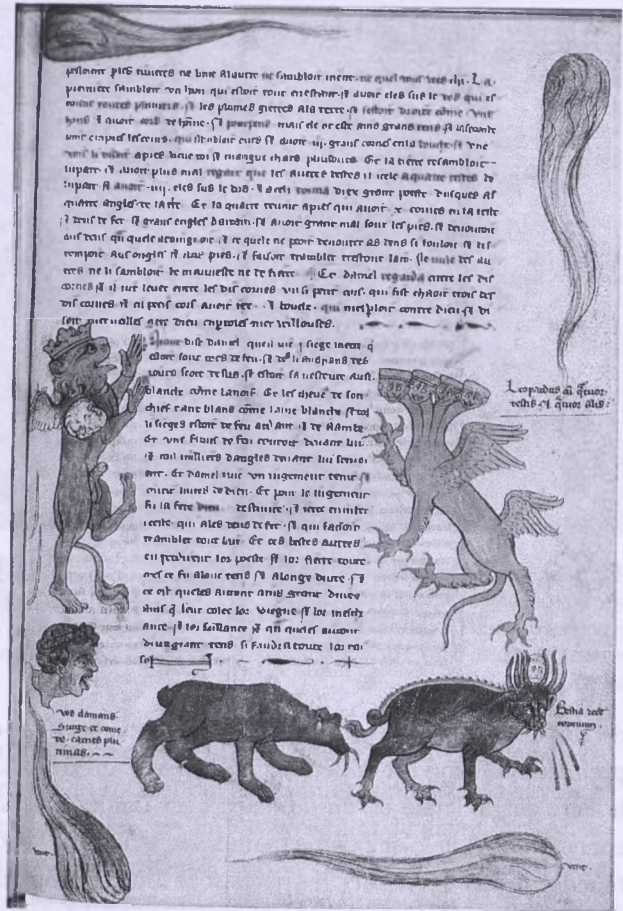


Fig. 9. La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes, «Les Interprétations de la Bible» de Moïse Ben Abraham datant de 1290–1300, Haag,

La Bibliothèque Nationale des Pays-Bas /KB, 131 A 3 fol. 34R/

Selon la Bible, à la fin de la vision sur les quatre bêtes, un vieillard apparaît, après la quatrième bête : « Pendant que je regardais, on a placé des trônes et l'Ancien des jours s'est assis. Son vêtement était aussi blanc que la neige et les cheveux de sa tête pareils à de la laine pure. Son trône était de flammes et ses roues étaient un feu dévorant. Un fleuve de feu débordé coulait et sortait de devant lui, des dizaines de milliers l'adoraient, et des centaines de millions se tenaient debout devant lui. Les juges se sont assis et les livres ont été ouverts »¹⁸.

Il est évident que l'Ancien des jours est Dieu le Père illustré au-dessus de la marge du Lectionnaire de Het'um. Le fleuve de feu symbolise les péchés de l'homme : le feu symbolise les péchés, les jeunes sont des gens que Dieu a sauvés des péchés et de la ruine¹⁹. On insiste sur ce point chaque matin pendant la liturgie, quand, après le psaume²⁰, le diacre dit dans le sermon que Christ est descendu dans la flamme du four et a sauvé les trois enfants des Chaldéens²¹.

A la fin de la description de la quatrième bête Daniel ajoute « J'ai alors regardé à cause des paroles arrogantes que prononçait la corne. Pendant que je regardais, la bête a été tuée. Son corps a été détruit et livré au feu pour être brûlé. Les autres bêtes ont été dépouillées de leur pouvoir, mais une prolongation de vie leur a été accordée pour un certain temps. »²² Même si Jésus ne dit quand aura lieu sa seconde venue, il affirme ce qui aura lieu avant son arrivée. Selon l'Évangile il y aura beaucoup de cas de ruine et d'agonie physique et morale avant le deuxième Jugement de Jésus. D'abord on verra « des faux Prophètes », qui prêcheront et déclareront « je suis Jésus » et tromperont beaucoup de gens. La petite corne « arrogante », est un de ces faux Prophètes, dont le pouvoir devrait être temporaire.



Fig. 10. La quatrième bête avec dix cornes, Haag, Beatus de Liébana de 1220 réalisée au Monastère San Andrés de Aroyo de Palencia, La Bibliothèque Nationale des Pays-Bas /KB, 131 A 3, fol 34

¹⁸ La prophétie de Daniel 10–11.

¹⁹ H. Քյոսեյան, Մ. Արաբյանը, *Մեկնությունն Ղանիելի Մարգարեության. Վարդան Արևելցի, Հովհաննես Օրբորեցի, Թովմա Մեծոփեցի, Էջմիածին 2007*, p. 206–211.

²⁰ Liturgie chantée le jour mémorial de la Résurrection de Lazare, « Béni sois-tu, Seigneur, Dieu de nos pères » (Daniel 52).

²¹ Շնորհք արքեպիսկոպոս Գալուստյան, *op. cit.*, p. 91–93.

²² La prophétie de Daniel 11–12.

Ensuite la vision de Daniel est conclue par ces mots-là : « Je voyais dans la vision nocturne que quelqu'un qui ressemblait à un Fils de l'homme est venu avec les nuées du ciel, il s'est avancé vers l'Ancien des jours et on l'a fait approcher de lui. On lui a donné la domination, la gloire et le règne : toutes les nations, les peuples et les hommes de toute langue l'ont servi : sa domination est une domination éternelle, qui ne cessera pas et son royaume ne sera jamais détruit. »²³ Dans sa prophétie, Daniel appelle Jésus Fils de l'Homme. L'expression « Fils de l'homme » est un titre messianique et, dans les Évangiles, Christ se nomme aussi 82 fois Fils de l'homme.²⁴ Maintenant il n'y a pas de doute sur le fait que Daniel évoque la seconde venue du Christ et c'est là que réside le mystère de toute la vision. C'est ce qui explique le fait que le peintre illustrant le *Lectionnaire de Het'um* a bien choisi cette scène pour l'illustration des pages qui précèdent le Dimanche de la seconde venue.

Ce dimanche de la seconde venue existe aussi dans les calendriers de l'Église occidentale, mais l'image illustrant « La vision du Prophète Daniel des quatre bêtes » apparaît en Occident principalement dans les manuscrits appelés *Beatus*. En fait la majorité des illustrations de cette scène parvenues jusqu'à nos jours sont les imitations illustrées du manuscrit²⁵ « Les Commentaires de l'Apocalypse » écrit en 776 par San Beatus de Liébana, moine, géographe et théologien des Asturies²⁶.

La plus vieille des imitations vient d'un manuscrit français datant du XI^e siècle originaire de Saint-

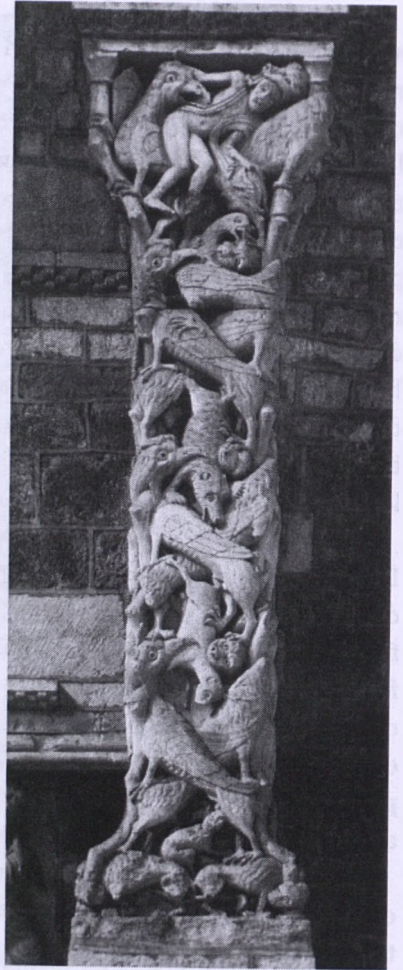


Fig. 11. Les hauts reliefs du trumeau de l'entrée de l'église Sainte-Marie de Souillac du XII^e siècle

²³ La prophétie de Daniel 14-15.

²⁴ H. Քյուեյան, M. Արարյան, *op. cit.*, p. 214-215.

²⁵ San Beatus a joint le « Livre des prophéties de Daniel » de Saint Jérôme aux « Commentaires d'Apocalypse ».

²⁶ Le royaume des Asturies se trouve au nord de l'Espagne actuelle. P. Barber, K. Barnes, Dr N. Erskine, R. Gertisen, Dr J. Green, Dr S. Helman, D. Kaus, R. J. King, G. Allen Mawer, M. Patton, E. Persak, J. Rhodes, D. Shephard, Dr P. Sutton, Dr M. Terry, J. Van Mourik, Dr B. Whyte, N. Williams, Dr M. Woods, *Mapping Our World: Terra Incognita To Australia*, National Library of Australia, Canberra 2013, p. 56-57.



Fig. 12. Les hauts reliefs du trumeau de l'entrée de l'église Sainte-Marie de Souillac du XII^e siècle

Sever²⁷. Dans cette image de la vision, Dieu le Père et Daniel manquent. Seules les quatre bêtes sont présentées en vis-à-vis, parallèles entre elles.

L'une des plus vieilles imitations espagnoles de Beatus de Liébana est un exemple réalisé en 1109²⁸ à Saint-Dominique de Silos²⁹, qui illustre littéralement le trône, les roues et le fleuve de feu de Dieu le Père décrits dans la vision de Daniel : « Son trône comme une flamme de feu et ses roues comme un feu dévorant. Un fleuve de feu abondant coulait et sortait de devant lui »³⁰. Les bêtes sont représentées au-dessous, sur les deux côtés du fleuve de feu, Daniel n'apparaît pas.

La scène qui nous intéresse est également présentée dans une autre imitation espagnole, un manuscrit³¹ appelé Beatus Liébana ou l'Apocalypse de Las Huelgas³² datant de 1220³³ où l'image de Dieu le Père rappelle plutôt l'iconographie du Christ entouré par des anges dans l'auréole dans la scène del « Ascension ». En outre, il y a quatre anges avec des trompettes, dont deux sont à droite, les deux autres à gauche. L'image de Daniel manque, et les quatre bêtes sont présentées au-dessous de l'auréole du Christ.

Une autre imitation espagnole, datée de 1220, a été réalisée au monastère San Andrés de Aroyo de Palencia³⁴. On voit là, sur fond rouge et bleu d'une table carrée, seulement les 4 bêtes de la vision de Daniel³⁵.

La miniature du manuscrit « Les Interprétations de la Bible » de Moïse Ben Abraham datant de 1290–1300, est l'unique illustration de la vision sur les quatre bêtes de Daniel



Fig. 13. La colonne de l'entrée de l'église française Saint-Pierre de Moissac datant du XII^e siècle

²⁷ Connu sous le nom de Beatus de Saint-Sever. BNF Latin 8878, folio 51, voir image 5.

²⁸ MS 11695, fol. 240, British Library.

²⁹ H. N. Adams, *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1993, p. 129–130; E. Sears, T. K. Thomas, *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, University of Michigan Press, 2002, p. 129–133.

³⁰ La prophétie de Daniel 14–15. Image 6.

³¹ D. McKitterick, *The Trinity Apocalypse*, University of Toronto Press 2005, p. 29–30.

³² MS M.429 fol. 163, Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan, New York.

³³ Image 7.

³⁴ Une partie du manuscrit se trouve dans la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, et l'autre partie dans la collection privée de Bernard Breslauer/New York.

³⁵ R. K. Emmerson, B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Cornell University Press, USA, 1992, p. 187, image 8.



Fig. 14. Le tatouage vertical sur le corps de scythe enterré dans le deuxième tombeau de Pazirik, 4ème siècle avant J-C

qui ne soit pas une imitation du *Beatus espagnol*³⁶. Dans ce manuscrit il y a deux images concernant la vision de Daniel : la première présente les quatre bêtes et des cris dans le noir de la nuit représentés sous la forme d'un jeune homme avec la bouche ouverte³⁷. La deuxième image présente seulement la quatrième bête avec dix cornes³⁸.

La miniature du *Lectionnaire de Het'um II* est donc tout à fait différente des exemples occidentaux présentant la même scène. Même si notre image adhère à l'art occidental par son style, cependant sa conception diffère de tous les exemples connus. Cette image marginale se distingue des autres décorations de tout le manuscrit par son style et sa structure complexe. Elle unit deux caractères importants : elle contient des formules structurelles typiques de l'art roman et des éléments typiques de

la tradition de l'illustration des Bestiaires du haut Moyen Age, grâce auxquels l'image obtient la compétence de transmettre le message de Dieu plus effectivement que les paroles.

Sirarpie Der-Nersessian avait remarqué, en étudiant cette miniature, que sa conception générale rappelle, du point de vue de son style, la décoration des églises romanes de la France du Nord-Ouest³⁹ ; on peut noter la ressemblance structurelle de l'objet de notre étude, celui de l'image marginale, avec les hauts reliefs du trumeau de l'entrée de l'église Sainte-Marie de Souillac du XII^e siècle⁴⁰.

Cette sculpture avec des animaux fantastiques tenus l'un l'autre est un phénomène rare dans l'architecture française. Ici, comme dans l'image marginale du *Lectionnaire de Het'um*, une physionomie humaine se distingue également entre les griffons, les agneaux et les prédateurs. On rencontre aussi une conception verticale avec une structure particulière sur la colonne de l'entrée de l'église française Saint-Pierre de Moissac, datant du XII^e siècle⁴¹. Les griffons présentés ici sont tressés avec un ornement végétal et floral, qui est typique de l'image existant dans notre manuscrit. Cette ressemblance stylistique est, bien

³⁶ Haag, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des Pays-Bas /KB, 131 A 3 fol. 34R/*.

³⁷ W. B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-family Bestiary. Art, Text and Translation*, Woodbridge 2006, p. 54-59, image 9.

³⁸ Image 10.

³⁹ S. Der-Nersessian, S. Agemian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1, Washington D. C. 1993, p. 122-123.

⁴⁰ Images 11, 12.

⁴¹ Image 13.



Fig. 15. Monstre à tête d'aigle du Carnet de modèles de Venise Congrégation des pères Mékhitaristes de Venise, manuscrit 1434, fol. 2

sûr, occasionnelle, mais nous laisse tout de même réfléchir encore une fois aux liens entre la miniature de Cilicie et l'art roman.

J. Russell a repris l'objet de notre étude dans l'un de ses articles et a noté que les bêtes illustrées dans le *Lectionnaire* sont tout à fait typiques des bestiaires occidentaux modernes⁴². Il pense, pour ce qui concerne la possible influence stylistique, que la présentation de la vision de Daniel du *Lectionnaire* de Het'um II est conditionnée par les liens culturels existant entre le Royaume arménien de Cilicie et l'Asie mongole. Il considère l'image marginale du *Lectionnaire* comme un reflet « du style animalique » existant depuis des temps immémoriaux. Il propose comme exemple le tatouage vertical sur le corps de scythe enterré dans le deuxième tombeau de Pazirik⁴³, qui date du quatrième

⁴² J. R. Russell, *Truth is What the Eye Can See: Armenian Manuscripts and Armenian Spirituality, Treasures in Heaven; Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, ed. T. F. Mathews, R. S. Wieck, New York 1998, p. 157–158.

⁴³ Dans les montagnes de Altaï. Images 14.

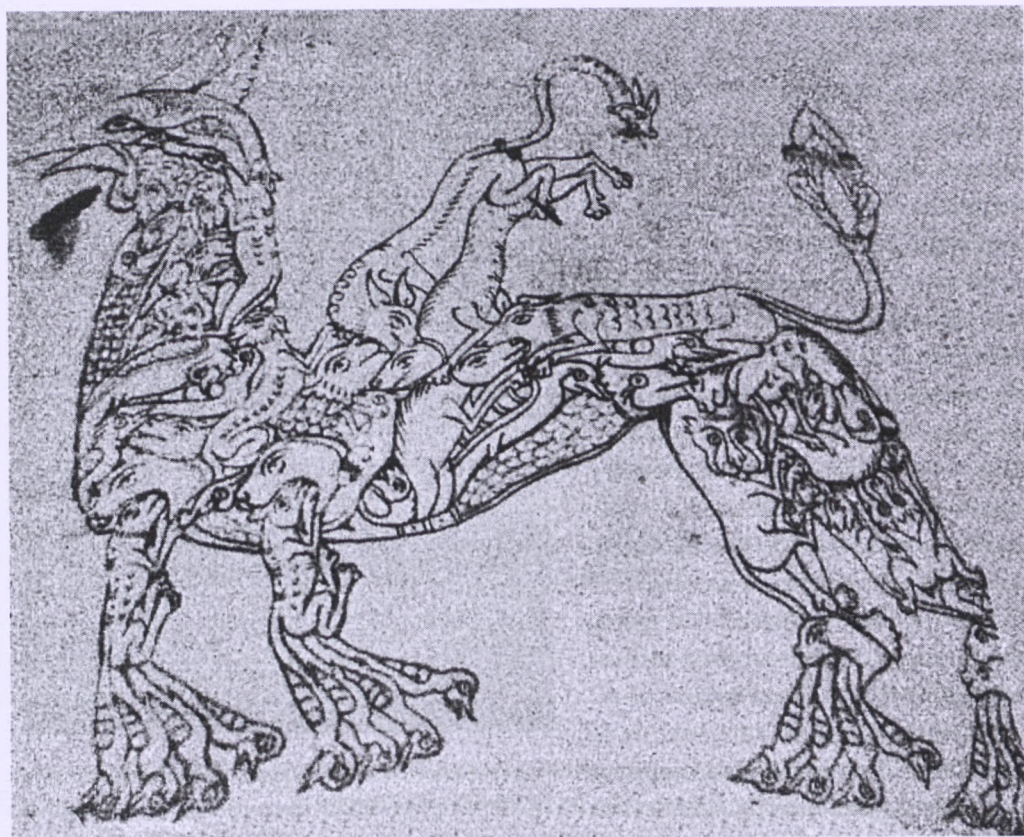


Fig. 16. Bucéphale, Roman d'Alexandre, Patriarcat arménien de Jérusalem, Ms 473, fol. 10v

siècle avant J-C⁴⁴. J. Russell pense que la miniature reprend la conception de cette image et trouve une ressemblance entre la représentation de la vision de Daniel et la texture verticale des animaux surréalistes du tatouage. Nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec ce point de vue et pensons que les ressemblances entre les deux images étudiées sont insignifiantes. Cependant, il y a des échantillons, dans quelques exemples de l'art du livre arménien, qui sont proches par le style de l'image marginale de notre manuscrit.

L'illustration des êtres imaginés amusait les maîtres illuminant les manuscrits du Moyen-Age. On rencontre des images de bêtes fantastiques dans des canons de concordance des livres enluminés de Cilicie datant du XIII^e siècle⁴⁵, dans les titres et dans les

⁴⁴ E. C. Bunker, « Significant Changes in Iconography and Technology among Ancient China's Northwestern Pastoral Neighbors from the Fourth to the First Century B.C. », *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 6 (1992), p. 103, image 8.

⁴⁵ Image 15.

images marginales: ils ont quatre pieds, des têtes humaines, un corps d'animal avec des ailes composées de corps féminins⁴⁶ ; cependant, les images de ces êtres sont, par leur style, tout à fait différentes de l'image marginale du *Lectionnaire de Het'um*.

On ne rencontre une telle conception, très rare, faite par des animaux, que dans un autre exemple arménien. Il s'agit du monstre à tête d'aigle du *Carnet de modèles de Venise*⁴⁷ : quelques lions s'avalant l'un l'autre et d'autres prédateurs, des poissons et des oiseaux, composent son corps⁴⁸. Comme dans l'image marginale illustrant la *Vision de Daniel*, on aperçoit là aussi, dans le corps de la bête, deux formes humaines barbues. Deux enfants illustrés vis-à-vis décorent la queue de la bête. Cette image, elle aussi, remonte au treizième siècle mais, à la différence de l'image marginale, objet de notre étude, elle présente une conception in-



Fig. 17. Canon de Concordance, Maténadaran, Erévan, Ms. 9422, fol. 4

dépendante, un personnage distinct, qui occupe toute une page du manuscrit et même passe en marge de la page suivante. Naturellement il attire tout de suite l'attention, et sa grande taille le rend facile à reproduire⁴⁹. On aperçoit ce phénomène dans l'une des pages d'un manuscrit conservé au monastère arménien de Saint-Jacques à Jérusalem, qui est une copie du *Roman d'Alexandre*. Le catholicos Grigoris Alt'amarci a recopié la bête imaginaire du *Carnet de modèles de Venise*⁵⁰. Cet exemple, réalisé en 1536, est la reproduction de l'image du XIII^e siècle. La bête fantastique du manuscrit de Jérusalem présente en fait Bucéphale, le cheval le plus beau et le plus rapide, que seulement Alexandre

⁴⁶ Maténadaran, Erévan, Ms. 9422.

⁴⁷ Image 16 - Congrégation des pères Mékhitaristes de Venise, manuscrit 1434, fol 2.

⁴⁸ S. Der Nersessian, « Le carnet de modèles d'un miniaturiste arménien », *Études byzantines et arméniennes/ Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, 2 vols, Louvain, 1973, pp. 665-672, fig. 433, 434 (publication initiale *Armeniaca, Mélanges d'études arméniennes*, San Lazzaro-Venice 1969, p. 175-83).

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 671.

⁵⁰ Image 17. Ms 473.



Fig. 18. Bucéphale, Le Roman d'Alexandre illustrée par Zak'aria Gnunec'i, Manchester, Rylands Arm. 3, fol. 42v

le Grand a pu monter⁵¹. Il est bien évident que ce monstre ailé avec la tête d'aigle n'avait pas d'abord présenté Bucéphale, dont le nom signifie « la tête de taureau »⁵². L'extrait approprié n'est pas illustré dans les manuscrits antiques concernant l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand⁵³, mais pour ce qui concerne les autres extraits, pour lesquels Bucéphale est illustré, il est toujours avec Alexandre et il est représenté comme un cheval et jamais comme une bête avec une tête

d'aigle⁵⁴. Quelques années après l'illustration faite par Grigoris Alt'amarc'i, son élève, l'évêque Zak'aria Gnunec'i, illustre à son tour le Roman d'Alexandre : il change un peu le personnage de la bête en remplaçant la tête de l'aigle par une tête de cheval.⁵⁵

Les deux principaux chercheurs qui se sont intéressés à l'art arménien, S. Der-Nersessian et L. A. Dournovo, ont tous les deux, tour à tour, supposé que l'image de la bête fantastique du Carnet de modèles de Venise, reproduite ensuite à plusieurs reprises, était influencée par les quadrupèdes à têtes humaines de l'un des canons de correspondance (xoran) du manuscrit 9422⁵⁶ ; cependant, nous pensons qu'il est plus proche, par son style et sa structure, des bêtes de l'image marginale illustrant « La vision de Daniel » du Lectionnaire

⁵¹ Venise, Mekhitarist Congregation, San Lazzaro, Kurdian no. 280, History of Alexander the Great, fol 75v.

⁵² D. Kouymjian, « Did Byzantine Iconography Influence the Large Cycle of the Life of Alexander the Great in Armenian Manuscripts », in : *Byzantium and Renaissances. Dialogue of Cultures, Heritage of Antiquity, Tradition and Modernity*, ed. M. Janocha, Warsaw 2012, p. 209–216.

⁵³ Comme par exemple le manuscrit numéro 424 conservé dans la Congrégation des Pères Mékhitaristes de Venise.

⁵⁴ F. Macler, *L'enluminure arménienne profane*, Paris 1928, fig. 47.

⁵⁵ Image 18. Manchester, Rylands Arm. 3, fol. 42v, reproduit dans *Arménie. La magie de l'écrit*, éd. C. Mutafian, Marseille-Paris 2007, p. 172.

⁵⁶ Image 15. Erevan, M 9422, fol. 4, illustrated in L. A. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, New York 1961, figure on p. 123; S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, p. 175–83.

de Het'um. A la différence des centaures du Ms. 9422, dont les corps sont composés de corps et de figures humaines, les corps des bêtes du *Lectionnaire de Het'um* sont composés de prédateurs enfoncés l'un dans l'autre, tenant la queue l'un de l'autre et s'avalant l'un l'autre, ainsi que de poissons et d'autres éléments animaux, un phénomène qui se retrouve dans *Le Carnet de modèles de Venise* et dans le manuscrit illustrant *Le Roman d'Alexandre*.

La série des influences de cette image marginale du *lectionnaire de Het'um* ne s'arrête pas là : notre miniature a certainement eu un plus grand rôle, non seulement dans le développement stylistique et iconographique de l'art arménien, mais aussi dans les arts étrangers.

Aujourd'hui, dans le monde entier, les chercheurs contemporains et les historiens de l'art admirent les miniatures créées en Perse à l'époque Safavide, leur style et leur iconographie extraordinaires.

Il est vrai que, dans la miniature persane de cette époque, la représentation d'animaux composites considérés comme sans précédents pour les Persans, commence à apparaître ; on note également l'apparition de tels éléments composites dans l'art de l'Inde Maghali. Mais à la question de l'origine de la tradition de l'illustration des animaux composites dans la miniature persane, les spécialistes de l'histoire de l'art ne peuvent pas répondre concrètement. En considérant que, dans l'art persan, des êtres imaginaires à têtes humaines existaient depuis l'Antiquité, la tendance de l'illustration des animaux fantastiques de cette nouvelle nature au XVI^e siècle peut en effet sembler tout à fait normale pour les historiens de l'art persan. Ceci est naturel parce que les pages de la miniature arménienne de Cilicie du treizième siècle sont restées ignorées par eux. On tâchera maintenant de découvrir le fil ténu créant le lien entre les arts de périodes différentes des deux pays.

En 1256, les Mongols ont envahi la Perse en apportant avec eux l'art chinois et en révolutionnant l'art persan. On connaît déjà les éléments chinois qui ont pénétré dans la miniature de Cilicie, particulièrement dans le *Lectionnaire de Het'um*⁵⁷, grâce aux Mongols. Cependant, le contraire, c'est-à-dire l'influence de l'iconographie et du style de l'art de Cilicie sur la culture mongole, est également tout à fait possible, tout comme l'est donc une influence arménienne sur l'art persan. Les images des animaux fantastiques rencon-



Fig. 19. La servante avec un chameau, Khorasan, 1570, conservée au musée Métropolitain de New York

⁵⁷ D. Kouymjian, « Chinese Influences on Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period », dans : *Armenian Studies: Memoriam Haïg Berbérian*, Lisbon 1986, p. 415-468.



Fig. 20. Cavalier avec la servante, Khorasan, XVI^e siècle, Musée de l'art Moderne de Téhéran

trés dans la miniature persane à la période safavide relèvent d'une telle hypothèse. Leur style répète en effet à l'identique le style de l'image marginale de la vision sur quatre bêtes du Prophète Daniel. C'est exact pour le style, puisque nous avons affaire non seulement à des animaux et des personnages humains imbriqués les uns dans les autres, mais aussi pour l'identification du choix des couleurs, des mises en page, des positions et de la façon de présenter ces animaux composites.

Cette ressemblance peut être due aussi aux reproductions de l'image de la bête fantastique du Carnet de modèles de Venise par Grigoris Alt'amarci et son élève l'évêque Zak'aria pendant les siècles suivants, ainsi qu'à d'autres reproductions possibles qui sont restées inconnues de nous mais ont pu atteindre les peintres persans. Ceci était alors possible en tenant compte de la situation géopolitique et de la migration forcée des Arméniens d'Orient en Perse safavide à la fin du XV^e siècle. Il faut également noter la tradition de représenter Alexandre le Grand (Iskandar) dans les manuscrits Persans (surtout ceux du *Shahnama*).

Au milieu du XVI^e siècle, les animaux fantastiques combinés figurant dans l'art persan étaient un phénomène tout à fait nouveau dans l'art de l'Asie Centrale. Dans cette région, de telles images antérieures au XVI^e siècle nous sont inconnues, ce qui n'exclut pas leur existence dans l'art chinois et persan.

La miniature, datée de 1570, conservée au musée Métropolitain de New York est un des exemples qui nous intéresse⁵⁸. Réalisée au Khorasan, elle est faite sur une page indépendante, phénomène très fréquent en Perse au XVI^e siècle. Elle figure la servante avec un chameau portant sur le dos des étoffes précieuses. Le corps du chameau est composé de plusieurs autres corps d'animaux plus petits et d'hommes.

Une autre miniature originaire du Khorasan, datant de la même période, est connue depuis l'exposition organisée en 2005 au Musée de l'art Moderne de Téhéran. Cette oeuvre illustre le cavalier avec sa servante, et le coursier est composé de corps humains et d'animaux combinés⁵⁹.

Les miniaturistes persans ont construit avec des physionomies combinées - des hommes et des animaux - non seulement des corps d'animaux, mais ils en ont aussi décoré les tenues

⁵⁸ Image 19 - S. P. Verma, *Flora and Fauna in Mughal Art*, Marg Publications 1999, p. 120-124.

⁵⁹ Image 20. Nous tenons à remercier ici Y. Porter qui nous a aidée à déterminer la date et le lieu de la création de cette miniature.

des nobles. On voit un exemple d'un tel habit chez le jeune homme qui lit assis sur le balcon, dans la miniature de la période Safavide affichée sur une page séparée conservée au musée du Louvre de Paris. L'auteur de la miniature est un des peintres les plus connus de cette période, Muhammad Charif Musavir. Son nom est inscrit sur la marge du livre dans la main du jeune homme⁶⁰. La page opposée du manuscrit contenant cette miniature se trouve actuellement à la galerie Saqler de Washington ; elle représente une princesse en habit similaire⁶¹. Sur les vêtements de ce couple de personnages, des représentants différents de la faune sont illustrés, qui symbolisent les sentiments romantiques existants entre le jeune homme qui lit et la princesse⁶².



Fig. 21. Jeune homme lit assis sur le balcon, peintre Muhammad Charif Musavir, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Selon un autre avis, les habits des jeunes comme ceux-là étaient très à la mode en Transoxiane⁶³ au début du dix-septième siècle, et on leur attribuait une signification de défense, ce qui semble mystérieux pour les chercheurs contemporains⁶⁴. En Perse du Moyen Age, la représentation de tels animaux symbolisait l'unanimité intérieure et l'égalité de tous les êtres dans le monde spirituel⁶⁵.

Quelques décennies plus tard, la tradition de l'illustration des animaux combinés est passée dans la miniature des Moughals de l'Inde, où elle a commencé à symboliser la réinstallation de l'esprit dans divers corps après la mort, c'est-à-dire la réincarnation⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ Image 21. F. Richard, *Arabesques et Jardins de paradis, Collections françaises d'art islamique*, Paris 1989, n 171, p. 223 ; Idem, *L'Étrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam*, Paris 2001, n 1 p. 20.

⁶¹ Image 22. Y. Porter, « Le kitâb-khâna de 'Abd al-'Aziz Khân (1645–1680) et le mécénat de la peinture à Boukhara », *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, VII (1999), p. 118–120.

⁶² G. D. Lowry, M. C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, Washington 1988, n 362, p. 310–311.

⁶³ Une région historique contenant les zones de l'Ouzbékistan, du Tadjikistan et du Turkménistan qui était située entre les fleuves Amou-Daria et Syr-Daria.

⁶⁴ E. Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India*, Washington, 1978, n 15.A p. 47.

⁶⁵ W. Floor, E. Herzig, *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, I. B.Tauris, Sep 15, 2012, p. 304–312.

⁶⁶ S. P. Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 120–124.



Fig. 22. Une princesse, peintre Muhammad Charif Musavir, Galerie Saqler, Washington

Il est à noter qu'en 1286, le commanditaire du *Lectionnaire*, Het'um II, qui était encore, au moment de la création du manuscrit, l'héritier de la couronne du Royaume arménien de Cilicie, était passionné par les études franciscaines, dont le fondateur, saint François d'Assise, était considéré comme le protecteur des animaux et de la nature. Selon les écrits de saint François, les animaux étaient nos frères et sœurs créés par Dieu comme les hommes. Il priait pour les animaux et les oiseaux, les considérait comme des êtres égaux aux humains⁶⁷.

Par conséquent, l'idée de l'égalité de tous les êtres était répandue dans l'Arménie ciliicienne du XIII^e siècle, et il est possible que le maître illustrant le *Lectionnaire* de Het'um, qui avait une liberté particulière pour illustrer les marges du manuscrit, ait été guidé par cette idée. Cette découverte montre encore une fois avec force l'exception de la miniature de Cilicie pour les Arméniens, ainsi que pour les peintres d'autres nationalités. Malheureusement aujourd'hui, ces belles pages de la peinture arménienne restent inconnues pour

les chercheurs qui s'intéressent à la peinture persane et qui éprouvent des difficultés à interpréter l'apparition des animaux imaginaires combinés dans la peinture safavide.

L'image marginale présentant *La vision du Prophète Daniel sur quatre bêtes* est une miniature étonnante, d'une grande valeur artistique, comme l'ensemble du manuscrit objet de notre étude. Elle confirme la diversité de l'illustration du manuscrit du *Lectionnaire*. Le miniaturiste inconnu, ayant une sensibilité extraordinaire du rythme, a réussi à faire des quatre bêtes un épisode complet et harmonieux, en les liant les unes avec les autres, en donnant un caractère narratif à l'image marginale. L'expressivité de la scène augmente grâce aux couleurs riches et vivantes, en transmettant toute l'horreur et toute la peur décrites par le Prophète. Ce manuscrit illustré à la fin du treizième siècle, dont la qualité rivalise avec les meilleurs exemples de l'art médiéval, est en même temps la preuve significative de la souplesse incroyable du peuple arménien, puisque ce joyau inestimable de l'art arménien est créé dans les conditions les plus défavorables, à un moment où même l'existence du pays était menacée.

⁶⁷ Saint Francis of Assisi, *Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi*, Cosimo 2007, p. 45-56.

The Collection of Armenian illuminated Manuscripts in Isfahan and the Gospel of Kirakos of Tabriz (1330 A. D.)

Inessa Danielyan, Erevan

The collection of Armenian medieval art is very rich in relation to the spectacular churches and monasteries, which were decorated with sculptures, illustrated manuscripts and examples of applied art.¹ Amongst this artistic legacy, illustrated handwritten books are the most remarkable part. More than twenty-five thousand Armenian manuscripts have come down to us and among them there are hundreds of richly illustrated Gospels, Bibles and Lectionaries that are preserved in the museums, libraries, galleries and private collections of the world. Besides the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) in Yerevan and the Mother See of Etchmiadzin, numerous handwritten books can be found in the repositories of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Congregation of the Mekhitarists in Venice and Vienna, in the museum of All Savior's monastery in New Julfa (Isfahan), in the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias (5 km north of Beirut), in the national libraries of Paris and Vienna, the British Library, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore and the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington D. C.

Numerous manuscripts, as well as printed books, examples of silverwork, especially chalices, crosses, belts, religious and secular garments, oil paintings of Armenian and European artists and other works of art are preserved in the Museum of All Savior's Monastery in Isfahan, in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This museum has one of the most important collections of Armenian manuscripts. The appearance of these codices in Isfahan is connected with the dramatic events of the Ottoman-Persian wars of 16th-17th centuries.

In 1604, Safavid ruler Shah Abbas ordered the mass deportation of the inhabitants of central Armenia and resettled them in the outskirts of the capital of Iran, Isfahan, where

¹ I express my thanks to Foundation of S. Der-Nersessian, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and A.N.S.E.F. (Armenian National Science & Education Fund) for financial support.

they founded a new quarter and called it New Julfa.² In New Julfa there are about 764 manuscripts and among them hundreds of richly illustrated Gospels, Bibles, Lectionaries from Cilicia and different regions of Armenia, mainly from Vaspurakan, Syunik, Caesarea, among them illustrated codices by such famous painters as Ignatios, Hovhannes, Sargis Pitsak, Kirakos, Hakob from Julfa etc. The major part of Isfahan's manuscript collection consists of books that were written and illustrated in New Julfa. These handwritten volumes were spread to New Julfa from all over the world³ by commercial means and some arrived as the donations of pilgrims. Apart from the Matenadaran (Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan) and from the Mother See of Etchmiadzin⁴, handwritten books from New Julfa are preserved in 36 collections of 16 countries, in the libraries of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Congregation of Mekhitarists in Venice and Vienna and other museums and private collections.⁵ The miniature painting of the New Julfa school presents a unique synthesis of Armenian, Byzantine, European and Persian art.

Over the centuries, the collection of manuscripts in New Julfa was pillaged and was subject to robbery and sales and some of the books disappeared. During 1755 and 1770–1790 a large part of the ancient books collection was stolen and sold at a low price to chemists and gunpowder makers.⁶ These manuscripts are listed several times in the catalogues that were compiled by Smbat Ter-Avetisian⁷ and Levon Minasian.⁸

The Gospels of 1330 (Museum of All Saviours monastery, № 47(43) copied by Kirakos Erznkatsi and illustrated by Kirakos of Tabriz is one of the gems of the collection in New Julfa. H. Kurdian was the first to explore this manuscript in the article on the miniaturist Kirakos and he also published some illustrations of the above-mentioned manuscript.⁹ The *Gospels* of 1330 is introduced with black and white as well as some color reproductions of illustrations, and also with the description of 9 images from the life of Christ, the portrait of Evangelist John with the Title Page of his gospel and two Canon tables in the

² Առաքել Դավրիժեցի, *Պատմություն*, ed. Վ. Առաքելյան, Երևան 1988, pp. 41–66.

³ A. Taylor, *Book Arts of Isfahan. Diversity and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Persia*, Malibu 1995, pp. 47–68.

⁴ Գ. Տէր-Վարդանեան, *Նոր Ջուղայի ելյարակի շրջանների հայկական ձեռագրական արուեստը: Նիւթեր Մաշտոցեան Մատենադարանի և Մայր Աթոռ Սուրբ Էջմիածնի ցուցահանդեսների, յուլիս-օգոստոս, 2005*, Երևան 2005, p. 130.

⁵ Մ. Առաքելյան, «Պատկերագրող Ավետարանների ուսումնասիրությունը Նոր Ջուղայի հայ մանրանկարչական դպրոցի շրջանակներում (համառոտ ակնարկ)», *Բանբեր Մատենադարանի*, 18 (2008), p. 128; M. Arak'elyan, 'The New Julfa School of Armenian Miniature Painting (the 17th century): A Survey', in: *Cultural, Linguistic and Ethnological Interrelations In and Around Armenia*, ed. J. Dum-Tragut and U. Bläsing, Cambridge 2011, pp. 11–18.

⁶ Յ. Տէր Յովհաննէան, *Պատմություն Նոր Ջուղայու (Սպահան)*, Նոր Ջուղա 2008, p. 419.

⁷ Մ. Տէր-Ավետիսեան, *Յուզակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Նոր Ջուղայի Ամենափրկիչ վանքի*, vol. 1, Վիեննա 1970.

⁸ Լ. Մինասեան, *Յուզակ ձեռագրաց Նոր-Ջուղայի Ա. Ամենափրկչեան վանաց թանգարանի*, vol. 2, Վիեննա 1972.

⁹ Յ. Քիրտեան, 'Մանրանկարիչ Կիրակոս Թավրիզեցի', *Հասկ հայագիտական տարեգիրք*, 2 (1949–1950), pp. 115–130.

book of Sirarpi Der-Nersessian and Arpag Mekhitarian devoted to Armenian illustrated manuscripts of New Julfa.¹⁰ S. Der-Nersessian briefly discussed the art of this codex from the iconographic and stylistic points of view. She compared the decorations of that *Gospel* and other manuscripts of Syunik area, particularly those of the prominent medieval Armenian master Momik and indicated some iconographic similarities.

Armenian churches in Tabriz were established during the first half of the 13th century. In the 14th century Tabriz was one of the most celebrated scriptoriums among those of the Armenian communities. The first dated manuscript copied in Tabriz that has come down to us is the manuscript of 1313.¹¹ Unfortunately, the *Gospels* of Isfahan of 1330 is the only manuscript connected with the name of Kirakos of Tabriz, and we do not have any other information about this artist. The manuscript was copied at the monastery of Jghona. It consists of 288 folios, is written on parchment and decorated with an abundant use of gold. H. Kurdian wrote that the the monastery Jghavna¹² was probably located in the territory of Eastern Armenia, but its exact location is unknown. S. Der-Nersessian also mentioned that the monastery Jghavna is unidentified.¹³ Vegen (Vrt'anes) and his brother Pitchar were the donators of the manuscript. They belonged to the Senek'erimian feudal family. The Senek'erimians were the relatives of the Orbelians, another famous noble family, as their sister Khorishah had married Tchesar Orbelian.¹⁴

The miniatures of the manuscript are represented by the Canon Tables, as well as the portraits of four Evangelists with title pages of their *Gospels* and 12 full page illustrations of scenes from the life of Christ (*Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Entry into Jerusalem, Washing of the Feet, Crucifixion, Entombment, Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Ascension, Pentecost*) and numerous marginal compositions. The ornamental profusion of scenes, as well as the graphic character of drawing and colors, especially the dominance of red and blue, and also the treatment of light and shade, the eastern facial features of the personages with almond-shape eyes give to these illustrations exquisite value and enchant the viewer. Exceptionally rich and varied decorative elements of the miniatures reveal the artist's individual approach. The miniatures of the *Gospels* of 1330 testify that Kirakos was a talented, mature artist. The iconographic fea-

¹⁰ S. Der-Nersessian, A. Mkhitarian, *Armenian Miniatures from Isfahan*, Brussels – Antillas, 1986, pp. 73–88, fig. 50–63.

¹¹ Ն. Մարտիրոսյան, 'Իրանահայ գրչօջախները (XIII–XIV դդ.)', *Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների*, 10 (1982), p. 72.

¹² In Grabar (old Armenian) the letter "o" (in Armenian-"n") is written "av" (in Armenian – "աւ"), so the name of the monastery should be read Jghona. H. Kurdian and S. Der-Nersessian mistakenly called it Jghavna.

¹³ According to a historian and cartographer Gegham Badalyan (Yerevan State University, Faculty of History) Jghona monastery was located in Gegham Mountains of Ararat region (Republic of Armenia). In the 14th century this area bordered with the domain of the noble family Orbelian. I wish to express my thanks to G. Badalyan for this information.

¹⁴ Յ. Քիրսեան, *op. cit.*, p. 123.



Fig. 1. The Nativity. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 (New Julfa, № 47 (43))

tures indicate that his miniatures demonstrate a close relationship with Siunik's medieval art, as there are used the same iconographic and composition schemes as in the illustrations of Momik's manuscript of 1302 (Yerevan, Matenadaran № 6792)¹⁵, but the style and decoration of these parallels are different.

One of the most significant illustrations of the Gospels of 1330 is the miniature portraying the *Nativity* (fig. 1). Joseph is depicted behind the manger, below the arch of the cave as a main figure of the composition and this is a rare representation already known from the marginal illustration of Rabula's Gospel of 586.¹⁶ Such exceptional iconography of the Nativity in Armenian medieval art is found in Momik's abovementioned manuscript. S. Der-Nersessian notes that the head of Joseph is turned slightly to the left. The illustration reminds the apocryphal *Infancy Gospel* with the story concerning the conversation of Joseph and the Magi.¹⁷ According to S. Der-Nersessian, as the Magi are not depicted in the miniature of Momik, the *Nativity* of Kirakos does not depend on Momik's illustration and was copied from different prototypes.¹⁸ The artist painted his images after finishing the main composition: as after the paint was crumbled on the face of the old Magus, the line of the frame became visible on his face (fig. 3). In addition, the figures of the Magi are small and depicted out of the frame. There is no doubt that the painter Kirakos, in this case, and also for all other miniatures of his Gospels, used a similar iconography and compositional scheme as Momik. One can assume that the manuscript of Momik was a model for the *Gospels* of Isfahan, but the painter Kirakos, as an inventive person, modified the original prototype by adding new iconographic elements.

Kirakos painted the costumes and crowns of the Magi in detail. The old Magus's dress has a tiraz, which imitates the Arabic script (fig. 3). Pseudo-Arabic inscriptions were often used as decorative elements in Byzantine and Medieval Western Art. Pseudo-Kufic script appears for the first time in the decoration of the Armenian miniatures in the 11th century.¹⁹ Kufic letters are visible on the garment of the king Gagik in his portrait from the *Gospels* of Kars (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, no. 2556).²⁰ The images of tiraz with imitated Arabic letters were known from the Armenian manuscripts of Vaspurakan region of the

¹⁵ Կ. Մաթևոսյան, Լ. Չաքարյան, *Մոսիկի մանրանկարիչ, 13-14-րդ դդ.*, Երևան 2010, pp. 43-56.

¹⁶ G. Shiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. I, London 1971, Fig. 155.

¹⁷ Թանգարան հայկական հին և նոր դպրութեանց, Բ., Անկանոն գիրք Նոր կտակարանաց, Վենետիկ 1898, p. 48.

¹⁸ S. Der-Nersessian, 'L'Évangile du Matenadaran № 10525 de l'an 1306. Contribution a l'étude de la Miniature en Siwnik' au XIV^e siècle', *Révue des Études Arméniennes*, 16 (1982), pp. 340-341, fig. 15-16.

¹⁹ Pseudo-Kufic writings can be found as the ornamental decorations of Korans, as in the Mughni Gospel (Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 7736), see Т. Измайлова, *Армянская миниатюра XI века*, Москва 1979, p. 139, fig. 86; also in the Targmantschats Gospels of 1232 (Yerevan, Matenadaran, Ms 2743), Cf. Լ. Չուգասյան, *Գրիգոր Մաղկոդ*, Երևան 1986, p. 25, pl. 11-12, 22.

²⁰ S. Der-Nersessian, *L'Art Arménien. Orient et Occident*, Paris, 1977, p. 109, fig. 75. The images of tiraz with imitated Arabic writings were known from the Armenian Gospels of 1211 (Matenadaran, no. 6288), cf.: L. Dournovo, *Miniatures Arméniennes*, Yerevan 1967, fig. 18.



Fig. 2. The Nativity. Momik, 1302 (Matenadaran, № 6792)



14th century. The miniature of the *Gospels* from the village Lankshen of 1330 (Isfahan, Museum of the All' Saviors monastery, MS 481(44), illustrated by another painter Kirakos from Aghbak, demonstrates Hovhanes, the donor's son, represented as a cavalier and the Arabic inscription decorates the tiraz of his red tunic.²¹ Hovhannes of Khizan, another painter of Vaspurakan, also portrayed the Magus dressed with the ornament of tiraz which imitates Arabic script (1362 A.D., New Julfa, MS 404 (172)²², the Gospel of 1392 (Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 3717).²³

Pseudo-Kufic inscriptions often appeared in Renaissance art. Italian artists most commonly used pseudo-Arabic in ornamental bands of garments that were inspired by traditional Islamic tiraz textiles, and robes of honor made for them.²⁴ The Italian tradition of representing biblical persons in garments decorated with pseudo-Arabic inscriptions dates from the second half of the 13th century. Early examples are seen on the marble *Madonna* from the tomb of Saint Domenic, in San Domenico, Bologna, carved by Nicola Pisano (1264–1276) and on the handkerchief held by *Madonna* on Cimabue's painted wooden Crucifix (1260–1270) in Domenico, Arezzo, which may have been inspired by an imported Islamic

Fig. 3 The Magi. Detail. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 New Julfa, № 47 (43)

²¹ S. Der-Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *op. cit.*, p. 93, fig. 67.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 96, 99, fig. 69.

²³ Ա. Ավետիսյան, *Մանրանկարիչ Հովհաննես Խիզանցի: Մատենադարանի հմր. 3717 Ավետարանի նկարազարդումը*, Երևան 2013, p. 38.

²⁴ Europeans became familiar with tiraz textiles during the Crusades and, in recognition of their prestige in the Holy Land, brought some home as trophies of war or wraps for relics. Others arrived as gifts or through ordinary commerce. Muslim rulers traditionally presented tiraz textiles and garments to local and visiting dignitaries, and sent them as diplomatic gifts, Cf. R. E. Mack and M. Zakariya, 'The Pseudo-Arabic on Andrea del Verrocchio's David', *Artibus et Historiae*, 60 (2009), p. 166; R. E Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*, Berkeley 2002, pp. 51–72.

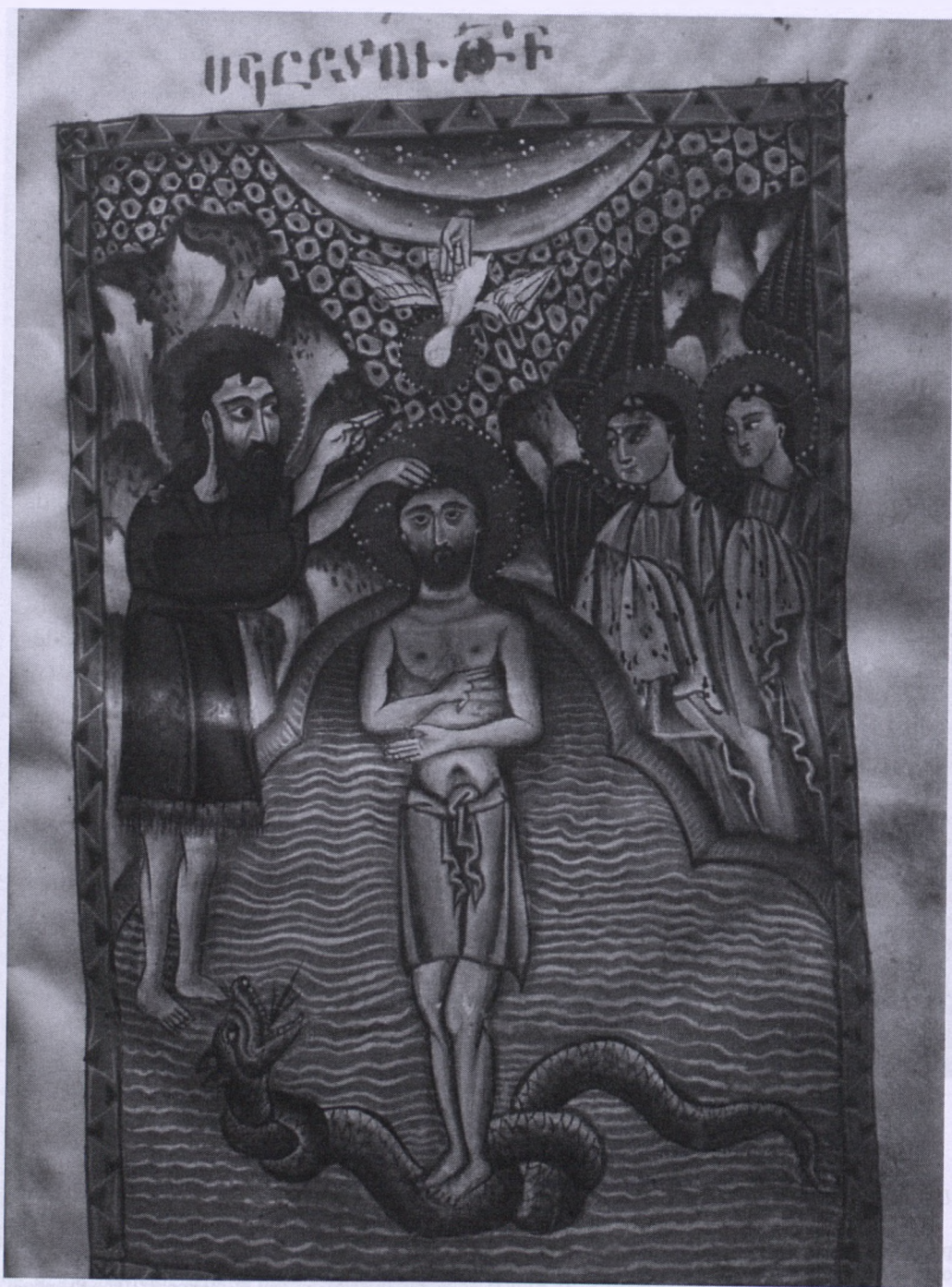


Fig. 4. The Baptism of Christ. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330, (New Julfa, № 47 (43))

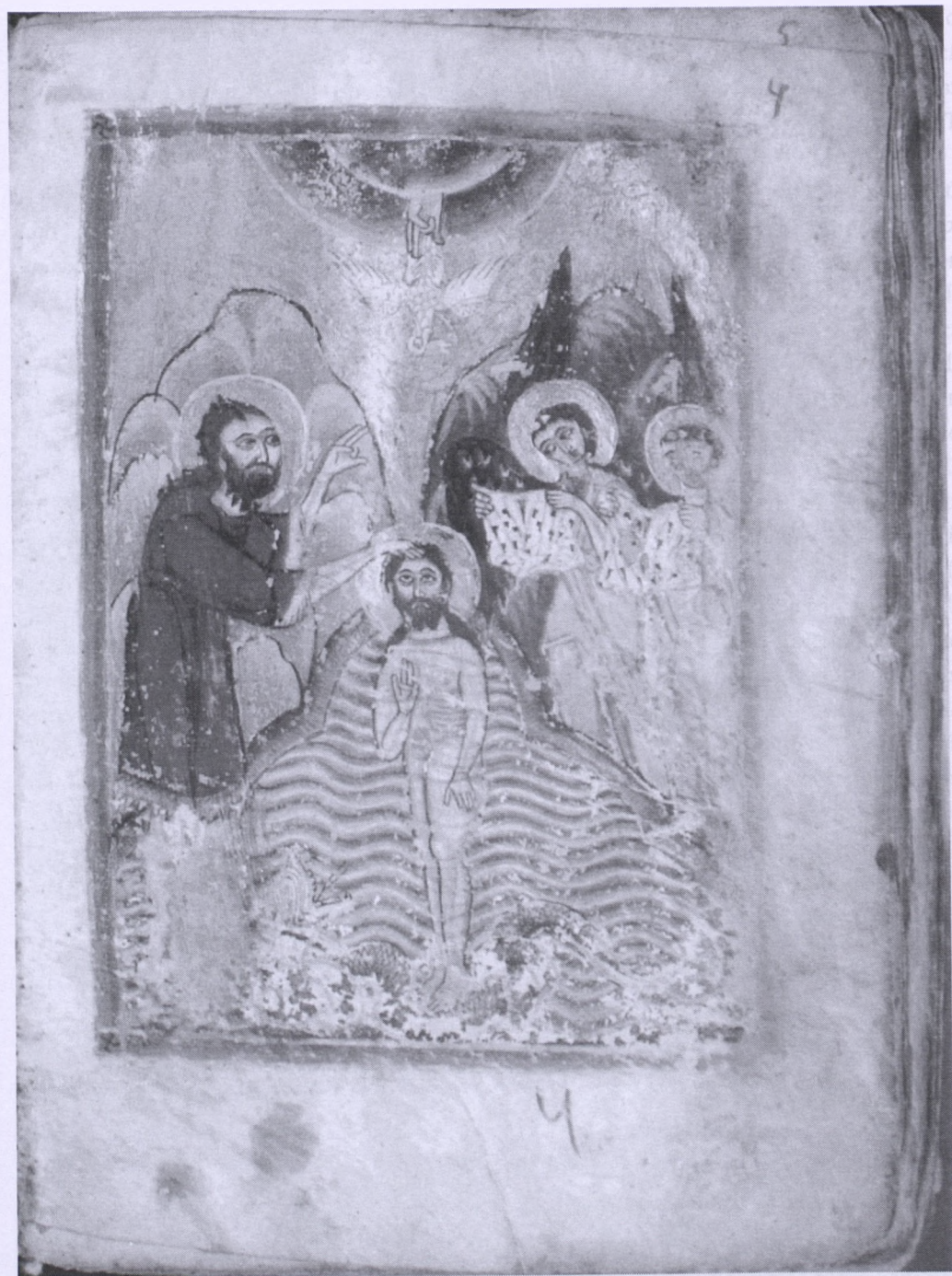


Fig. 5. The Baptism of Christ. Momik, 1302 (Matenadaran, № 6792)

object.²⁵ Many examples of these inscriptions are observed in the paintings of Giotto (c. 1267–1337).²⁶ The phenomenon that attracted our attention can be easily explained if we take into consideration the fact that the painter Kirakos came to Armenia from Ilkhanid Tabriz, so the appearance of tiraz with Arabic letters in his art is quite natural.

Another interesting iconographical feature can be seen in the scene of *Baptism* (fig. 4). Its symbolical significance is connected with the image of the serpent-dragon with double-knotted tail which is portrayed under the feet of Jesus. God breaks the head of the dragon, according to the psalm (74, 13) “Thou didst the sea by strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters”. The same composition is visible in Momik’s *New Testament* of 1302 (fig. 5). In Byzantine art, the dragon in *Baptism* appears in the *Khludov Psalter* of the second half of the ninth century²⁷ for the first time. The idea of baptism as a descent into the water of death is identified with the conquest of the satanic powers. In addition, baptism, according to Apostle Paul, symbolizes the death and resurrection of the Lord (Rom. 6.3-4). In Armenian art, the image of the serpent in the scene of *Baptism* is known since the 7th century from the decoration of Ojun column.²⁸ A homily on the *Baptism* highlights the parallel between Adam, whom the serpent deceived, and Christ, who smashes the head of dragon in the Jordan river during his baptism. The serpent was identified with the dragon because of the relationship between Adam’s sin and Christ’s baptism.²⁹ In Armenian book illumination, the dragon of Baptism was frequently depicted.³⁰ As already mentioned, the dragon in the miniature of Kirakos has double knots. This feature is known also from the miniature of the *Gospels* of Artsakh (13th–14th centuries, Yerevan, Matenadaran № 4820 and 6303).³¹ The knotted dragons often appear in sculptural decorations of Islamic monuments of the Seljuk era. Dragons with double-knotted tails were represented on the relief of the archivolt of now destroyed Talisman Gate at Baghdad (1221–1222).³²

The miniatures of Kirakos demonstrate other interesting connections with Islamic art. First of all, these are visible in the case of wings of the angels in the *Gospels* of 1330. The

²⁵ R. E. Mack and M. Zakariya, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

²⁶ F. Flores D’Arcais, *Giotto*, Milano 2001, pp. 108, 166, 230, 234–235, 276, 295, 321.

²⁷ G. Schiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137, fig. 359.

²⁸ A. T. Baladian, A. Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, ‘Les Colonnes de la Foi d’Ojun. Essai Pour une Nouvelle Lecture’, *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 36 (2014–2015), pp. 164–165, fig. 9.

²⁹ M. Stone, *Adam and Eve in Armenian Tradition. Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries*, Atlanta 2013, pp. 190–192.

³⁰ О. Подобедова, ‘К вопросу об источниках иконографии средневековой книжной иллюстрации. По материалам некоторых армянских рукописей’, in: *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Art, Collection of Reports*, vol. 1, Yerevan 1978, p. 81. The dragon of Baptism can be seen in the miniatures of Vaspurakan too.

³¹ *Artsakh Karabagh. Jardin des art et des traditions arméniens*, ed. D. Kouymjian, C. Mutaflan, Paris 2011, p. 119, fig. 12, p. 122, fig. 15; Հ. Հակոբյան, *Արցախ-Ուտիքի մանրանկարչությունը, XIII–XIV դդ.*, Երևան 1989, p. 113, fig. 17.

³² S. Kuehn, *The Dragons in Islamic and East-Christian Art*, Leiden 2011, pl. 34, fig. 139 a and b.



Fig. 6. The Annunciation. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 (New Julfa, № 47 (43))



Fig. 7. The Title Page of the Gospel of Mathew. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 (New Julfa, № 47 (43))

miniaturist Kirakos painted various types of angel's wings. Usually in Armenian book illumination only the hierarchy of cherubim and seraphim were specified by their wings. In the scene of the Annunciation from the Kirakos's *Gospels* the archangel Gabriel is portrayed with a long and beautifully colored plumage of wings (fig 6.). Archangels Michael and Gabriel are also represented with similar wings on the title page of the *Gospel of Matthew* (fig. 7). Thus, we may conclude that the painter indicates the hierarchy of archangels by the colored plumage of the wings. The multi-colored plumage of the wings of the archangels is frequently seen in the Renaissance paintings. The wings of other angels from the scenes of the *Nativity*, *Baptism* etc. in the *Gospels* of 1330 have a usual form and color characteristic for the Armenian medieval miniature. It is noteworthy that the wings attract attention also in the images of the flying angels near Christ's mandorla in the scene of the *Ascension of Christ* (fig. 8). Here the wings have an extraordinary form and reddish dots on pinkish-white plumage (fig. 11). It is interesting that the dots on pinkish-white plumage appear in a number of Persian miniatures from 15th -16th centuries, especially in the paintings presenting the *Prophet Muhammad's Mystical Ascension to Heaven* (fig. 9, 10).³³ Similar dots are portrayed in paintings of the miniaturist Hakob from Julfa who was active between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries.³⁴

The *Gospel* of Kirakos was copied from Momik's manuscript of 1302 (Matenadaran Ms 6792). Not only the iconographic resemblance indicates this, but also the fact that the donators of the *Gospels* had a familiar relation with the Orbelian princes. Momik was a famous artist of his time and generally worked under the patronage of the Orbelians and the manuscript of 1302 he painted for Stepanos Orbelian, the Metropolitane of Syunik. As we have seen, Kirakos re-worked the iconography that appears in the works of Momik. The painter came to Armenia from Tabriz and adopted some new artistic traditions. Tabriz was the capital of the Ilkhanid Persia and the cultural and trade centre of that time. The analysis of the manuscript's paintings from the iconographic point of view indicates certain interesting affiliations with Syriac, Seljuk and Safavid artworks, as indeed we would expect in the Tabriz area, the crossroad of cultures. The illuminations of Kirakos's *Gospels* put forward this manuscript as a unique product of the (hitherto) unknown scriptorium in the Armenian monasteries of Tabriz and, generally speaking, of the production of miniature painting of the 14th century.

³³ C. L. David's Collection (Copenhagen, Denmark), Inv. no. 102/2006, Iran; c. 1580, see at http://www.davidmus.dk/en/current_events/tidligere_saerudstilling/sufisme_-_islams_mystiske_vej/udvalgte_kunstvaerker/102-2006_saerudstilling.

³⁴ S. Der-Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *op. cit.*, p. 152 fig. 112, p. 174 fig. 106.



Fig. 8. Ascension of Christ. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 (New Julfa, № 47 (43))



Fig. 9. Prophet Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven. Iran, 1580
(C. L. David's Collection (Copenhagen, Denmark), Inv. no. 102/2006)



Fig. 10. The Angel. Detail from the Miniature of Prophet Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven. Iran, 1580. C. L. David's Collection (Copenhagen, Denmark), Inv. no. 102/2006



Fig. 11. The Angels. Detail from the Miniature of Ascension of Christ. Kirakos of Tabriz, 1330 (New Julfa, № 47 (43))

...mises par la vision religieuse. C'est, l'activité de déchiffrement du grand livre du monde, continue d'avoir recours à des outils – tels que l'analogie, l'allégorie ou le symbole – qui, quoique variables en apparence par une profuse multiplicité, ne sont pas toujours adaptés aux fins nouvelles que se pose le nouvel esprit de compréhension. Ce même que le récit de voyages reste bien souvent quel qu'il soit un livre des merveilles, le symbole de tulipe reproduit avec une indolence toute scientifique étouffe le sens de l'homme dans le catalogue littéral du catalogue de corollaires. Dans et dehors d'un espace, ont fait naître avec l'analyse positive. Dans un tel environnement de perceptions et d'observations, il est parfois malaisé de distinguer le fait du langage de celui de l'expérience.

À cet égard, l'allégorie des quatre continents dessinée par Jan van Eyck en 1490 offre une illustration remarquable de la substitution, au sens du même esprit carnier, du goût de l'artifice et du goût de la description minutieuse du réel appliqués à la peinture. En un temps où le tout comme la partie doit encore nécessairement faire sens, il semble que seul le recours effréné aux correspondances et aux jeux de miroirs permet de rendre

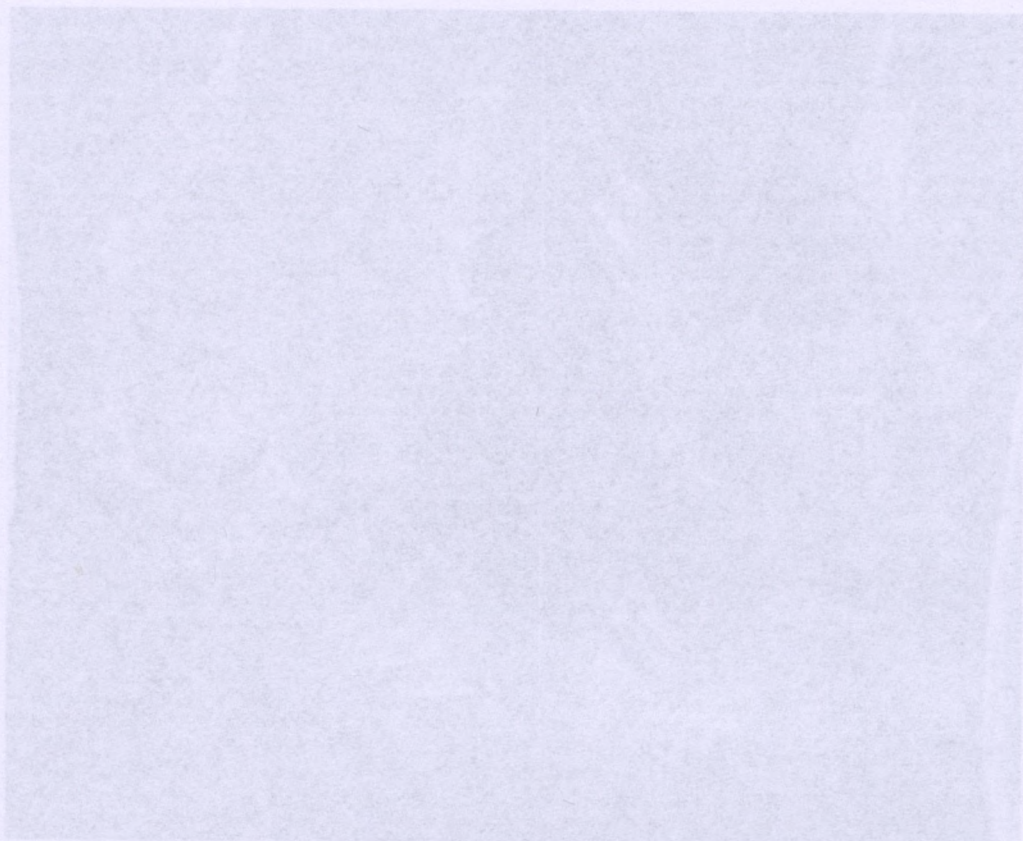


Fig. 11. The original manuscript of the text of the book 'The Collection of Manuscripts' (New York, 1970) by B. David Collier in the collection of the British Library.

*La Nouvelle-Djoulfâ (Ispahan),
une nouvelle culture de l'image.
Illustration du truchement arménien –
Une Asie en trompe-l'œil*

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À l'aube de l'époque moderne, l'exploration du globe terrestre aiguise la curiosité des intellectuels européens pour la multiplicité foisonnante de la réalité. L'exploration spatiale se double d'un périple mental éloignant progressivement le penseur aventureux des côtes rassurantes tracées par la cartographie naïve du corps ecclésiastique. S'il reste chez beaucoup solidement amarré au dogme chrétien – tout comme pour Descartes les sciences ne sont par principe que les branches d'un arbre dont les racines sont la métaphysique – cet intérêt n'en commence pas moins à s'émanciper quelque peu des interprétations intangibles de la Création fournies par la vision religieuse. Certes, l'activité de déchiffrement du grand livre du monde continue d'avoir recours à des outils – tels que l'analogie, l'allégorie ou le symbole – qui, quoique valables car éprouvés par une pratique millénaire, ne sont pas toujours adaptés aux fins nouvelles que se pose le nouvel appétit de comprendre : de même que le récit de voyages reste bien souvent aussi un livre des merveilles, le spécimen de tulipe reproduit avec une minutie toute scientifique côtoie la corne de licorne dans le catalogue illustré du cabinet de curiosités. Désirs et terreurs font encore fort bon ménage avec l'analyse positive. Dans un tel enchevêtrement de projections et d'observations, il est parfois malaisé de distinguer le fruit du fantasme de celui de l'expérience.

À cet égard, l'allégorie des quatre continents achevée par Jan van Kessel en 1666 offre une illustration remarquable de la cohabitation, au sein du même esprit curieux, du goût de l'artifice et du souci de la description méticuleuse du réel appliqués à la peinture. En un temps où le tout comme la parcelle doivent encore nécessairement faire sens, il semble que seul le recours effréné aux correspondances et aux jeux de miroirs permette de rendre



Fig. 1. Jan van Kessel, L'Asie, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

compte d'un monde multiforme et chatoyant, dont l'apparent désordre se verra ordonné selon un agencement binaire convenu et rassurant. Car, par chance pour l'esprit de géométrie, la Terre est ainsi faite qu'elle compte un nombre pair d'aires géographiques s'opposant deux à deux : chaque partie du monde y est figurée suivant un même modèle composé de 16 vues d'extérieur encadrant un grand panneau central qui représente un riche intérieur Renaissance orné de pilastres : ainsi les vieilles terres de culture que sont l'Europe et l'Asie trouvent-elles leur pendant dans les terres neuves et vierges de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique, ainsi la grâce de la nudité fait-elle écho au raffinement des costumes, ainsi Jérusalem est-elle comme le reflet inversé de Rome.

C'est aussi selon une structure binaire que s'organise le panneau représentant l'Asie (fig. 1), puisqu'il distingue l'Extrême-Orient dans sa partie gauche du Proche-Orient dans sa partie droite (fig. 2), celle qui nous intéresse ici : un couple en vêtement traditionnel y est entouré d'une accumulation d'objets qui symbolisent l'aire géographique et culturelle concernée. Le personnage masculin – archétype de l'Ottoman – porte une tunique rouge orangé recouverte d'une cape sans manches à larges rayures jaunes et vert foncé. Il enveloppe de son regard protecteur la femme assise à son côté qui lui tend un bouquet de



Fig. 2. Jan van Kessel, L'Asie, la partie droite, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

rameaux dans une attitude de soumission. Le visage cuivré à la mâle physionomie est garni de moustaches effilées et surmonté d'un turban blanc aux reflets dorés orné de pierres précieuses et empanaché d'une aigrette en forme d'oiseau à longues plumes caudales. La posture est altière, en contrapposto, la main droite agrippée à la bande d'étoffe qui lui ceint la taille tandis que la gauche, tendue vers le fond du tableau, tient un sceptre à ailettes surmonté d'un croissant de lune aux cornes tournées vers le haut.

Sur la chaise recouverte de velours vert, un volume imprimé à Anvers est ouvert à la page de titre – en latin – sur laquelle se lisent les mots *Alkoran et pseudopropheta* : alors même qu'il s'expose comme le symbole de la foi du personnage mahométan représenté en tant qu'allégorie de sa région, l'ouvrage dénonce dans le même temps l'erreur que constitue cette confession aux yeux de l'Européen. C'est qu'ici comme ailleurs dans l'ensemble pictural formé par les quatre panneaux, l'ambiguïté du rapport au réel est omniprésente : rien ou presque ne semble différencier l'authentique de l'artifice. Le châssis tronqué du coin inférieur droit contient-il une planche reproduisant des insectes délicatement dessinés ou une collection de bestioles disposées sur un panneau d'exposition, comme pourrait le laisser penser l'ombre projetée de leur corps ? C'est l'escargot « bien vivant » – donc évidemment factice¹ – qui permet de lever le doute : aussi réussies soient-elles, il ne s'agit bien que d'images d'animaux, contrairement aux cocons, chenilles et autres papillons – à leur tour « bien vivants », mais le sont-ils, eux aussi, vraiment ? – qui jonchent l'avant-plan. Selon le même principe qui consiste à abolir les frontières distinguant l'objet naturel de l'objet artificiel, le réel de sa représentation, les grisailles – des pseudo-sculptures – semblent monter la garde derrière la figure peinte de l'Ottoman : en dépit de leur lividité, ces compagnons d'armes qui lui ressemblent dans la superbe et jusque dans la pose sont animés d'une vie aussi réelle que lui. Mais peut-on dire qu'il est, lui, « bien vivant », au règne du faux-semblant ?

Au-delà des jeux sans fin de l'illusion picturale, une question plus triviale se pose : le personnage de l'Oriental mis en scène dans *l'Asie* de Jan van Kessel est-il une figure de fantaisie ou une représentation réaliste ? Un pur fruit de l'imagination de l'artiste ou la réplique d'un sujet possiblement croisé ? Les torsades de fil, les feuilles de mûrier, les cocons, chenilles et imagos du bombyx éparpillés sur le sol renvoient à la sériciculture et au commerce des soieries tandis que les motifs du tapis aux franges abondantes en fil de soie négligemment disposé en arc sur la chaise sont d'inspiration typiquement arménienne². On note par ailleurs que le costume du personnage n'est pas sans rappeler celui des marchands arméniens tels qu'on les connaissait à l'époque en Europe (fig. 3a)³. Or, la fresque

¹ « Ceci n'est pas un limaçon », pour paraphraser Magritte dans *La Trahison des images*.

² Que soit remercié ici le Professeur Dickran Kouymjian qui m'a confirmé la facture arménienne de ce tapis.

³ F. Pélisson-Karro, « Arménie et Arméniens dans la littérature et le théâtre français », dans : *Arménie entre Orient et Occident – Trois mille ans de civilisation*, ed. R. H. Kévorkian, Paris 1996, p. 82-87.



Fig. 3a. Le marchand arménienne, gravure sur bois

Fig. 3b. Khoja Sultan, le fresque d'une maison de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa

d'une maison de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa⁴ représente le khoja Sultan, personnage dont le vêtement présente les mêmes rayures colorées que celui de van Kessel (fig. 3b). Plus vrai que nature, l'incarnation du type de l'Oriental chez van Kessel pourrait bien être un Arménien de Perse ...

En effet, si l'on met de côté les illustrations de récits de voyages tels que *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faicts en la Turquie* de Nicolas de Nicolay (1568), c'est sans doute au contact des Arméniens que s'est façonnée la représentation de l'Oriental qu'a pu se faire le peintre flamand. Lorsqu'il le représente en 1666, le commerce international entre l'Orient et l'Occident était dominé par les négociants arméniens de Perse, qui venaient en grande partie de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa, le faubourg arménien d'Ispahan. Les échanges commerciaux transitaient par l'Asie Mineure ainsi que par la Russie et la Pologne. Les liens entre la Nouvelle-Djoulfa et la Pologne étaient soigneusement entretenus grâce aux Arméniens de la diaspora. On trouve dans les manuscrits de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa des co-

⁴ H. Hakobian, A. Hovhannasian, *New Jugha (Julfa) – The Artistic Decorations of Khoja Mansions (XVII–XVIII c.)*, Erevan 2007, ill. p. 64.



Fig. 4a. L'Annonciation, l'église de Bethleem, la Nouvelle-Djoulfa



Fig. 4b. L'ange de l'Annonciation, l'église Saint-Jacques de Jérusalem



Fig. 4c. L'ange, de la façade de la maison de Zamość

pies des miniatures de Lazare Baberdac'i, actif dans la cité polonaise de Lwów (aujourd'hui ville ukrainienne de Lviv) dans la première partie du siècle, inspirées de la *Biblia Sacra* de Theodore de Bry (1528–1598). C'est également en tant que diplomates que les Arméniens étaient connus en Europe. En cette année 1666, on les trouve au service du chah de Perse⁵ comme à celui du roi de Pologne⁶. Les contacts de souverains polonais avec la Perse par le truchement des Arméniens sont attestés dès le début du siècle. Grand collectionneur d'armes, Sigismond III (1566–1632) « ne se contentait pas d'acheter des armes en Pologne, il envoyait également des marchands arméniens en Perse dans ce but »⁷. Abstraction faite du croissant de lune qui le surmonte, le sceptre que tient le personnage de van Kessel s'ap-

⁵ « [...] en 1666, les frères Awet et Kirakos Xac'kian sont envoyés en qualité d'ambassadeurs de Perse en France, en Angleterre et aux Provinces-Unies », R. H. Kévorkian, « La diplomatie arménienne entre l'Europe et la Perse au temps de Louis XIV », dans : « Arménie entre Orient et Occident ... », pp. 188–195.

⁶ « [...] la même année, un autre ambassadeur de Pologne en Russie et en Perse, Bogdan Kourteï, rencontre Grigor Lusikenc' avant de partir pour Ispahan », R. H. Kévorkian, *op. cit.*

⁷ J. K. Ostrowski, « L'armurerie du château-musée de Wawel », *Cahier d'Etude et de Recherche du Musée de l'Armée* [= Armes et cultures de guerre en Europe centrale, XVe siècle–XIXe siècle], 6 (2008), pp. 83–98.



Fig. 5a. La Jérusalem céleste, cathédrale Saint-Sauveur, la Nouvelle-Djoulfa



Fig. 5b. La Jérusalem céleste, l'église Saint-Jacques de Jérusalem

parente d'ailleurs à la masse d'armes polonaise « *présentant des ailettes ajourées [...], qui était l'apanage des colonels* »⁸.

Si les anges qui décorent les églises de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa – par exemple dans l'Annonciation de l'église de Bethléem (fig. 4a) – ont migré jusqu'à Jérusalem (fig. 4b), voire ont quitté leur cadre sacré pour orner les façades des maisons arméniennes de Zamość (fig. 4c), veillant désormais sur la diaspora de cette ville polonaise située sur la route commerciale reliant la Pologne à la mer Noire, c'est dans les pages des ouvrages religieux illustrés – protestants aussi bien que catholiques – imprimés à Anvers ou Amsterdam qu'ils étaient arrivés dans le faubourg d'Ispahan⁹. C'est aussi de ces ouvrages que sont tirées les représentations de la Jérusalem céleste qui ornent, par exemple, le plafond de la cathédrale Saint-Sauveur (fig. 5a) et dont on retrouve une variante tardive dans l'église Saint-Jacques de Jérusalem (fig. 5b)¹⁰. Si, par la minutie du dessin, le tableau de Saint-Jacques est beaucoup plus proche de l'estampe d'Adrian Collaert (fig. 5c) que ne l'est le médaillon de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa, c'est sans nul doute ce dernier qui lui prête ses coloris où dominent le doré, le rouge et le vert. Au cours du XVIIe

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

⁹ Voir notre thèse doctorale, S. Laporte-Eftekharian, *Le rayonnement international des gravures flamandes aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles : les peintures murales des églises Sainte-Bethléem et Saint-Sauveur à la Nouvelle-Djoulfa (Ispahan)*, Université Libre de Bruxelles (U.L.B.), thèse 2006.

¹⁰ Je remercie ici George Hintlian pour son accueil chaleureux à Jérusalem.



siècle, les imprimeurs-éditeurs des colonies arméniennes d'Europe qui diffusent leur production (essentiellement religieuse) vers le Levant et l'Arménie utilisent eux aussi les gravures d'artistes européens. En sillonnant les nombreuses routes reliant l'Orient et l'Occident, le peuple arménien a traversé beaucoup de cultures qu'il a enrichies comme elles l'ont enrichi : gardien de sa mémoire, il n'en est pas resté le prisonnier.

Fig. 5c. Adrian Collaert, La Jérusalem céleste, gravure sur quivre

The Collection of Silver Book Bindings of the Armenian Museum in Bucharest and their Relationship to Eastern and Western Arts

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The collection of silver book bindings of the Armenian Museum in Bucharest holds its important place among Armenian, as well as foreign collections, due to its variety, artistic and stylistic features. There are preserved about 43 bindings, six of which are double-bindings, made entirely of silver plate, the others are made of separate metal parts. Most parts of the bindings date to the 18–19th centuries, some of them were imported from Constantinople while others were locally made in Romania.¹

One of the oldest bindings from the Armenian Museum collection is a Gospel from Caffa (fig. 1). Any definite information about its preparation, place and date of creation does not exist. There are two donative inscriptions in the Gospel, from 1351 and 1451 and in none of them is there information about the binding. Comparing only with Romanian monuments of the 15–16th centuries and considering the obvious Byzantine influence, Dan Simonescu claims that it was made in the 15–16th centuries in Romania². Armenian inscription on the binding prove that the silversmith was Armenian. Unfortunately, we have no information about Romanian Armenian silversmiths of this period, which could support Simonescu's conjecture about the preparation of the binding in Romania in that period.

Bucharest, settled as it is between East and West, the items preserved in its Armenian Museum provide evidence of the city's long role as a cultural crossroad. In analyzing the samples, the characteristic elements of Western and Eastern arts are easy to identify,

¹ Only Dan Simonescu in his article about a Gospel from Caffa of 1351 had mentioned one particular binding. Cf. D. Simonescu, 'Evangelia Armeana din Iași', *Ani, Anuar de Cultură Armeană*, 1941, p. 341–343.

² *Ibidem*, p. 342.



Fig. 1. Silver binding No. 1 of the 15–16 centuries? (Gospel of Caffa, 1351)

as well as indications of the relations between them. The bindings from the Bucharest collection were made in Constantinople. In the 17–18th centuries radical changes occurred in different fields of art and were expressed particularly in the cultural melting pot of cosmopolitan capital of Ottoman empire. In the beginning of the 18th century, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III, the Ottoman government started to seek ways to overcome the difficulties facing the empire in the modern age. At this time, the Ottomans took a greater interest in the European countries and their cultures. In 1720 Sultan Ahmed III sent a delegation to Paris, to Louis XV's court, which was ordered to watch closely the processes taking place there, to get acquainted with French economy, culture and science thoroughly.³

Consequently, thanks to the new understanding of European culture, preferences and tastes changed, due to the growing influence and the spread of European printed books.⁴ According to some scholars, the “French royal style”, adds a new impulse of ideas, entered into the artistic life of Constantinople. The mixture of local style and European

³ Վ. Բալբուրդյան, *Օսմանյան կայսրության պատմություն*, Երևան 2011, pp. 360–361.

⁴ H. Evance, S. Merian, ‘The Final Centuries. Armenian Manuscripts of the Diaspora’ in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. T. F. Matheus, R. S. Wieck, New York, 1994, p. 112.

Baroque, later Rococo styles formed the new "Constantinople style"⁵. We can definitely say that the bindings in "Constantinople style" preserved in the Armenian Museum in Bucharest were prepared by Armenian master silversmiths, as most of them hold Armenian inscriptions and it is also known, that in the 19th century Armenian jewelers and silversmiths occupied a leading position in Constantinople⁶.

The earliest binding in this group is No. 38, which was made in 1783 and donated to the Armenian Holy Virgin Church in Botoșani in the Northern part of Moldavia according to the dedicatory inscription (fig. 2). Here we already see the new Western accent, which is the depiction of the *arma Christi*. In the corners of the upper cover, angels with those instruments in their hands are presented. The other side of the binding presents *Madonna with Child* and *Evangelists* in the corners, but the modeling of the figures is more dynamic (fig. 3).

The next example is the book binding of the printed Gospel No. 31, which was prepared at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries (fig. 4). On the upper cover the scene *Christ enthroned* is presented, with the symbols of Evangelists on the throne. On the lower cover is the scene of the Crucifixion with no visible Western influence. The two scenes are framed with stylized floral patterns in Constantinople style.

The image of *Christ enthroned* is typical for Armenian art. Although we meet its earliest example in the Gospel of 1236 painted by Ignatios⁷ (fig. 5), it is less common in book bindings. It is interesting that we could find only a few bindings with the same image (but rudimentary in comparison), which were made in Caffa. These are the Gospel bindings from 1656 (No. 2534), 1668 (No. 6606)⁸ (fig. 6) and 1723 (No. 7675)⁹ (fig. 7), preserved in the Matenadaran in Yerevan.

It is known that the Armenian art of Constantinople, particularly the miniature painting, was greatly influenced by the Armenian art of the Crimea¹⁰. In order to replenish Constantinople with citizens, in 1475 a great number of Armenians were forcibly resettled there from Caffa. In later centuries the immigration of Armenians from Crimea, and particularly from Caffa, continued¹¹. The immigrants were mostly artisans and merchants. We are sure that these processes greatly influenced the appearance of elements

⁵ R. T. Marchese, M. R. Breu, *Treasures of Faith. Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, Istanbul 2015, p. 92.

⁶ G. Kürkman, *Ottoman Silver Marks*, Istanbul 1996, p. 71, 287–289; Հ. Ստեփանյան, *Հայերի ներդրումն Օսմանյան կայսրությունում*, Երևան 2011, pp. 584–600.

⁷ S. Der-Nersessian, A. Mekhitarian, *Armenian Miniatures from Isfahan*, Brussels 1986, p. 62; *Horómos Monastery: Art and History*, ed. Ed. Vardanyan, Paris, 2015, p. 346, 349.

⁸ H. Buschhausen, H. Buschhausen, E. Korchmasjan, *Armenische Buchmalerei und Baukunst der Krim*, Erevan 2009, p. 246, fig. 285.

⁹ G. Eliasjan, *Silberbeschlagene Handschriften aus dem Matenadaran*, Jerewan 2011, p. 133.

¹⁰ H. Evance, S. Merian, 'The Final Centuries. Armenian Manuscripts of the Diaspora' in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. T. F. Matheus, R.S. Wieck, New York, 1994, p. 108.

¹¹ Ալ. Խառատյան, *Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ գաղթօջախը (XV–XVII դարեր)*, Երևան 2007, p. 56.



Fig. 2. Silver binding No. 38 of 1783, Constantinople (upper cover)



Fig. 3. Silver binding No. 38 of 1783, Constantinople (lower cover)



Fig. 4. Silver Binding of the Gospel No. 31, turn of the 18–19th centuries, Constantinople

typical for the Armenian art of Crimea in the Armenian art of Constantinople. Therefore, we can assume that the adoption of the image of *Christ enthroned* on the binding represents the influence of the Armenian art of Caffa.

The binding of manuscript No. 42 is in the new style (fig. 8). On the upper cover is the *Resurrection*, and on the lower cover the *Crucifixion*, both with spacious iconography, clearly of Western influence. The two scenes are again accentuated within a stylized frame. Beyond the frame, in the four corners are images of the *Evangelists* and their symbols. Scenes occupy the entire surface of the upper and lower covers, without leaving any free space.

Such interpretation of the *Resurrection* was imported into Armenian art after the iconographic changes in the 17th–18th centuries. Prior to the 17th century it was more common in Armenian art to depict the the *Holy Women at the Sepulcher* instead of the *Resurrection*.

In the 19th century the Constantinople style got a more noticeable Western character, whose vivid expression is shown in the Bucharest collection. The binding No. 14 of the Gospel of Myrrophores with green velvet background and overhead silver decoration dates to the first quarter of the 19th century (fig. 9). The upper cover presents the



Fig. 5. *Christ enthroned*, Gospel of 1236, New Julfa, Holy Savior Monastery, No. 36/156



Fig. 6. Binding of Gospel, Caffa, 1668, Matenadaran, No. 6606



Fig. 7. Binding of Gospel, Caffa, 1723, Matenadaran, No. 7675



Fig. 8. Silver Binding of the Gospel No. 42, turn of the 18–19th centuries, Constantinople

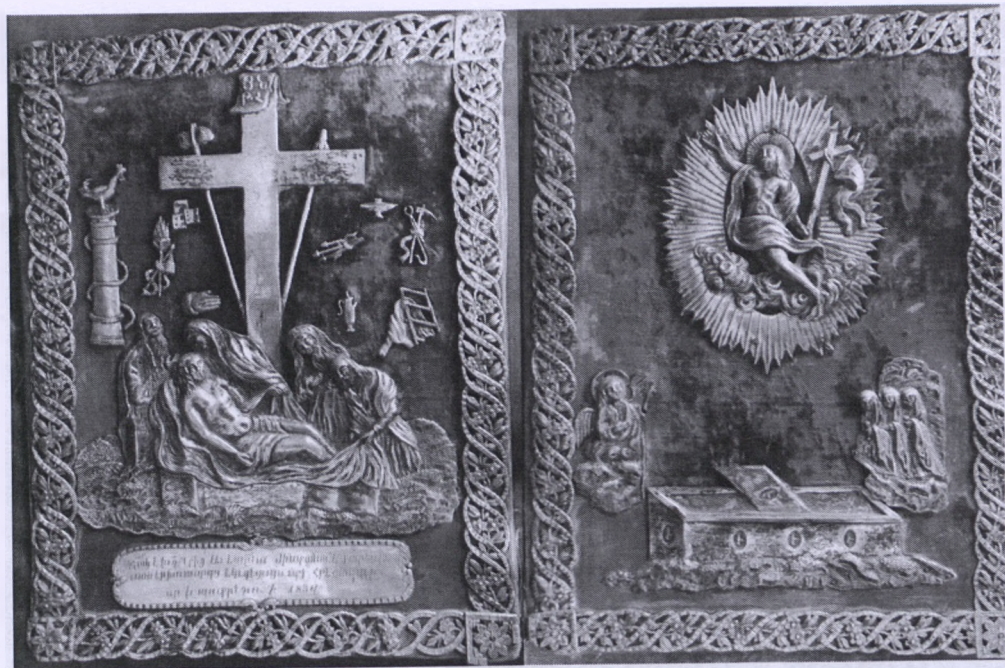


Fig. 9. Silver Binding of the Gospel of Myrophores No. 14, 19th century, Constantinople



Fig. 10. Silver Binding of the Gospel of Myrophores No. 15, 19th century, Constantinople

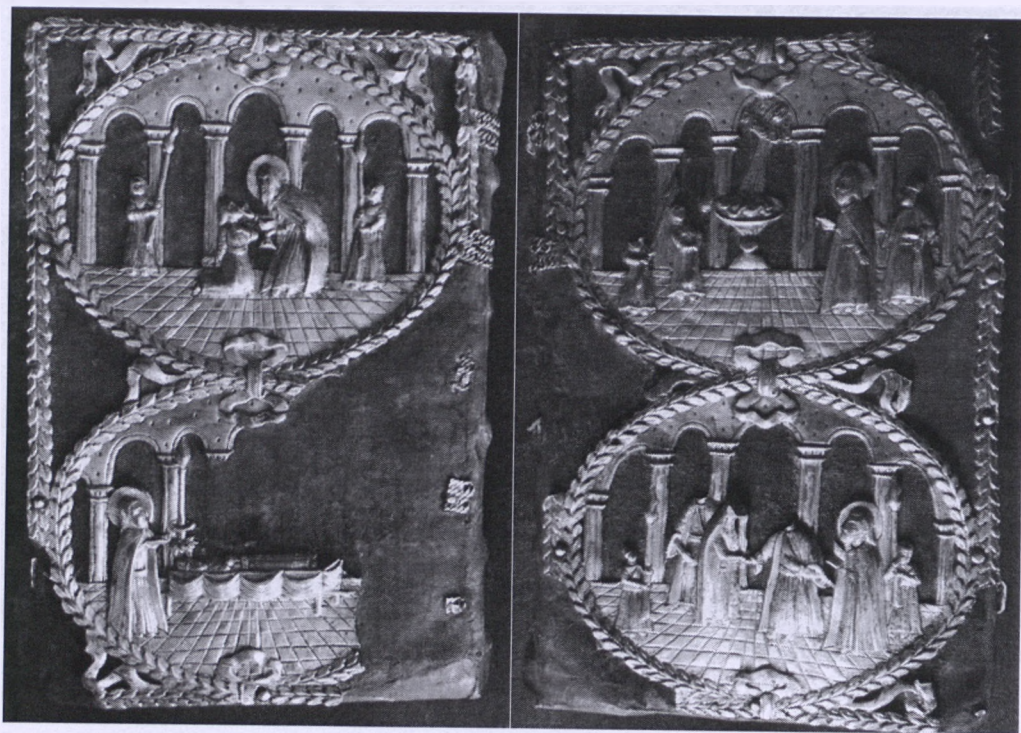


Fig. 11. Silver Binding of the Mashtots (Book of Rituals) No. 29, 19th century, Constantinople

Resurrection, on the lower cover is the *Entombment of Christ* with the same technique and iconographic features. The figures are presented with expressive and plastic solutions and are placed at the bottom of the scene. On the top there is the Cross surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion. Upper and lower covers are framed with splendid garlands.

The Gospel of Myrophores No. 15 and its binding also belong to the 19th century (fig. 10). On the binding of this Gospel we see the same scenes, with the same techniques as on the book binding of No. 14, but with a more saturated iconography, and in comparison with the previous example, the scenes are framed with double garlands. The main scenes are framed with a highly stylized vegetal and floral oval garland, out of which are heads of angels placed in the four corners. These all are framed with the second rectangular garland.

The most unique example is the book binding No. 29 – a Book of Rituals (Mashtots) (fig. 11). The Book of Rituals was published in Constantinople in 1792. The inscription reads that “the silver and gilded Mashtots” was donated in 1805 to the Armenian Church



Fig. 12. Scene of Marriage Ceremony, Silver Binding of the Mashtots (Book of Rituals) No. 29, 19th century, Constantinople

in Iasi. The binding is seriously damaged - the heads of figures are missing, as well as some parts of their features, and the bottom half of the lower cover.

There are four scenes presented, two on the upper cover and two on the lower one. Each scene is horizontally oval and enclosed in a frame resembling woven wheat spikes. Two scenes are connected with symbolic ribbons and are included in one common wheat spike frame.

This is the Book of Rituals, where the Rituals of the Armenian Church are presented. Therefore, four of them are depicted on the binding - these are Baptism, Marriage ceremony, Communion and Funeral. On the upper cover are placed the scenes of the Baptism and Marriage ceremony, and on the lower cover are the Communion and Funeral. The scenes are very unique in their composition and presentation. It is likely that other examples may exist, but as of yet we know of none.



Fig. 13. Johannes Lingelbach, *Gezicht op de Dam, Armenian Merchants* (1656), detail

The scenes are not crowded with figures, only the main figures are depicted in the scenes.

The most unique is the scene of Marriage. This is particularly noteworthy since depictions of marriage are not met with very often in Armenian art (fig. 12). The scene is depicted the moment of the marriage blessing, when the groom holds the right hand of the Bride with his right hand. The groom and the next layman are wearing clothing typical for wealthy Armenian merchants and noblemen of the 17th–19th centuries (fig. 13). The bride is wearing a bridal veil on her head, which covers her face and according to the engravings of that period, this was typical for Armenian brides of Constantinople¹². In all scenes we see that the priest is wearing clothing typical for Armenian clergymen (fig. 14).

Having considered works from Constantinople, I will now look to some examples from Romania. Sargis Golanjian, who has invested much time in to the study of Roma-

¹² Е. Н. Николаева, *Армянская коллекция государственного музея истории религии*, Санкт-Петербург 2011, р. 35.



Fig. 14. Silver Binding of the Mashtots (Book of Rituals) No. 29, The figure of Priest with the clothing of Armenian clergymen, details

nian-Armenian cultural heritage, notes that the “Armenians living in the city of Iasi were involved in various crafts including silversmithing”¹³. In this regard, the most important artifact is No. 23, the Gospel book published in 1729 in Constantinople (fig. 15). There are two inscriptions in the Gospel, the first of which contains very important information. It is the name of a Romanian-Armenian jeweler, who had lived and worked in the Romanian city of Iasi. According to the inscription, Father Johan’s son, the jeweler Bartholomew (Bardulimeos) from Iasi, donated the Gospel to the Holy Virgin Church of Iasi in 1781. As a result, this is the first Romanian-Armenian master’s name we know. The second inscription, recorded in 1805, is about the silver covering of the Gospel. In comparison with the bindings presented above, this one is simpler. In the four corners of green velvet background, on both covers, images of single angels are attached. In the middle of the upper cover is the scene of the *Crucifixion* with an oval frame, now missing. In the center of the lower cover is the scene of the *Resurrection*, again, in an oval frame.

Examples No. 120 and 121 repeat each other completely. The two Rituals (Mashtots) published in Jerusalem were donated by Khachik Gabri to the Armenian Church of the Holy Virgin in the city of Roman (fig. 16, 17). The binding was definitely made in Roma-

¹³ Ս. Քոլանջյան, ‘Հայերը Ռումինիայում’, Հայկական Սովետական Հանրագիտարան, 10 (1984), p. 30.



Fig. 15. Silver Binding of the Gospel No. 23, 19th century, Iasi, Romania

nia in the 20th century, as indicated by the silver hallmark used in Romania in the period between 1906–1926¹⁴ (fig. 18).

The composition of the binding is quite simple - the master has avoided details, ornaments and crowded scenes. In the center of the upper cover, on the dark-red velvet background with an oval frame, the image of the Crucified Christ is placed. The oval frame is flanked by the heads of angels attached in the corners. The composition of the lower cover is similar to the upper cover, with one difference: in the center, instead of the *Crucified Christ* is the *Resurrection of Christ*, again, with an oval frame and simple iconography. The locks are formed by molten figures of Saint Peter and Paul. The upper covers of both bindings are decorated with donative inscriptions. These are placed on the polished frames and merge into the general composition. The inscriptions are also important as an ornamental enhancement to the general composition.

It is evident that the bindings prepared in Romania are quite different from those produced in Constantinople. Though they are simpler in form and style, they show the variety of artistic tastes, opportunities and styles of the period.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to include all the book bindings and all relevant information associated with them in one paper, especially in the situation when we have no

¹⁴ <http://hallmarkwiki.com/?ShowHallmark=12225>.



Fig. 16. Gospels No. 120 & 121, 20th century, Romania, Upper covers



Fig. 17. Gospels No. 120 & 121, 20th century, Romania, Lower covers

consensus about the place and the date of origin of some bindings which have a high artistic value.

Undoubtedly, the silver binding collection of the Armenian Museum in Bucharest plays a very important role in the history of Armenian and Romanian precious metal art due to its unique artistic representations and compositions.



Fig. 18. Hallmark used in Romania between 1906–1926, Gospels No. 120 & 121, 20th century, Romania

Fig. 18. Hallmark used in Romania between 1906–1926, Gospels No. 120 & 121, 20th century, Romania

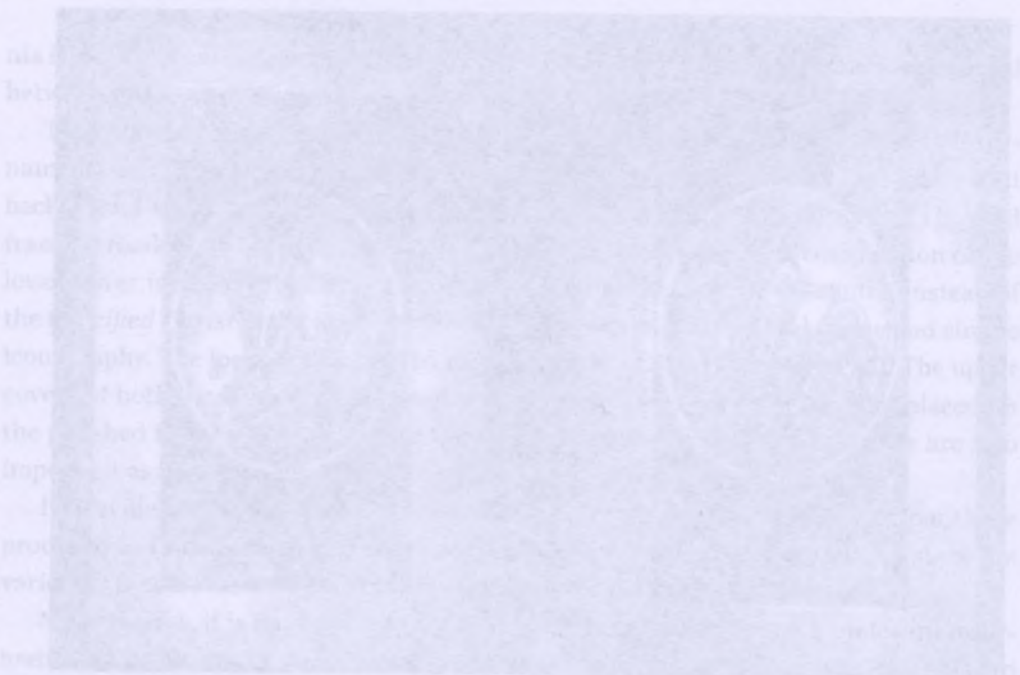


Fig. 19. Gospels No. 120 & 121, 20th century, Romania

Wood-carved Ornaments in the Armenian Tenement-Houses of Zamość

Piotr Kondraciuk, Museum of Zamość

Zamość occupies an important place in studies on the culture and art of the Armenian diaspora in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the first half of the 17th century, the city was a leading centre for Armenian culture and art (Fig.1). Up to now, many traces of the Armenians' presence and rich culture have been preserved there. In tenement-houses inhabited by Armenians, architectural decorations made from stucco or stone and fragments of polychromatic decoration have remained. These ornaments became the subject



Fig.1. Armenian Tenement-Houses at the Great Market in Zamość

of analyses by many researchers who dealt with Armenian culture and art¹. A few of my articles were devoted to them, too². Besides architectural and painted decorations, in the interiors of Zamość tenements there are also numerous wood carvings that have not been analysed yet. I am going to take these ornaments into consideration at present.

Wood-carved ornaments are concentrated on ceiling beams. Their arrangement is centrally symmetrical and usually reduced to large rosettes situated on the vertical walls of the cross-beam and adjacent beams. In the case of a lack of cross-beam, rosettes are placed on



Fig. 2. Large rosettes situated on vertical walls of the cross-beam and adjacent beams. The interior of the tenement house on Ormiańska 26 Street

¹ M. Pawlicki, *Kamienice ormiańskie w Zamościu*, in: *Zamość miasto idealne. Studia z dziejów rozwoju przestrzennego i architektury*, ed. J. Kowalczyk, Lublin 1980, pp. 79–102; U. Fidecka, *Kamienice ormiańskie w Zamościu*, Muzeum Okręgowe w Zamościu, Zamość 1989; M. Pawlicki, *Kamienice mieszczkańskie Zamościa. Problemy ochrony*, Kraków 1999; H. Kaufhold, *Schriftliche Spuren der Armenier in Zamość (Polen)*, in: *Sarmatismus versus Orientalismus in Mitteleuropa (Sarmatism versus Orientalism in Europe Środkowej)*, ed. M. Długosz, P. O. Scholz, Berlin 2012, pp. 233–258.

² P. Kondraciuk, *Sztuka ormiańska w Zamościu*, in: *Ars Armeniaca. Sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich*, Katalog wystawy, Muzeum Zamojskie, Zamość 2010, pp. 11–25; Idem, 'Armenian Art in Zamość', *Series Byzantina*, 9 (2011), pp. 159–166; Idem, *Die armenische Architektur in Zamość*, in: *Die Kunst der Armenier im östlichen Europa*, ed. M. Dmitrieva, B. Kovács, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Böhlau 2014, pp. 89–96.

the middle beams, usually in a threefold lay-out (Fig. 2). The forms the decorations of the rosettes take are various. We can distinguish the following motifs among them:

1. A rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily framed by a hexagon, surrounded by a wreath of alternately cut concave and convex triangles. This motif also appears close to a double wreath of triangles (Fig. 3).

2. A swirling rosette with sharp, concave or convex edges, often surrounded by a wreath of alternately cut concave and convex triangles (Fig. 4).

3. A swirling convex rosette with smooth, rounded edges, surrounded by a wreath of alternately cut concave and convex triangles (Fig. 5).

4. A swirling rosette with a central, small rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily (Fig. 6).

5. A rosette in the form of three circles rotating in opposite directions (Fig. 7).

6. A rosette in the form of sharp, regular rays, surrounded by a wreath of triangles (Fig. 8).

7. A rosette in the form of small rhombuses regularly arranged in a grating, surrounded by a wreath of triangles (Fig. 9). This motif also appears in the form of large rhombuses (Fig. 10).

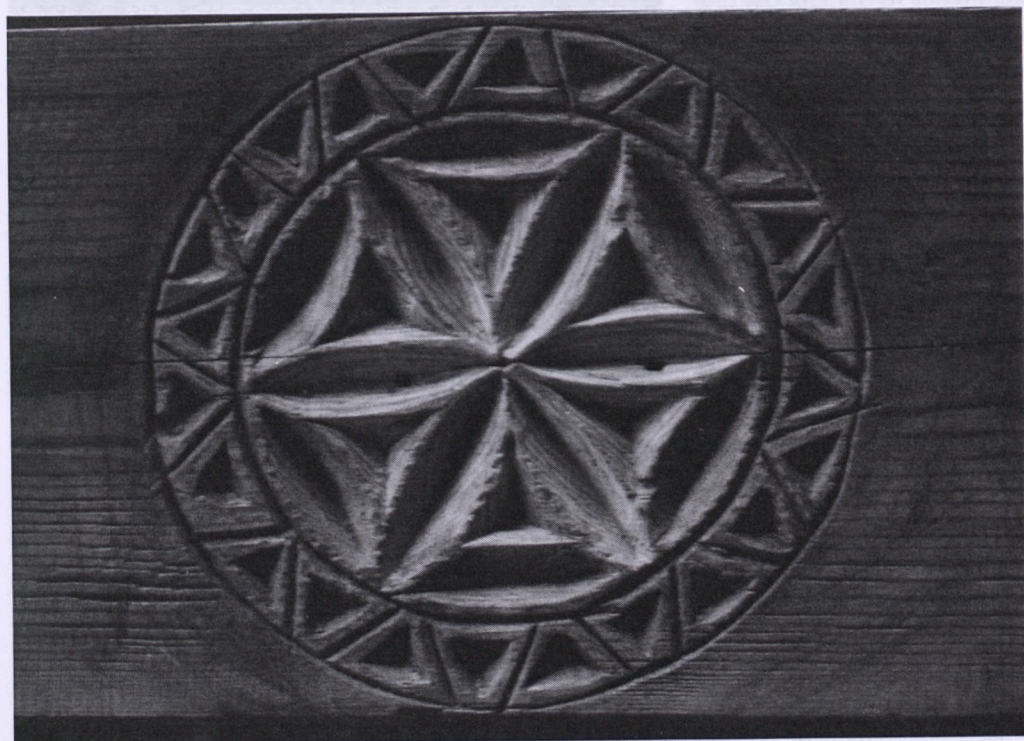


Fig. 3. Rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily put down in a hexagon. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the tenement house on Ormiańska 30 Street

The most popular motif is a rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily placed within a hexagon (Fig. 11). This motif is repeated eighteen times in Zamość wood carvings while others are met much less frequently (from 1 to 4 examples). The popularity of this motif can be also demonstrated by its occurrence on the ceiling beam preserved in the collection of the Lviv Historical Museum³ (Fig. 12). The analysed motif is popular in the folk culture of Scandinavia and Northern Europe as well as that of the Carpathian foothills. In this case, however, the motif in question has an oriental provenance. Władysław Łoziński pays attention to this, when he writes: "wavy rosettes, so popular in the folk ornamentation in Scandinavia, Friesland and Holland, as well as among our inhabitants of the East Carpathians, should be rather in this case associated with an Oriental origin, which is

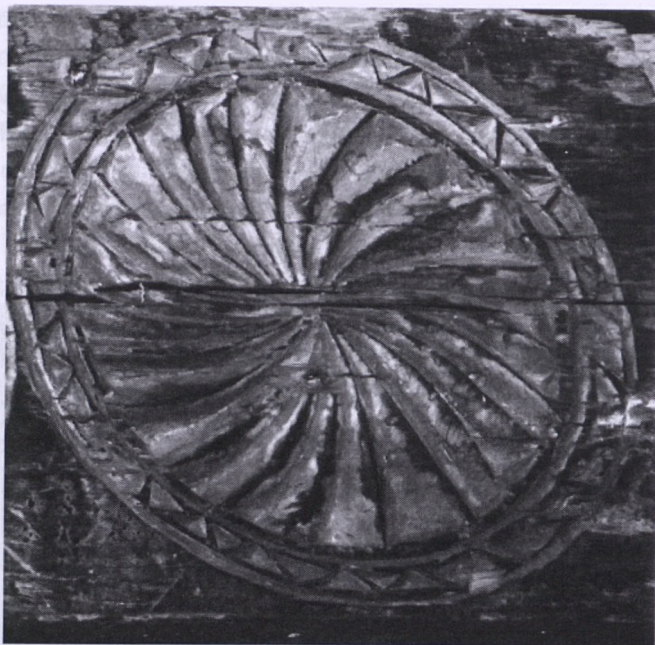


Fig. 4. Swirling rosette. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the collection of the Museum of Zamość.

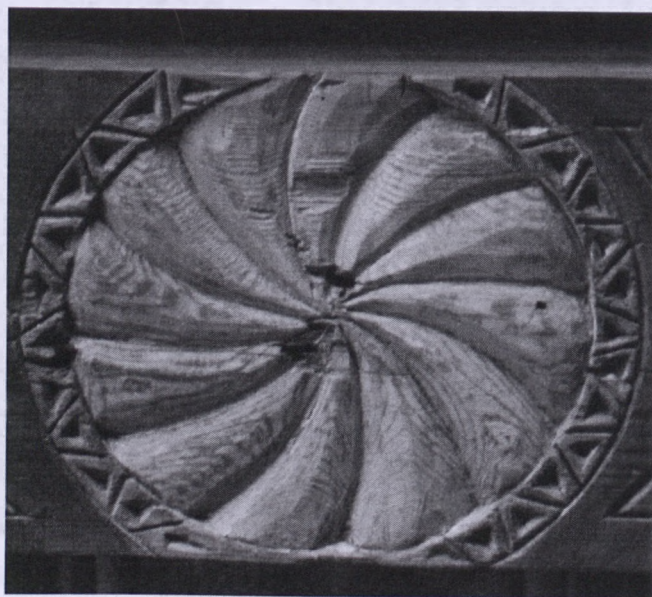


Fig. 5. Swirling rosette. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the tenement house on Ormiańska 30 Street

³ Cf. W. Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska w XVI i XVII wieku. Architektura i rzeźba*, Lwów 1901, p. 92.

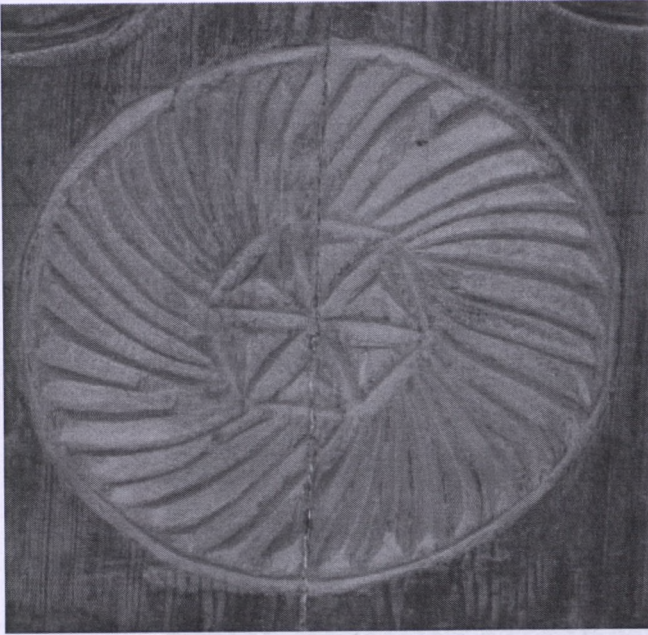


Fig. 6. Swirling rosette with a central, small rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the tenement house on Ormiańska 26 Street



closer to Armenians than the North of Europe; for it is obvious that the same technique and at least more related ornaments are met in Turkey and other countries of the East⁴. The origin of the motif seems to be distant, it goes back to late antiquity. Identical six-armed rosettes decorate, among other objects, the metal fittings of a belt coming from the so-called Zamość treasure from around the mid-4th century (currently in the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Sankt Petersburg), whose elements are connected with the cultural circle of the Black Sea region. They can be found in the decoration of Medieval Armenian cross-stones (khachkars), too. The similar six-petaled rosette supplemented by motifs of the thin leaves, appeared also in the wooden architecture in Little Poland of the gothic period (in a lintel of a portal of the non-extant church in Krościenko

Fig. 7. Rosette in the form of three circles rotating in opposite directions. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the collection of the Museum of Zamość

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 92.



Fig. 8. Rosette in the form of sharp, regular rays, surrounded by a wreath of triangles. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the collection of the Museum of Zamość

Wyżne)⁵. The fact that the rosette motif in the decoration of the ceiling beams is met almost exclusively in Armenian tenement-houses (in both Zamość and Lviv), bespeaks the Armenianness of the motif. In tenements inhabited by other nations connected with Western culture, ceiling beams are smoothly hewn and painted with floral flagella⁶ (Fig. 13).

The sources of other decorative motives should be also sought in oriental ornamentation. In particular, this search for origins concerns a motif of the swirling rosette which appears in architecture (swirling rosettes framing a frieze under a window moulding in Soltan Sachwelowicz's tenement in Zamość) and artistic craft. In wooden architecture, we can find the similar swirling rosettes in the decoration of constructional beams in the non-extant Orthodox Uniat church from 1780 in Nieznajowa near Nowy Sącz⁷.

⁵ Cf. R. Brykowski, *Drewniana architektura kościelna w Małopolsce XV wieku*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1991, Fig. 144. The church taken apart in 1909-1916, has been known from both a drawing and photography.

⁶ W. Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁷ Cf. R. Brykowski, *Łemkowska drewniana architektura cerkiewna w Polsce, na Słowacji i Rusi Zakarpackiej*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1986, p. 127.

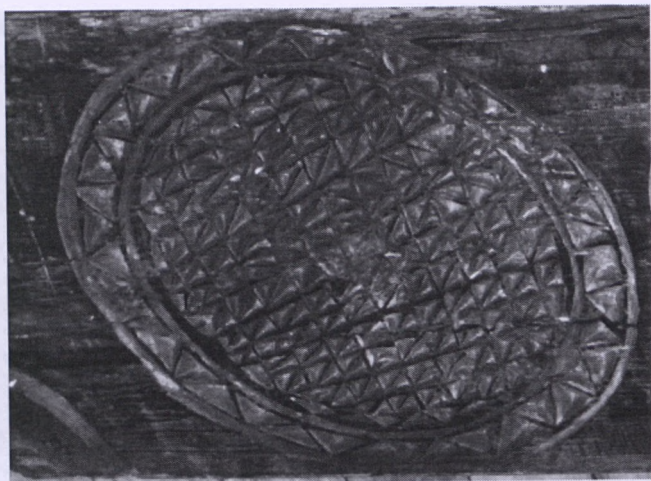


Fig. 9. Rosette in the form of small rhombuses regularly arranged in a grating. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the collection of the Museum of Zamość

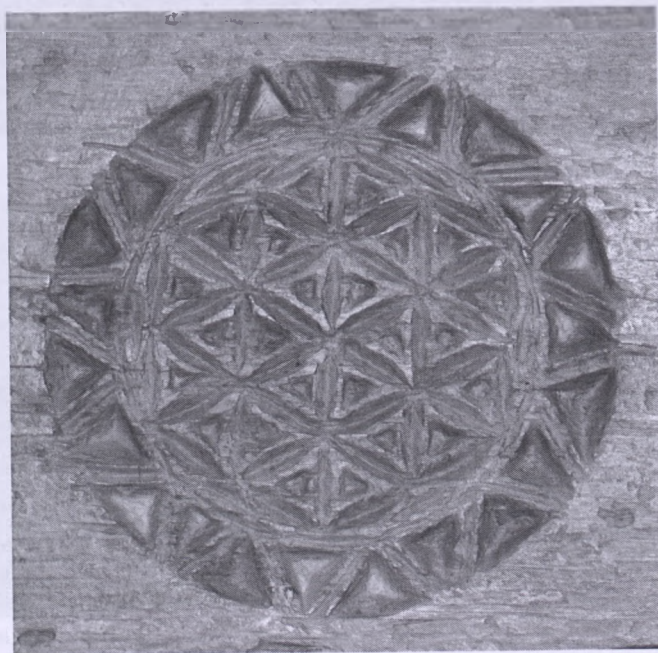


Fig. 10. Rosette in the form of large rhombuses regularly arranged in a grating. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the tenement house on Ormiańska 26 Street

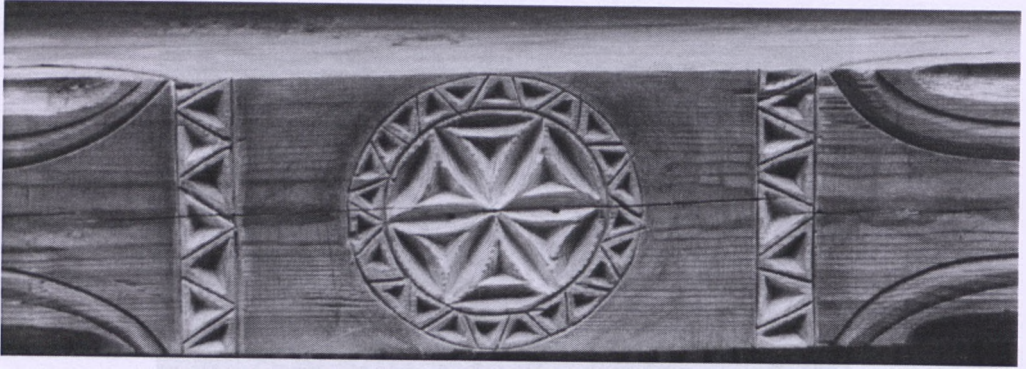


Fig. 11. Rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily put down in a hexagon. The most popular motif in the decoration of ceiling beams. Fragment of the ceiling beam from the tenement house on Ormiańska 30 Street

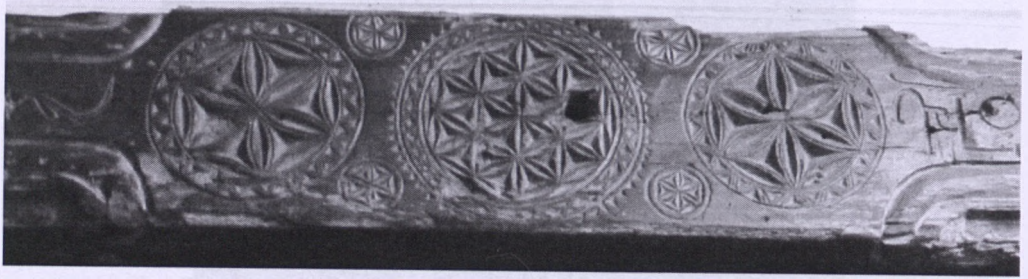


Fig. 12. Rosette in the form of a six-petaled lily put down in a hexagon on the ceiling beam from the collection of the Lviv Historical Museum

Ornaments of this type can be seen in the decoration of ceiling beams throughout the 17th century. Analogical or even identical forms can be found on beams from 1609, 1634 and 1672. In the 18th century, decorations of this type no longer appeared. However, they spread in the folk culture of the Carpathian mountains and foothills. Adorning not only ceiling beams but also other elements of wooden architecture and craft (doors, window lintels, chests, furniture), they have become a recognizable decorative element in the so-called Zakopane style since the end of the 19th century⁸. You can see them in regional wooden buildings there even now. These buildings show especially the repetition of the motif of the six-petaled lily, which is described as the *leluja* in a dialect of the Tatra Highlands⁹.

Translated by Joanna Paczos

⁸ Cf. W. Krasowski, *Architektura drewniana w Polsce*, Arkady, Warszawa 1961, fig. 77–78; T. Chrzanoski, K. Piwocki, *Drewno w polskiej architekturze i rzeźbie ludowej*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków 1981, fig. 43.

⁹ M. B. Pawlicki, *Ilustrowany słownik terminów gwarowych budownictwa i architektury Podhala, Spisza i Orawy*, Kraków 2010, p. 44.



Fig. 13. Ceiling beams decorated with a motif of floral flagella. The interior of the tenement house on Staszica 29 Street

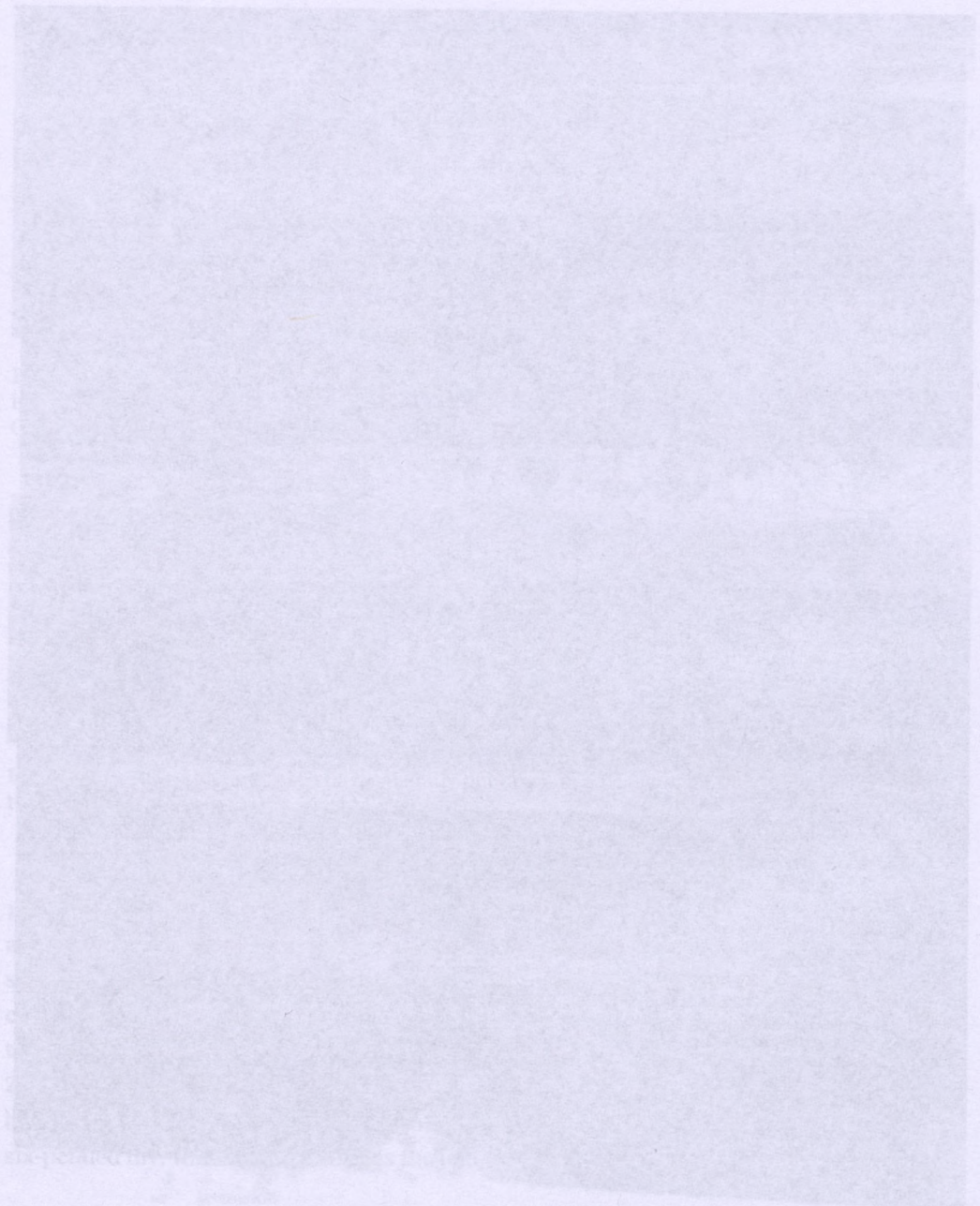


Fig. 1. Włoszczyzna (The author's drawing).

The author's drawing of the site of Włoszczyzna, showing the location of the archaeological site and the surrounding landscape.

W. S. Pawłucki, *Historia i geografia terenów pogranicznych i archeologia Podkarpacia*, Spisze i Orava, Kraków 1940, p. 24.

The Unknown about the Well-known: the Issue of the Attribution of Some Armenian Wonder-Working Icons from the Cathedral of Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Lviv

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The peculiarities of the formation and development of the Armenian Diaspora's iconography in Ukraine largely reflect the nature of the changes that have taken place amongst Armenian settlers, for centuries living in another foreign country. The iconographic material of the Armenian Diaspora is the tangible evidence of this unique lifestyle. It reveals the outlook and the characteristic features of the Ukrainian Armenians who had been successfully incorporated into the system of new social relationships, becoming an integral part of Ukrainian-Polish society. One of the most striking pieces of evidence of this is the history of the Armenian miraculous icons in Lviv's Armenian Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Until the sixteenth century, Armenian fine art in Ukraine was chiefly found in book illumination. It was in this field that the scenic talent of Armenians was most fully and clearly made manifest. However, according to E. S. Guseva, Armenians had also played an important role in the formation of the Eastern Christian visual language in its early stage. Particularly, Guseva identifies that: 'within the circle of scholars of medieval art there has long been an opinion that the ancient Armenian book miniature plays the invaluable role in analyzing and deciphering the Christian iconography along with [...] its certain symbolic components; [...] it appears to be practically a universal keeper of iconographic schemes

and details of the ancient period, although, for various reasons, this tradition faded with time and its sense [...] was forgotten [...].¹

Back in their native land, Armenians would not tend to use icons in their temples or dwelling houses. Yet, the contacts they started to establish with the West, which got remarkably closer since the Crusader era, as well as the emigration of a considerable part of Armenians to other countries, led to corresponding changes in Armenians' tastes and demands. Even though the icon had never become dominant in the temple's interior (in this sense, the Armenians were closer to the Catholic tradition), their specific weight in the Diaspora churches began to increase. However, since icon painting has never been one of the main directions of Armenian fine art, the iconography of images created within the Diaspora most frequently reflects the styles which dominated in the surrounding areas. This factor also affects the distribution of certain types of icons.

To give an example, there was almost no cult of miraculous icons in Armenia, whereas in the Ukrainian Diaspora the situation was gradually changing. Under the influence of the Orthodox and Catholic environment, the Armenians began to create more and more miraculous icons – especially the Marian icons, which became especially noticeable after the Armenian Church in Ukraine adopted the Union with Rome in 1630.

It is possible to make statements about the influence of Armenian miniatures on Ukrainian iconography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For example, Polish scientists trace the impact of Armenian miniatures on the iconography of the work, dated to the first half of the twelfth century, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. This picture is held in the Castle Museum in Łañcut located in the outskirts of Przemyśl (inv. no. SZR-576). In the context of this work, also of interest are the icon depicting *The Last Judgement* (dating to the 1560's) from the church in Dolyna, an Armenian settlement (Lviv National Museum, inv. no. I-1451). The icons of *The Presentation in the Temple* and *The Entry into Jerusalem* of the early seventeenth century from the village of Malniv are also part of this group (Lviv National Museum, inv. no. I-137 and I-138).²

Sadok Barącz wrote that Armenian artists had perhaps been first to begin to adopt the Byzantine school of painting in Ruthenia. It's hard to say which Armenian artists the scientist implied. When it comes to the implementation of the Byzantine painting school in Ruthenia, it is logical to assume that Barącz was referring to the earliest period of the spread of icons in Ruthenia, associated with the adoption of Christianity as the state religion. Within this development, the role of the Byzantine Princess Anna of the Macedonian (Armenian) dynasty, who became the Christian Prince Vladimir's wife was vital. Along with the miraculous icon of the Virgin, painted (according to the legend) by St. Luke, she also brought

¹ Э. С. Гусева, 'О некоторых чертах древней христианской иконографии и символики в русских иконах 14-16 вв.', in: *Республиканская научная конференция по проблемам культуры и искусства Армении. Тезисы докладов*, Ереван, 1982, pp. 298–300.

² S. Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce*, Lwów, 1856. pp. 180–188.

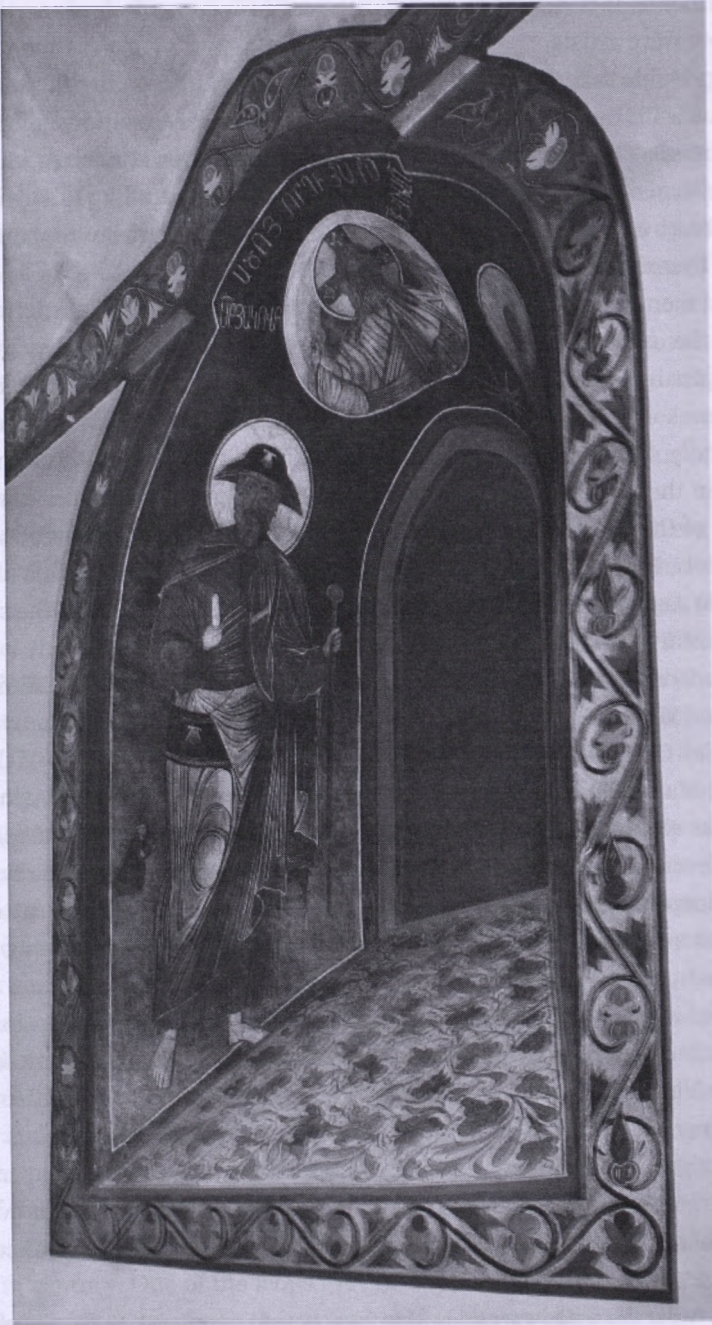


Fig.1. St. James of Compostela, the mural painting from the window niche of the Armenian cathedral, Lviv

monks to Ruthenia. It is very likely that there were Armenian Chalcedonians among them, some of whom were artists.

It is also possible that the oldest paintings in the Armenian cathedral were made by Armenian artists from Byzantium or the Crimea (given the close relations of Armenians from Lviv and Crimea). This is evidenced by the frescoes discovered in 1925, during the third general reconstruction of the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv. According to Bogdan Janusz, the medieval frescoes of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries were painted under the influence of 'Byzantine art adapted for Ruthenia'.³

The oldest monuments of Armenian iconography and paintings date to the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century. Among the few extant icons, religious paintings and secular pictures (portraits), one may distinguish two types of works, based on their stylistic features. Firstly, those created by local craftsmen in the traditions of the given region. Secondly, works either brought to Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or painted by local artists in the West European fine art tradition. Nearly all the monuments of Armenian fine art of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth period, discovered until now, can be found in Lviv. In other cities of Ukraine, according to the research by Volodymyr Alexandrovych, no Armenian artists were mentioned in documents during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.⁴

Armenian icons of that later period are poorly represented in Ukrainian museums. There are a few Marian icons, one of which is the Miraculous Virgin of Kamyanets situated in the Armenian Cathedral of Lviv. There are also the two surviving icons of the Evangelists Matthew and Mark (dating to the early seventeenth century) from the Armenian Church of St. Anna, as well as the icon of the Holy Trinity (late sixteenth century), St. Anthony the Hermit (seventeenth century), St. Cayetano (eighteenth century). Finally, there are the icons of St. Gregory the Illuminator with the donator's inscription in a cartouche (dating to the seventeenth century), and an icon depicting King Trdat's Anointing the Kingdom (eighteenth century).

The style of a proportion of the icons and pictures is openly western-oriented. These include the icon of the Holy Virgin of Yazlovets (fifteenth century), the miraculous icon of the Armenian Virgin of Kamyanets-Podilskyi (sixteenth century) and the icon of the Saint Trinity in *Durer's* style. According to Ya. Kzhonchevsky, both these icons of the Virgin Mary were designed in the style of the Hodegetria Malopolska⁵. The Kamyanets-Podilskyi icon of the Virgin in the B. and V. Khanenko Museum is attributed as the work of an unknown artist of the Czech school. However, its stylistic features allow us to suppose that it

³ B. Junusz, 'Odkrycie fresków średniowiecznych w Katedrze ormiańskiej', *Słowo Polskie*, (61), 15.VI. 1925, (63), 17.VI. 1925.

⁴ В. Александрович, 'Епілог львівського середовища малярів вірменського походження: майстри середини XVII – першої третини XVIII ст.', *Україна в минулому*, 8 (1996), pp. 136–150.

⁵ J. Chrzęszczewski, *Kościół ormian polskich*, Warszawa, 2001, p. 42.

can be referred to as an icon painted in the late fourteenth century by an unknown artist of the Venetian school.

The icons of St. Anthony the Hermit, St. Matthew the Evangelist and Mark the Evangelist are most likely to have been painted by a local Armenian artist. The images of St. Cayetan and – especially St. Gregory the Illuminator, as well as King Trdat Anointing the Kingdom bear distinct features, characteristic of Moldova and Romania. The Armenian manuscripts of protonotary G. Kasparovich mention the icon of the *Holy Virgin of Sorrows*, which was kept in the premises of Lviv's Armenian Cathedral in the seventeenth century. It was painted by priest Kamchits Baziliyanin.⁶

St. Gregory the Illuminator is one of the Armenians' most venerated saints. From the seventeenth century his icon, regarded to as a miraculous one, was stored in the Armenian Cathedral. The eponymous brotherhood was formed in Lviv in 1640.⁷ The icon was kept in the side altar of the temple. Underneath it, there was a commemorative donor's inscription placed in a Baroque cartouche.

Mieczysław Gębarowicz argued that the icon had been painted in the West, according to a Byzantine model, in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸ However, the donor's inscription states it was given to the church by Kateryna Vachko (Vachkoents) 1638. The surname's ending indicates the area of origin, which could be Moldova or Wallachia. The icon's subject as well as its stylistic features make us think of the same region, too. The inscription was considered lost, but in fact it is kept in the collections of the Lviv History Museum (inv. no. Ж -74), as a painting titled an Armenian Inscription.

Until recently, the author considered the icon of *St. Gregory the Illuminator*, stored in the Lviv Art Gallery, to be the same miraculous icon, around which the Brotherhood was created. However, there have appeared reasons to doubt this. The point is that there are two very similar icons of St. Gregory – with Lives. The one of them without frame, which was considered to be lost, is stored in collection of Lviv Art Gallery (inv. no. M-5998.). The other icon – a similar but not identical one – in a silver casing, hangs in the side altar of the Lviv Armenian Cathedral. The icon, stored in the Lviv Art Gallery, came there from the Lviv History Museum in 1983. Until 1940 it had been kept in the collection of the Armenian Arch-Diocesan Museum in Lviv. The majority of researchers have identified this icon as a miraculous one, and its casing believed to be lost. However, the icon, stored in the cathedral, does have a casing. It is also possible that this is the original casing it had acquired in the second half of the seventeenth century. Thus, we can speak about two icons of St. Gregory the Illuminator from the Armenian Cathedral of Lviv: both with life scenes, both dated to the seventeenth century. One of the icons may be a replica. The museum researchers have assigned the icon of St. Gregory to the second half of the seventeenth century. The other

⁶ S. Barącz, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁷ Cz. Lechicki, *Kościół Ormiański w Polsce. Zarys historyczny*, Lwów, 1928, p. 65.

⁸ *Wystawa zabytków ormiańskich we Lwowie*, Lwów, 1933, pp. 21–22.



Fig. 2. St. Gregory the Illuminator, Armenian cathedral, Lviv



Fig. 3. St. Gregory the Illuminator, 17 century, the icon from Armenian cathedral in Lviv, today Lviv Art Gallery

icon, stored in the Armenian Cathedral, has not been investigated and attributed. The only thing we know is that in 1909 Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz ordered to removed the casing from the icon and it was given some 'amateur restoration'.⁹

Although the icons look similar, they are not identical. The icon in the Cathedral is a full-length depiction of the Saint. He gives a blessing with his one hand, holding a staff in the other. There are fifteen scenes of the life of the Saint engraved on the casing. The icon in the Museum depicts the Saint's bust, with no hands displayed.

All this evidence does not allow us to suppose that one icon is the other one's reproduction. Instead, there are substantial reasons to surmise that there were two different icons in the Cathedral: a bigger and a smaller one. There is a record in the Brotherhood's accounting documents dated to 1717, which states that ten Polish zlotys were paid for 'the frame to the big icon of St. Gregory.'¹⁰ If there was only one icon of St. Gregory in the Cathedral, there would be no need to specify, that the frame was intended for the *big* icon. So it is much more likely that there were two icons of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the Lviv Armenian Cathedral: big and small. The image in the casing, kept in the Cathedral, is the big one and the image in the Museum must be the small one. Since the casing was given to the big icon, it would be logical to conclude that the icon from the Cathedral and not the one from the Lviv Art Gallery. is the wonder-working one. In order to make sure this is the correct conclusion it is necessary to carry out an attribution analysis of the icon in the Cathedral and its casing.

One of the most notable examples of Armenian fine art is the icon of The Holy Trinity dated to the late sixteenth century (Lviv Art Gallery, inv. no. Ж-1649). Mieczysław Gębarowicz argued that this icon, which is painted in Durer's style, with a figure of the founder below is "one of the oldest examples of the Lviv guild fine art."¹¹ Most likely, the author of the icon was a Lviv Armenian artist. Firstly, the icon was revered as miraculous and they kept it in the Armenian Cathedral. It was painted by a local artist. Secondly, its stylistic features are a synthesis of the Western tradition with the tradition of the Moldovan-Romanian region. The icon was clearly created under the influence of A. Durer's altarpiece The Adoration of the Holy Trinity (1511, Museum of the History of Art in Vienna), ordered by a rich merchant from Nuremberg for the chapel in the house of the Twelve Brothers. His name was Matthias Landauer and he owned a thriving copper workshop.

The icon's composition was certainly influenced by Dürer's picture and yet it is not a replica of it. In Durer's painting, the Holy Trinity is placed in the top center of the image, depicting the Last Judgment. The Holy Spirit in the image of a dove is above God the Father who holds a crucifix with Christ. In the Armenian icon, the Holy Spirit proceeds exclusively from God the Father, – in accordance with the Armenian Orthodox tradition, so obviously

⁹ D. Kajetanowicz, *Katedra Ormiańska i jej otoczenie. Przewodnik*, Lwów, 1930, pp. 44–46.

¹⁰ B. Janusz, *Mons Pius ormian lwowskich*, Lwów, 1928. p. 53.

¹¹ *Wystawa zabytków ormiańskich we Lwowie ...*, p. 21.

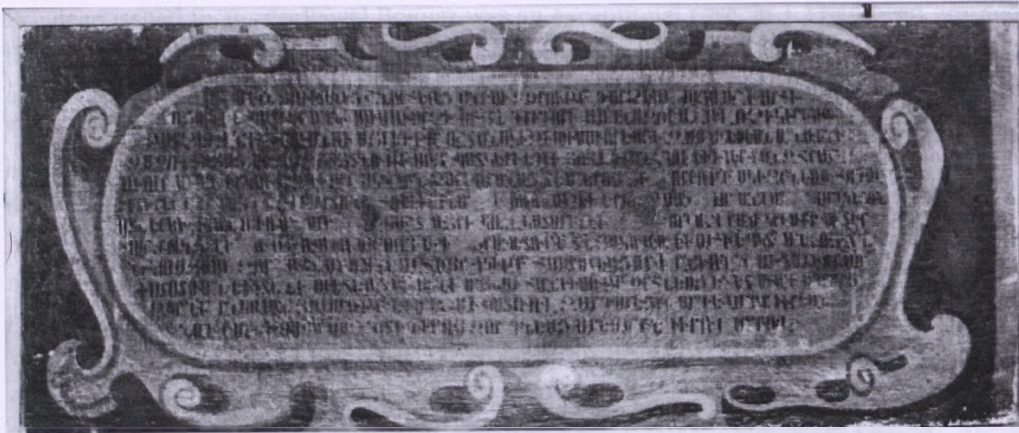


Fig. 4. The donator's inscription to the icon of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Lviv Historical Museum

the artist was not Catholic. Just like in Dürer's icon, the donor's figure is located at the picture's bottom left – not right.

The throne of God the Father in the Armenian icon has drawn researchers' attention. Its shape resembles the shapes of thrones in Armenian icons from Romania. Consequently, it is likely that the artist visited Nuremberg, Moldova and Wallachia. Taking such a trip could have been connected with trading activity: there were large trading centers located in Moldova, Wallachia (Nuremberg being one as well) and many important trade routes stretched in these directions. For the Armenian artists of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries it was natural to combine painting and trade, which is witnessed in the documents of that time. Thus, Paweł Bogusz eldest son born by Katarzyna Hodzinkiewicz, Szymon Boguszewicz recalls his repetitious trips to Muscovy in 1604 – 1611 in order 'to make his poor living'.¹² A famous Lviv Armenian artist, Krzysztof Zachnowicz was the Chief Deputy of the Lviv Guild of Artists in 1662–1666. At the same time, he did trade, making successful commercial deals¹³. So if this icon is one of the oldest examples of the Lviv painting guild, then it may have been painted by Paweł Bogusz (†1605). The period of time the icon was painted in also allows us to make such a suggestion. Paweł Bogusz was mentioned in the document dated to 1570. It is the first documentary evidence about Armenian artists living in Lviv.¹⁴ Although the first separate guild was created in 1595, the Armenians were only granted the right to enter it after the Union with Rome was signed, in accordance with the

¹² В. Александрович, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–150; В. Александрович, 'Малярі вірменського походження у Львові перед серединою 17 ст.', in: *Збірник наукових праць на пошану Ярослава Дашкевича з нагоди его 70-річчя, Львів-Київ-Нью-Йорк, 1996*, pp. 537–554.

¹³ В. Александрович, 'Епілог львівського середовища ...', p. 140.

¹⁴ В. Александрович, 'Малярі вірменського походження ...', pp. 537–554.



Fig. 5. The Holy Trinity from the Lviv Armenian cathedral, Lviv Art Gallery

Privilege issued in 1651.¹⁵ Paweł Bogusz was an exceptional case, as he had been granted this permission, according to the Royal Privilege, as long ago as in 1600. Aleksandrovych argues that the entire history of Armenian fine art in Lviv had started with him.

There is another Armenian miraculous icon of the seventeenth century, which has been bypassed by researchers' attention. It is the Kamyanets Holy Virgin from the Lviv Armenian Cathedral. Perhaps this is the only icon of the cathedral about which there is almost no written information at all. We only know that Armenians had brought it from Kiev. This must have happened in the period between 1622, when the Kiev Armenian community moved to the jurisdiction of the Lviv community¹⁶, and 1654, when the Brotherhood of the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception was founded at the Lviv Armenian Cathedral for the veneration of the icon of the Immaculate Virgin Mary of Kamyanets¹⁷. This gap can be narrowed down. Researchers know that in 1651 Polish-Lithuanian troops burned the whole territory of Podolie along with the Armenian Church and the Armenian settlement that had been there. Since the miraculous icon was kept in the Kiev Armenian Church, it was most likely taken to Lviv immediately after the church was destroyed¹⁸.

The manuscript of the Armenian Apostolic protonotary, Gabriel Kasparowicz, contains descriptions of thirty-eight wonders this icon had worked within the period from 1751 to 1774. From this witness account we learn that the icon would not want to stay in Kiev and traveled with pilgrims. Still in Kiev this icon worked miracles and became famous for the amazing healing works it performed: 'It loved our fathers to such an extent, that it did not want to stay without them in Kiev. It raised people from the dead and healed the sick'¹⁹. On the 100th anniversary of the Brotherhood's foundation, one of the Brotherhood's members, Andrzej Balicki, presented a silver frame for this icon. This icon was not sacred exclusively among Armenians. Thus, the Lviv Council resolved to put it up on the city's Cracow gate for some time 'to give it more honor and reverence' Among the most impressive miracles committed by the Kamyanets Virgin was the healing of Lviv's Armenian archbishop-metropolitan Jan Tobias Avgustynowicz. His body was completely paralyzed – he could neither move or speak. The Metropolitan's body was brought to the altar, where the icon was. He was left to lie there for some time, praying quietly, until he was completely healed. This miracle was witnessed and

¹⁵ Я. П. Кісь, *Промисловість Львова у період феодалізму (XIII–XIX ст.)*, Львів 1968, р. 150.

¹⁶ Д. И. Мышко, 'О жизни армян в Киеве в XV-первой половине XVII вв.', in: *Исторические связи и дружба украинского и армянского народов*, Київ 1965, р. 119.

¹⁷ В. Janusz, *Mons Pius ...*, р. 28.

¹⁸ S. Barącz, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–165.

¹⁹ Львівська наукова бібліотека ім. В. Стефаника, фонд рукописів, ф. 5, № 1721, „Skarb wszechmocności Boskiej Nieprzebranej w Cudowney Matce Swoiej Kościoła Archikatedralnego Lwowskiego Ormiańskiego w Obrazie Starożytnym w Oltarzu Bractwa Niepokalaniego Jey Poczęcia niesloczonymi laskami nieustannie słynącym szafuiący roku 1751 Dnia 14 lipca podczas Jubileuszu uniwersalnego przez Moie Wiecznego Pani Tey Niewolnika x. Gabriela Kasparowicza Protonotariusza Apostolskiego Otworzony”.



Fig. 6. The icon of the Virgin of Kamyanets, Armenian cathedral, Lviv



Fig. 7. The icon of the Virgin of Kamyanets, reproduction from the book of Bohdan Janusz, *Mons Pius Ormian lwowskich*, Lwów 1928

documented by the Armenian archbishop's general official Deodat Nikorowicz, vicars Piotr Bohosiewicz and Gabriel Anndrzej Kasparowicz and Barbara Zadykowiczówna²⁰

The first question immediately arising would be why do they call this icon The Mother of God of Kamyanets? Kamyanets is a town in Belorussia, located 40 kilometers north of Brest. The city was founded in 1276 by the Prince Volodymyr Vasylykovich. According to the chronicles, he painted the image of the Virgin in 1268. First it was called the Ruthenian Kamyanets icon, later on people started to call it the Lithuanian Kamyanets icon. Before the city was captured by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it had been called Kamyanets-Russky. During the reign of Lithuania, it was called Kamyanets-Litovskiy and eventually people started to call the image The Icon of the Virgin of Kamenetsk. For many years the icon had been kept in the Church of the Annunciation. In the second half of the nineteenth century it moved to the wooden church of St. Simeon. In the 1910's the Emperor Nicholas II allocated money for construction of a stone church, which was built in 1914. Further accounts offer different versions of the events. According to one of them, the abbot of the temple gave the miraculous icon to the Emperor Nicholas II as gratitude for his donation. Nicholas II took it either to St. Petersburg, or to Livadia. Any trace of the icon was lost. According to the other version, the emperor took with him the icon's replica, and its original stayed in the church until Soviet power arrived, after which time it disappeared.

The second question one might ask about the icon is how is Kamyanets connected with Armenians? Nowadays we have no information whether there were Armenian settlers in the city or not. However, it is known that the town was built on Prince Volodymyr's order and it was him who had painted the icon. This pushes our attention across to the possibility of Armenians connected to the ancient Volodymyr town (contemporary Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Ukraine). The existence of an Armenian colony in the city can be witnessed by the oldest Catholicos' privileges about Armenians on the Ukrainian lands we know of today, the kontakion of Catholicos Mesrop written in 1364. It mentions the Armenian parish of Avlatemur- Volodymyr and Lutsk. Later on, the town of Volodymyr is mentioned in the kontakion of Catholicos Theodoros II in 1388. Then he is mentioned again in the kontakion of Catholicos Yakovbos III in 1410.²¹ Perhaps the history of this icon was initially linked with the Armenian colony in Volodymyr.

The icon or its reproduction could have been kept in the Armenian Church in Volodymyr. The fact that there was an Armenian church can be surmised by the existence of a separate Armenian parish there. However, we don't know where exactly it was located, when and by whom it was destroyed. Probably, after the Grand Duchy of Lithuania seized Kyiv, Volodymyr and the Kamyanets Russky in the second half of the fourteenth century, the Armenians of Volodymyr decided to move in Kyiv, taking with them the wonder-working

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

²¹ Я. Дашкевич, *Вірмени в Україні: дорогами тисячоліть*, Львів, 2012, р. 207.

icon of the Kamyanets Holy Virgin. In the middle of the seventeenth century the icon was transferred to Lviv.

Not less of a mystery is where the icon of the Kamyanets Holy Virgin of is held today. Neither do we know what hides under the original casing of the icon kept in the Armenian Cathedral. The photo of the icon in the book *Mons Pius ormian lwowskich* (Mons Pius of the Armenians of Lviv) of the 1920's clearly shows that only the icon's casing is original, whereas the icon within this casing is completely different²². To be able to find answers to these questions first of all, it is necessary to remove the casing from the icon and then to carry out an analysis to fix its attribution.

Thus, we can see that the study of the history of the Lviv Armenian Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is far from being complete – despite the fact that there has been serious work done. The analysis of the temple's architectural features and the study of its interior suggest that not only is the Cathedral a unique architectural monument, but it is also a chronicle impressed in stone, telling us of the Armenian colonies in Eastern Europe. The Cathedral's walls tell much about the life of the Armenian communities throughout Ukraine, raising issues scientists are yet to explore.

In 1939, for the first time, the icon was displayed in the exhibition of Armenian works in Lviv and mentioned in the exhibition poster book, written by Arkadiusz Cielinski, where it was noted that the icon with the figure of Christ was made of wood and was covered with Turkish cloth with dark red background.²³ The researcher indicated that in the exhibition there was another woven church 'Eski copek' which most probably has not been preserved. In the

²² The National Museum in Lviv acquired the icon in 1944; in 1970 it was returned to the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art in 1990 – the National Museum in Lviv, 1944–2010 – the National Museum in Lviv named after Andriy Sheptytskyi.

²³ According to the inventory of the museum works it is registered on September 15, 1939 (act of accession no. 523).

²⁴ T. Stankowski, 'Detale Ormiań lwowskich', *Prace Komisji Etnograficznej*, T. 4 (1904–1905).

²⁵ Wyszczególnienie przedmiotów w ekspozycji, VI–90, JK 1922, Przemysław, ed. A. Szczerbiński.

²⁶ The copek is mentioned today in book:

²² B. Janusz, 'Mons Pius ...', p. 29.

A 17th Century Embroidered Cope from the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv

Roksolana Kosiv, Lviv

In the context of studies on the Armenian sacral culture in Ukraine one rare work deserves special attention, an embroidered liturgical cope (Fig. 1) from the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv (former State Museum of Ukrainian Art in Lviv).¹ In the museum's records the cope was registered in 1948 and its description says that the cope comes from the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv. The hood of the cope (Fig. 2) for unknown reasons was registered much later in 1975², thus, the works have different identification numbers and different registration dates. The description of the hood does not say that it comes from the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv; however, its size, the character of the embroidery and fabric testify that they together form one ensemble. We did not manage to gather conclusive information on the cope before it arrived to the museum. It is not mentioned in the research on Armenian culture by Tadeusz Mańkowski, who did not pay any attention to Armenian fabrics at all.³

In 1932, for the first time, the cope was displayed in the exhibition of Armenian works in Lviv and mentioned in the exhibition guide book, written by Aleksander Czołowski, where it was noted that the cope with the figurative church Rus' embroidery was sewed from Turkish cloth with dark red background.⁴ The researcher indicated that in the exhibition there was another woven church Rus' cope⁵ which most probably has not been preserved. In the

¹ The National Museum in Lviv received this name in 1944; in 1965 it was renamed as the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art; in 1990 – the National Museum in Lviv; from 2005 – the National Museum in Lviv named after Andrey Sheptytsky.

² According to the inventory of the museum works it is registered on September 15, 1975 (act of accession no. 52a).

³ T. Mańkowski, 'Sztuka Ormian lwowskich', *Prace komisji historii sztuki*, T. 5 (1924–1925)

⁴ *Wystawa zabytków ormiańskich we Lwowie 19. VI.–30. IX. 1932. Przewodnik*, ed. A. Czołowski, Lwów 1932, s. 37. (The cope is registered under # 109).

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 38, no. 71.



Fig. 1. Cope. Second half of the 17th century. From the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv (Ukraine). Silk, embroidery with metal threads and silk, lace from metal thread. Andrey Sheptytsky, National Museum in Lviv

pictures of this exhibition, taken from the archive of the Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians in Warsaw and published by art historian Waldemar Deluga, one can see a hall the walls of which are entirely covered with copes, chasubles, and dalmatics.⁶ The exhibition guide book notes that the copes were displayed according to colours (on each wall there were fabrics of the same colour range). The cope, which is the subject of this research, could not be identified in this picture. Certain display units became a part of the newly formed Armenian Archdiocese Museum in Lviv⁷; we can assume that the cope from

⁶ W. Deluga, 'Historia badań nad sztuką ormiańską w Polsce', in: *Ars Armeniaca. Sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich*, Zamość 2010, fig. 18.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 28. A short account about the history of Armenian museum in Lviv: A. Czołowski, 'Wystawa ormiańska we Lwowie', *Posłaniec św. Grzegorza*, 9–11 (1932), pp. 133–134.

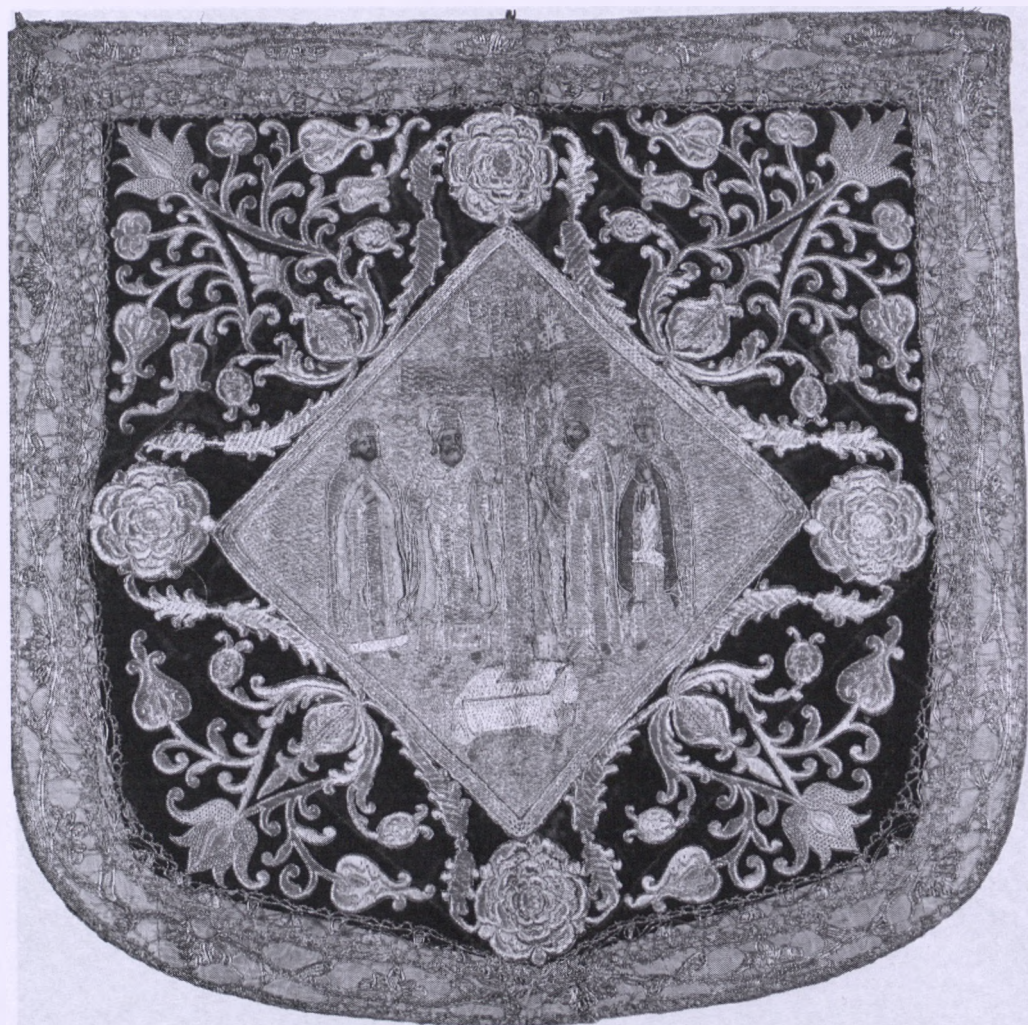


Fig. 2. The hood of the cope with the scene "Exaltation of the Holy Cross"

the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, judging by its old identification numbers, also became a part of this museum. The cope was published by Irina Hayuk, who indicated that the author was Abbess Olena (1741–1754) from the Kyiv-Florivsky Convent.⁸

In the current contribution to research on this cope, we will pay attention to the technique of the garment, its iconography, in particular we will focus on the peculiarities the scenes and ornaments presented, and their plasticity. On the basis of this analysis, we will come to a conclusion regarding the date and place of the cope's creation.

⁸ І. Гаюк, *Ілюстрована енциклопедія вірменської культури в Україні*, Львів 2012, pp. 295–301.



Fig. 3. The Bishop and St. Helena. The embroidery of the hood of the cope



Fig. 4. St. Constantine and the Bishop. The embroidery of the hood of the cope

The cope is sewed from crimson silk which is interwoven with silver decoration that forms rotating motifs of a tulip-like flower with leaves, as well as a smaller flower on a stem with small leaves. Both motifs are arranged in vertical lines: in one line there are bigger flowers situated one above another; the next two lines are formed with smaller flowers. On the front there is a cherry-coloured velvet stripe sewed onto the silk with embroidered thematic, symbolic, and ornamental compositions. On the reverse, there is a sizeable (57 x 56 cm) hood attached with three metal fasteners and embroidered on cherry-coloured velvet (Fig. 2). An openwork lace from metal threads is sewed on to the sides of the cope and the hood. The technique of the embroidery is quite skilful; however, the ornamental parts of the composition are made with greater virtuosity (Fig. 12–13). The open parts of a human body are painted with oil on a thin piece of linen and inserted into the embroidery; this method was widespread in the second half of 17th–18th centuries.

While researching this work one's attention is drawn to the iconography of the embroidered scenes. The subject of the scenes is *Christ the Redeemer*. This is seen from the parts of the composition, which are placed at the front of the cope in two rows, and the leading theme of the hood, *the Exaltation of the Holy Cross*. The composition of the hood is symmetrical, the scene of the *Exaltation of the Cross* is arranged in a rhombus, which is sewed on to the centre of the hood; it is encircled by floral ornaments. The ornaments are embroidered with golden thread with the inclusions of silver thread applied with the techniques of couched work and metal threads laid on cardboard. Cardboard or a soft covering made of thick, slightly twisted and unpainted silk threads provides the ground for the metal threads. The central scene of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is also symmetrical. On each side of the cross there is a Bishop supporting it with his hands. The Bishops wear episcopal robes of the Eastern clergy: a sakkos, omophorion, and epitachelion, sticharion with epigonation, mitre on their heads and an Episcopal staff with cloth in their hand. The bishop on the left is depicted as with a grey beard (Fig. 4); the bishop on the right is younger with a dark beard and hair on his head (Fig. 3). Traditionally the Bishop who is raising a cross is supposed to be Macarius- as during his service a solemn ceremony of raising the cross of Christ took place for the first time. On the cope, the Bishop is not raising the cross above his head, but is holding it together with another Bishop. One can presume that the Bishops from the Armenian Church of the time when the cope was created are depicted here. On the same level behind the Bishops, Constantine (on the left) and Helena (on the right) are embroidered (Fig. 3–4). The scene (33 x 34 cm) is embroidered mainly applying the technique of couched work with silver threads on a soft ground; clothes of the saints are embroidered with golden threads. Certain elements of clothes of saints are depicted in appliqué work of different monochrome silks. The painting of faces is skilful, delicate and resembling miniatures in manuscripts. The faces are 2–2,5 cm high, nevertheless, the painter thoroughly painted all the features. The manner of painting faces, the character of ornamental motifs,



Fig. 5. Apocalyptic Christ. The embroidery of the front part of the cope

and the technique of embroidery, all testify that the cope was created in the second half of the 17th century.

On the stripes sewed on to the front of the cope there are six scenes with different symbolic images of Christ. Substantial interpretation of their iconography is given in the research of Irina Hayuk⁹, thus, we stress only their main characteristics and interconnection. On the hood on one of the stripes in the centre there is an Orthodox cross situated in a circle, to its



Fig. 6. Apocalyptic Christ. Miniature from the "Martyrologion" by Armenian copier Lazarus. Lviv. 1603. According to the reproduction: T. Mańkowski, 'Sztuka ormian lwowskich ...', fig. 73

sides there are monograms of the names of Christ and Mary also in circles. Among the figurative scenes, a decorative floral ornament is embroidered. Below the upper and lower marginal scenes we can see a pineapple-like motif, below the central ones – carnations on stems with leaves (Fig. 12). The figurative scenes are accompanied by Cyrillic inscriptions embroidered in capital letters. On the left frieze in the upper marginal scene on a rainbow we can see apocalyptic image of Christ who is holding in his left lowered hand a bare sword and in his right raised hand a palm branch (Fig. 5). Overhead there is an inscription: *зць суна*" (Lord of the Heavenly Hosts) which explains the depiction. Here Christ is represented as Pantokrator and the Judge of the World, but at the same time as the Sacrifice of the New Testament and Redeemer of Humankind. The palm branch symbolizes the victory and the sword is a symbol of a just punishment for sinners. A similarly apocalyptic image of Christ can be found in Armenian manuscripts created in Lviv in the 17th century, in particular in the *Martyrologion* of 1603 by copyist Lazarus (Fig. 6) and on the pages of the Bible copied by Lazarus from Barbet and compiled in Lviv in 1619.¹⁰ The Bible of Lazarus was popular and thus it was repeatedly copied in the 17th century.¹¹ The miniatures of both books manifest the borrowings of west European samples. Opposite to this scene on the right there is a scene of the *Crucifixion of Christ* and above it an inscription that reads: *царь славы* (King of Glory) (Fig. 7), the same as in the scene from the Armenian *Martyr-*

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 295–301.

¹⁰ T. Mańkowski, *op. cit.*, il. 73, 81.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 159.



Fig. 7. Crucifixion of Christ. The embroidery of the front part of the cope



Fig. 8. Christ the Good Shepherd. The embroidery of the front part of the cope

ologion of 1603.¹² To the left of the *Crucifixion*, the kneeling prophet Moses is depicted, who is facing Christ with his hands raised in a prayer. To the right of the cross, there is a copper serpent which is curling around a T-shaped cross. Here the connection between the Old and the New Testaments is stressed; the copper serpent in a desert in the context of the New Testament history is interpreted as a prototype of crucified Christ. Such an iconography of the *Crucifixion* is rare. In terms of analogies, one can mention the church icon of the *Exaltation of the Cross* of 1698–1705 from Manyava Skete created by Yov Kondzelevych from Volyn' region (National Museum in Lviv); in the marginal scenes of the icon the Old Testament symbols of the cross and Crucifixion of God are depicted, in particular the copper serpent in the desert. Both marginal scenes are thematically interconnected. To the right, Christ is depicted with wounds as the Judge and, to the left, His sacrifice is shown.

In the left marginal scene, below the icon of Christ the Redeemer on the rainbow, Christ the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders is depicted. The inscription underlines: *паты' до*⁶ (Good Shepherd) (Fig. 8). Here the stress is made on Christ the Guardian of all people who is taking care of his faithful. The allegory of the parable about the Good Shepherd was widespread in Latin iconography. Opposite to it, on the right, there is Christ the Archbishop with a chalice and discus held in his raised hands. Christ is wearing the full Bishop's vestments of the Eastern clergy and is depicted on a background of clouds with two birds addressing the Eucharist. We did not manage to decipher the inscription accompanying this depiction: *ходоша*^u (Fig. 9). Again it is possible to claim that two central marginal scenes are interrelated. To the left we can see Christ the Merciful Good Shepherd and to the right He is shown as the Hierarch who gives people nourishment for eternal life. It should be noted that the image of Christ the Archbishop started to become popular in 1680s; very often such a depiction of Christ was presented in the centre of the *Deesis* tier of a Ukrainian iconostasis.

The bottom marginal scene to the left presents Christ the Warrior (Fig. 10). Christ is standing on four creatures: the serpent, lion, dragon, and bear or lion (?), which, in this context, symbolize the evil that Christ has conquered (the prototype of the image is in the text of psalm 90 (91):13¹³); also they represent four kingdoms after the collapse of which the end of the world is supposed to come. Similar symbols of the kingdoms were depicted in medieval icons of *the Last Judgment*; in Ukrainian iconography they are popular in icons of the 15th century. On the cope, Christ is wearing chiton and himation. Further to this, the folded back part of the himation is red, which introduces tension into the general composition.

Opposite to it, there is a full-length image of *Virgin Hodegetria* standing on a half moon and treading on a serpent, which is holding in its mouth an apple and on its tail there is a skull (Fig. 11). Again we are dealing with an apocalyptic image of the Mother of God, who crushed the serpent's head. The symbolism of the crushed serpent clearly explains the

¹² *Ibidem*, fig. 74.

¹³ "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet" (Ps 90(91):13).

fall of mankind. The apple represents the forbidden fruit that was eaten by the first man and woman in the Garden of Eden and the skull represents the skull of Adam, as, after the fall, death came, which is a punishment for each person. Only Christ, who by His death on the cross has defeated evil, which is depicted in the left marginal scene, through incarnation has returned to humankind the possibility to access lost paradise. Here the stress is also made on the Virgin Mary who agreed to become the mother of the Messiah and crushed the head of the serpent. The apocalyptical image of the Theotokos, who is crushing the serpent, is present in western European art and at the time when the cope was created could also be found in Ukrainian works. The Virgin is surrounded by clouds which resemble a mandorla. The inscription to this scene: *еммануїл* (Emmanuel) is the passage from a famous citation taken from Prophet Isaiah: "a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us" (Is 7:14).

On the cope, different techniques of embroidery with metal threads can be seen. The couching technique makes use of silk the colour of which is similar to the colour of metal threads in such a way that the laid threads create a continuous golden or silver surface. Only on the tunic of Mary Mother of God, pink couching is used. Couching, which resembled the colour of metal thread, was popular in the second half of the 17th century and later. Earlier for the effect of couching, colourful silk was used and on the surface the stitches of couching created different geometrical patterns reducing, to a certain degree, the gleam from the metal thread. To make the relief of the embroidery more distinct, especially where clouds were depicted, cardboard was used below the metal thread. Different types of geometrical couching are applied to create the scenes: "network", "honeycomb", "cuirass-like" stitch, "rhombus in rhombus" stitch, etc. Colourful twisted thread is used for particular details of the depictions; on the clothes of the saints we can see that the details (usually these are lapels or other folded back parts of outerwear) are an appliqué work done with colourful monochrome silk. Silhouettes and folds of the clothing are underlined with metal thread of various thicknesses: thinner for details and thicker for the clothes of the saints. Ornamental parts are distinguished by skilful embroidery. Here metal thread laid on the rope stitch and also couching is used; it enriches the surface of the embroidery with additional relief effects. The ground fabric for the embroidery on velvet is thick linen. The ground of the cope is sewed from different fabrics: on the back there is coloured linen and on the front there are two types of ornamental silk. Underneath the hood dark, violet and yellow silks are sewed. Our attention should also be paid to the silver metal fastener on the front side of the cope. There the monogram of Christ and three arrows are engraved.

The issue of the craftsman or the centre where the cope was created is still open. Unfortunately it should be noted that the place of origin of the majority of ecclesiastical embroidery works stored in the National Museum in Lviv stays unknown. Cyrillic inscriptions may state that the craftsman was a local Ukrainian person probably from Lviv. Today the devel-



Fig. 9. Christ the Archbishop. The embroidery of the front part of the cope



Fig. 10. Christ the Warrior. The embroidery of the front part of the cope

opment of ecclesiastical embroidery art of Lviv or Lviv region of the 17th–18th centuries is little known. With this centre of production, most probably it is possible to connect three sakkoses of 1742¹⁴, 1743¹⁵, and 1763¹⁶ and two omophorions of 1742¹⁷ and 1743¹⁸ belonging to bishops Atanazy and Lev Sheptytsky, which are stored in the Lviv museum. On the omophorion of 1742, Christ the Good Shepherd is depicted; however, the plasticity of the figure and vestments here differs from the ones on the cope and is more typical for the late baroque. For the present we have not managed to find out the origin of the works, but it is possible to state that they are of a kind of skilful embroidery, which is different, by its technical and technological peculiarities, from the embroidery of the Kyiv-Florivsky Convent.

On the cope from the Armenian Cathedral, appliqué for the details of the embroidery is applied – what, according to Tadeusz Mańkowski, was characteristic of the Krakow-Lviv centre of embroidery.¹⁹ According to our observations, Abbes Olena, a craftswoman from the Kyiv-Florivsky Convent, was not active in combining appliqué work with embroidery. Her embroidery, as was generally the case for embroidery of this centre, is characterized by a different plasticity of figures and ornaments with jerky lines. The silhouettes on the works by this craftswoman are magnificent and the folds in the clothes flutter dynamically. Her embroidery, in particular its couching, is more skilful than that on the cope.²⁰ For now it has been impossible to find identical methods of embroidery. Thus, we assume that the embroidery on the cope originates from Lviv and the cope was created in the last quarter of the 17th century or even earlier.

Considering the person to whom the cope probably belonged it might be the Armenian Bishop Mikołaj Torosowicz, who supported the Union, was performing his duties as Bishop during 54 years (1627–1681). During his long tenure, full of conflicts, the Bishop's administration was looking for support from the Roman Pontiff. At night this young Basilian monk was ordained as an Archbishop by former Catholicos-Patriarch of All Armenians Melkisedek in the Armenian church of the Saint Cross in Lviv.²¹ His follower – bishop Wartan Hunanian (1681–1715) was an active adherent and implementer of the Union with the Roman Church and Latinization of church ceremonies.²² We consider that the iconography of the cope dedicated to the Cross of our Lord and the iconography more generally of the image of

¹⁴ NML Кв-49904, дт-1081.

¹⁵ NML Кв-49902, дт-1079.

¹⁶ NML Кв-12987, дт-460.

¹⁷ NML Кв-49905, дт-1082.

¹⁸ NML Кв-49903, дт-1080.

¹⁹ Т. Маńkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII w.*, Wrocław 1954, p. 35.

²⁰ Works by Abbess Olena and the workshop of the Kyiv-Florivsky Convent reproduced: Т. Кара-Васильева, 'Вишивка та гаптування', in: *Історія декоративного мистецтва України. Мистецтво XVII–XVIII століття*, vol. II, Київ 2007, ill. 48, 50–52.

²¹ І. Гаюк, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 89–96.



Fig. 11. Theotokos. The embroidery of the front part of the cope

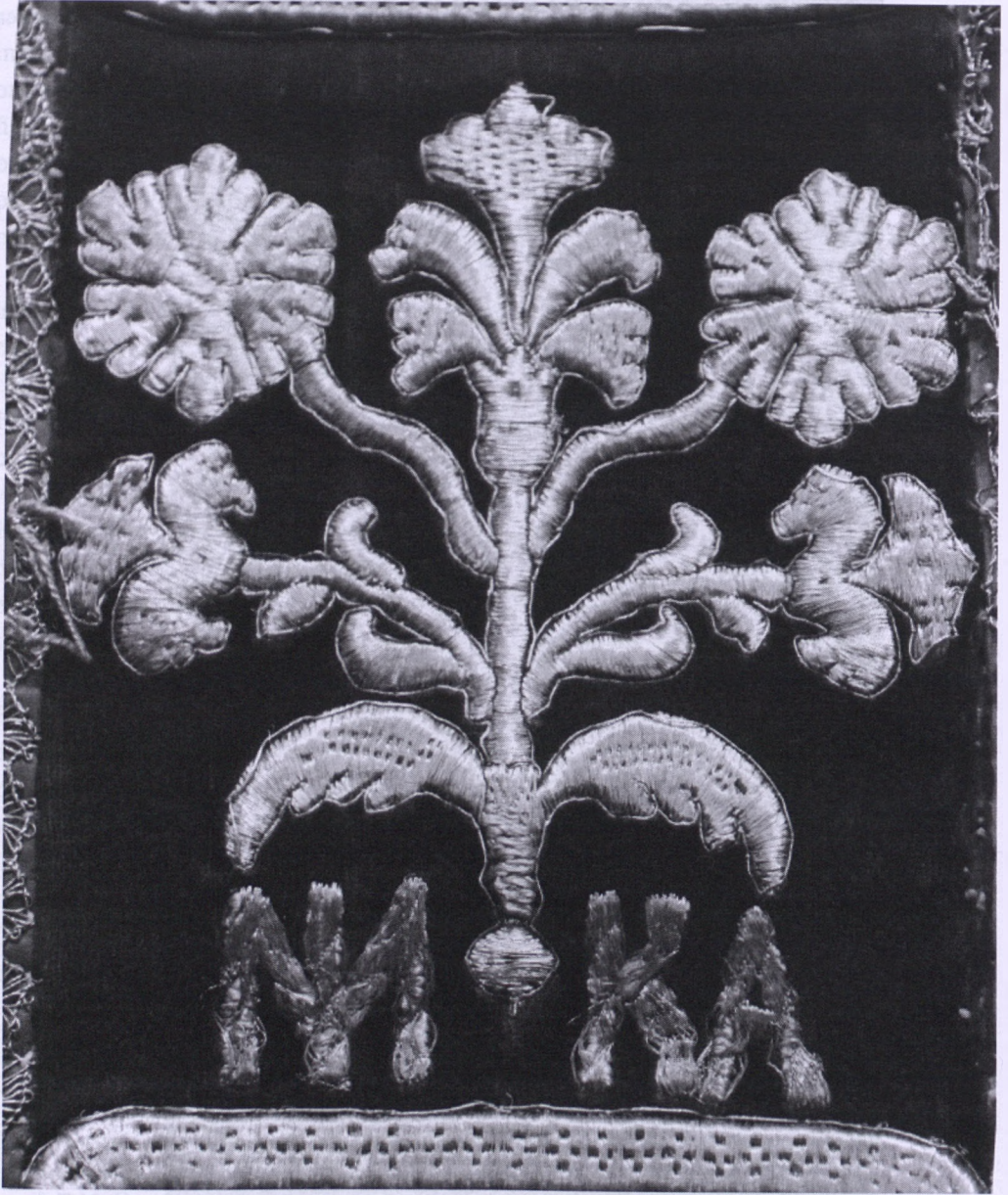


Fig. 12. Ornament. The embroidery of the front part of the cope

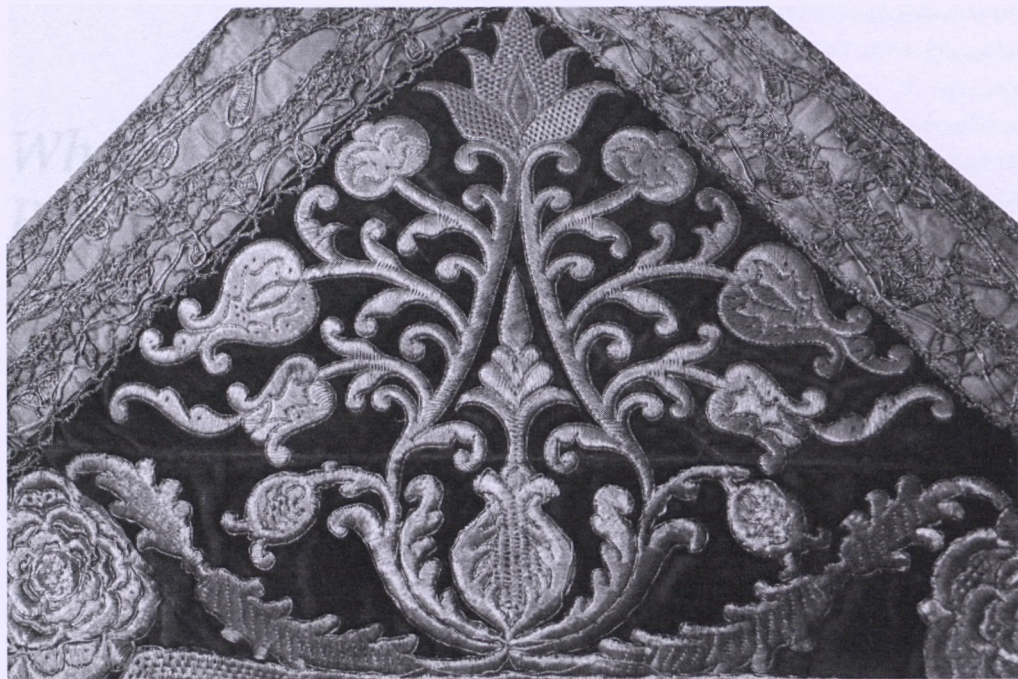


Fig. 13. Ornament. The embroidery of the hood of the cope

the Redeemer is connected with the dedication of the Armenian church of the Holy Cross in Lviv. The vestment done on such a high level was of great price, thus, most probably, it belonged to an Archbishop. From the time of the service as Archbishop of Torosowicz, the Armenian clergy was gradually adopting the Latin form of the liturgy and thus Latin sacerdotal vestments. Intensification of Latin influence on the Armenian Church started in 1660s during an active work of Theatines. In 1671 the Armenian monastery of the Holy Cross and the nearby cemetery were given to them for the "lifetime use". New changes in church rituals were finally approved in 1691, when a new pontifical was published compiled by bishop Hunanian.²³ Such tendencies distinguish the Armenian Church in Ukraine, since it is known that the Ukrainian clergy adopting the Union insisted on keeping old rituals and celebrating divine services in the Eastern tradition. The cope from the Armenian Cathedral is a unique example of the combination of Eastern and Western Christian iconography. The Cyrillic inscriptions deserve a special attention as they testify to the local Ukrainian craftsmen, who created the cope. Therefore, the cope fully represents the historical circumstances under which the Armenian Church was developing in Lviv.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 84–87, 94.

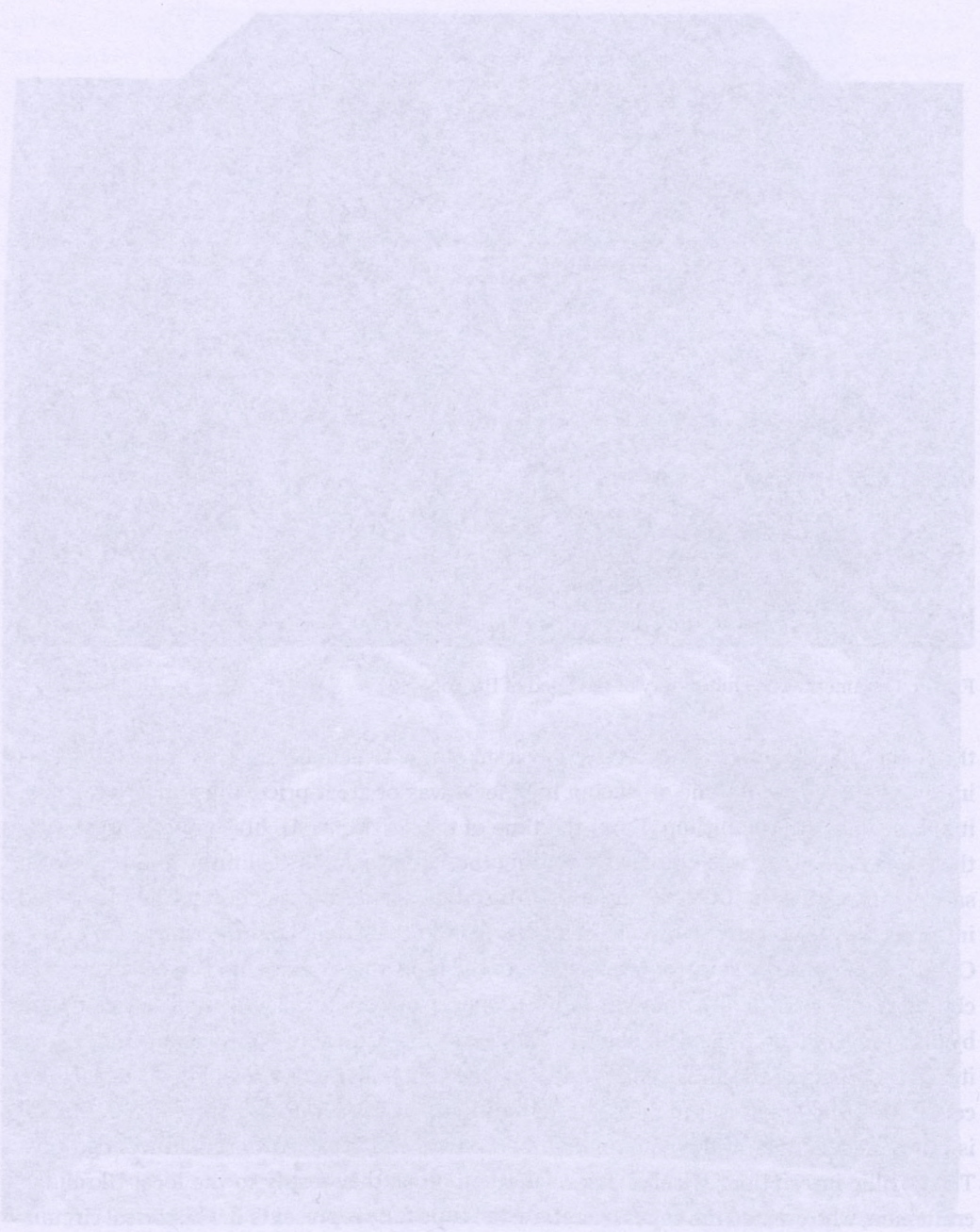


Fig. 12. Ornament. The embroidery of the front part of the cape

When did Stanislaw August Poniatowski come to Lipków?

Magdalena M. Olszewska, The National Museum, Warsaw

During his reign Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1764–1795) the last King and Grand Duke of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth took dozen travels around the country. Most of them had an official character but some were more informal and sociable or family-related visits. He also visited the important economic centers. One of them was Lipków, located near Warsaw. At the end of the 18th century he came there to see the products of an Armenian, Jacob Paschalis Jakubowicz (d. 1817)¹, who was owner of kontusz sash work-

¹ More about Armenians in Stanislaw August's times in: M. M. Olszewska, 'The Armenians in the Circle of Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1764–1795)', in *Art Culture of Armenian Communities in the Lands of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Минск, 9-11 октября 2012), ed. И. Скворцова, Минск 2013, pp. 184-190. Armenian issues were also presented in my paper 'The Armenians in the Circle of Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1764–1795)' at the Prof. Jakub Pokora Ph.D. seminary on 15th November 2013 and at the Seminary of Eastern Christian Art led by Prof. Waldemar Deluga in the Polish Institute for World Art Studies on 18th January 2014. See also M. M. Olszewska, 'Wizyta Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego w Lipkowie', in: *Initium sapientiae humilitas. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jakubowi Pokorze z okazji 70. urodzin*, ed. M. M. Olszewska, A. Skrodzka, co-operation A. S. Czyż, Warszawa 2015, pp. 556–560.

Until recently Jakubowicz's date of death is assumed in literature as the year of 1816 or 1817. Only Maria Józefowiczówna narrows down the date to between 5th June 1816 and 21st August 1817. In my opinion the Armenian died in 1817 shortly before 26th April, as from that day comes news of his death posted in the 'Warsaw Newspaper' ('Gazeta Warszawska') by Paschalis's successors. Such information was usually announced shortly after death. Additionally, we can read that the estate auction was scheduled for June 1817.

Recently, my assumptions were confirmed by Łukasz Kaczmarek. The author proved that Paschalis died on 6th April 1817. He found official documents which confirm this fact, as well as reports from the newspaper 'Warsaw and Foreign Correspondent' ('Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny') (supplement to No. 28, there was misinformation that he died on 5th April) and found the Armenian's tombstone in catacombs at the Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw (there are also tombstones of Paschalis' wife, Marianna 1 voto Muradowicz, 2 voto Paschalis and other members of his family). There is the plaque with the inscription: *D.O.M. BORN PASCHALIS IAKUBOWICZ good Citizen the best Father the orphaned descendants give that monument for posterity. He lived 81 years and died on 6th April 1817. [D.O.M. / URODZONEMU PASCHALISO= / WI IAKUBOWICZOWI / dobremu Obywatelowi naylep= / szemu Oycu osierociale po= / tomstwo ten pomnik żalu poz= / ney przekazujq potomności. / Żył lat 81 umarl dnia 6. Kwie= / tnia 1817. Roku.]*, *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1817, supplement to no. 33 (26th April), p. 839. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1817, second supplement to

shop. Kontusz was type of robe worn by Polish noblemen.

It was not the only visit of the king associated with the economic development of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is worth mentioning the sovereign's visits to other factories: weapons were made in Kozienice and Miedziana Góra (1787), canoes made near Pinsk (1784), tobacco in Warsaw (1778), wire which means the place where were where silver and gold threads were produced (1790) and manufacturers of hats, stockings, etc. in Goledzinów (nowadays Warsaw) (1768), kontusz sashes in Kobylka (1782) or in Sokolow Podlaski (1793). Most of these institutions were not able to survive the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even the king's reign. Some of them were functioning still in the early 19th century, sometimes laying the foundation for later plants².



Fig. 1. Stanisław August Poniatowski, by Marcello Bacciarelli (workshop), 1768–1771, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier

No. 34 (29th April), p. 868; *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1817, supplement to No. 44 (3rd June), pp. 1148–1149; *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1817, second supplement to No. 45 (7th June), p. 1176; M. Józefowiczówna, 'Jakubowicz Paschalis', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, ed. K. Lepszy, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1962–1964, p. 379. Ł. Kaczmarek, 'O schyłku życia Paschalisa Jakubowicza (1736–1817)', *Gazeta Babicka*, 2016, no. 3, pp. 12–13.

² Cf. W. Kula, *Szkice o manufakturach w Polsce w XVIII wieku*, part 1–2: 1720–1780; part 3: 1780–1795, Warszawa 1956.

Stanislaw August visited the kontusz sashes factory of Paschalis Jakubowicz³ on 17th August 1790 – not, as suggested by most authors, in 1791⁴. The report from 25th September 1790 in ‘Gazeta Warszawska’ (‘Warsaw Newspaper’) is in support of that fact⁵.

In this newspaper, we can find out that the monarch came to Paschalis’ estate accompanied by ministers, senators, deputies and ladies. The author of this information stated that during the year and a half of the workshop’s functioning in Warsaw and Lipków, the owner hired over 200 people – women and men. He provided for them food, clothes and basic education in the field of factory work. He pointed out that in Lipków there would be rooms for other workers: hatters, tanners, shoemakers, tailors and blacksmiths. We can read that Jakubowicz encouraged specialists to cooperate. He proposed the employment of children of 12–15 years old. In addition, we learn that Paschalis planned to build

³ An Armenian from Tokat, came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 60s of the 18th century. He ran shops with oriental goods in Warsaw and Cracow. He sold silks, Persian shawls, Turkish tobacco, fur and oranges. His products were delivered to the royal court. His workshops were on Mariensztat 2656 and on 450 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Paschalis had tenement house. Around 1788, he founded kontusz sashes workshop in Warsaw. He made high quality kontusz sashes, later well-known to all. He opened the second centre for their manufacture in Lipków, which later became his main workshop. He bought the estate along with the village Zielonka and the grange Prusy from Michał Mniszech, the Grand Marshal of the Crown, in January 1790. Perhaps the workshop of Lipków functioned earlier. For a period of time, together with François Selimand, he was also importing the kontusz sashes from manufactures from France. Selimand co-operated with Paschalis since 1st January 1790 (the contract is of 2nd December 1789). In 1790 Paschalis was ennobled for “increasing useful handicrafts”, and in March 1791 he received an act of ennoblement (The National Museum, Warsaw, manuscript 2015. See also: *Projekt do Konstytucji*, [1789/1790?], Biblioteka XX Czartoryskich, Kraków, sign. 105209 III).

Paschalis received the name Jakubowicz and the coat of arms of Junosza variety. It depicted the Paschal Lamb with banner, which appeared later on kontusz sashes manufactured by Paschalis. The Armenian also used signatures: P. I., P. J. He was awarded the title of honorary royal secretary and held different dignitary city posts (in Warsaw). At the end 18th century, when kontusz sashes were slowly coming out of fashion in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he began to produce silk and cotton fabrics. The manufacture survived until late 20s of the 19th century. Paschalis’ work was continued by his son Joseph Marek, whose tombstone (and his wife’s) can be found in the cemetery in Lipków. Cf. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1817, supplement to No. 44 (3rd June), pp. 1148–1149; J. Chruszczyńska, *Pasy kontuszowe z polskich manufaktur i pracowni w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, catalogue of exhibition, Warszawa 1995, pp. 297, 306–307, 320–321; T. Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1954, pp. 107–108; idem, *Mecenat artystyczny Stanisława Augusta*, compile Z. Prószyńska, Warszawa 1976, passim; B. Biedrońska-Słota, *Ormianie polscy. Odrębność i asymilacja*, Kraków 1999, pp. 128–131; K. Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*, Kraków 2000, pp. 51, 139, 141; K. Stopka, J. Chruszczyńska (co-operation), ‘Błyskawiczna kariera imigranta: Aruthiun worti Hagopi, czyli Paschalis Jakubowicz’, in: *Ormiańska Warszawa*, ed. K. Stopka, Warszawa 2012, pp. 42–45. Cf. ‘Korrespondent Kraiowy y Zagraniczny’, *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1793, supplement to No. 6 (19th January), p. 120; No. 8 (26th January), p. 160. P. Libicki, *Dwory i palace wiejskie na Mazowszu (obecne województwo mazowieckie)*, Poznań 2009, p. 195; E. Tryjarski, *Ormianie w Warszawie. Materiały do dziejów*, Kraków 2001, p. 13, 17.

⁴ T. Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny ...*, p. 108; Idem, *Mecenat artystyczny ...*, p. 311. The fact that the king visited in Lipków is often omitted in the literature (e.g. Józefowiczówna, *op. cit.*, pp. 378–379; *Katalogabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. X: *Województwo warszawskie*, ed. I. Galicka, H. Sygietyńska, part 17: *Powiat pruszkowski*, Eadem, Warszawa 1970, pp. 16–17), or the year of the visit is not specified, the last example e.g.: K. Stopka, J. Chruszczyńska (co-operation), *op. cit.*, p. 44. Jadwiga Chruszczyńska is the only one who points out that the king visited Paschalis in 1790. J. Chruszczyńska, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 340; Ł. Kaczmarek, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1790, No. 77 (25th September).

chapel and had already received permission. Information in the newspaper also included an advertisement in which the owner assured that he would make konusz sashes at an attractive price according to customer's requirements and selected material as well as their pattern.

In Alfred Römer's publication from the late 19th century, we can find information about the memorial plaque that adorned the workshop (it was destroyed in the 19th century) with the inscription: *During the reign of Stanisław August, the Polish king, factory was built by Paschalis Jakubowicz, the landlord of the Zielonki estate, founded in Lipków [...] in 1790, which factory the king and many lawmakers of renowned Sejm [the Four-Year Sejm] visited as sign of goodwill to the people and handicrafts ["Za panowania Stanisława Augusta, Króla pols., stanęła fabryka przez Paschalisa Jakubowicza, dziedzica dóbr Zielonek, założona w wiosce Lipkowie, do tychże dóbr należącej, w województwie mazowieckim, ziemi warszawskiej, roku 1790, którą fabrykę król JM. i wielu prawodawców Sejmu sławnego swą przytomnością zaszczyć raczyli na znak przychyłności dla ludu rękodziel"]*⁶.

To this day, Paschalis' mansion house (now presbytery) has been preserved in

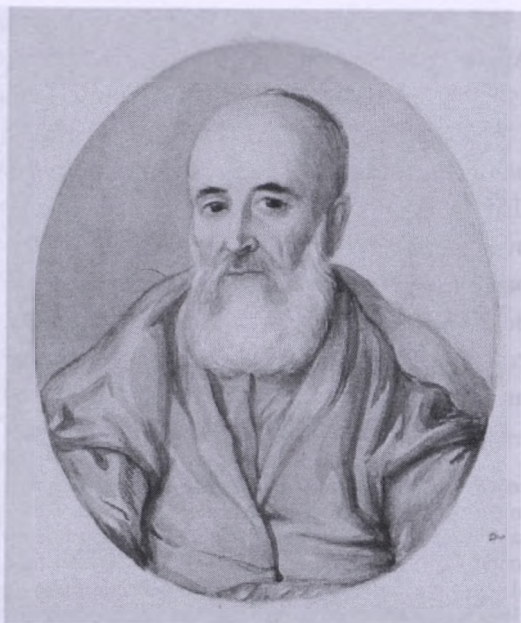


Fig. 2. Paschalis Jakubowicz, by Piotr Maszyński, 1916, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier

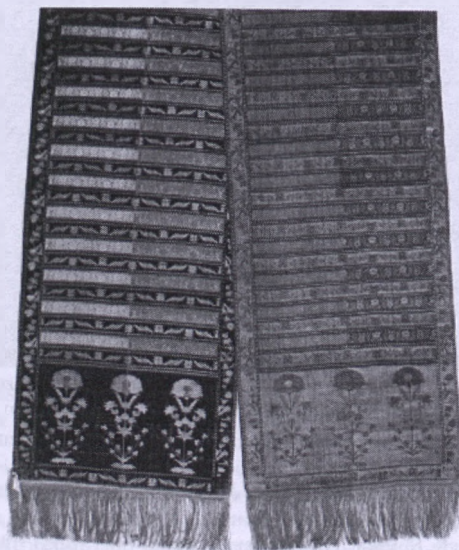


Fig. 3. Sash, Lipków 1788–1791, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier

⁶ A. Römer, 'Pasy polskie, ich fabryki i znaki', in: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, 5 (1893), part. III, pp. 164–165.



Fig. 4. Noble Act of Paschalis Jakubowicz, 1791, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier

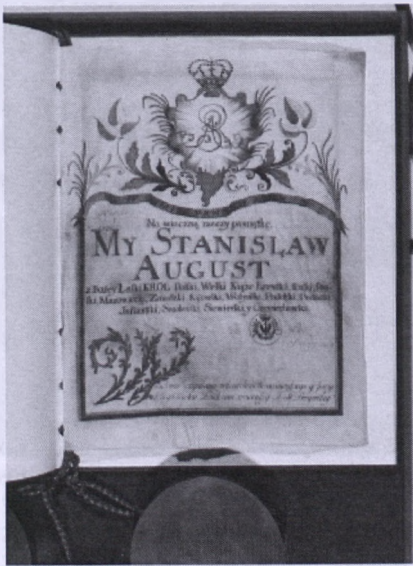


Fig. 4a. Noble Act of Paschalis Jakubowicz, 1791, title page, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier



Fig. 4b. Noble Act of Paschalis Jakubowicz, 1791, fragment, The National Museum in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Ligier

Lipków⁷. Unfortunately, it was not possible to accurately determine the course of the king's visit to the Armenian. According to oral tradition, Stanislaw August with Elizabeth Grabowska planted two spruces in front of the palace. One tree survived until 1950 and the second one until 1969⁸. In 1792 Paschalis founded the church of Saint Roch (Rock)⁹, designed by Hilary Szpilowski (1753–1827)¹⁰.

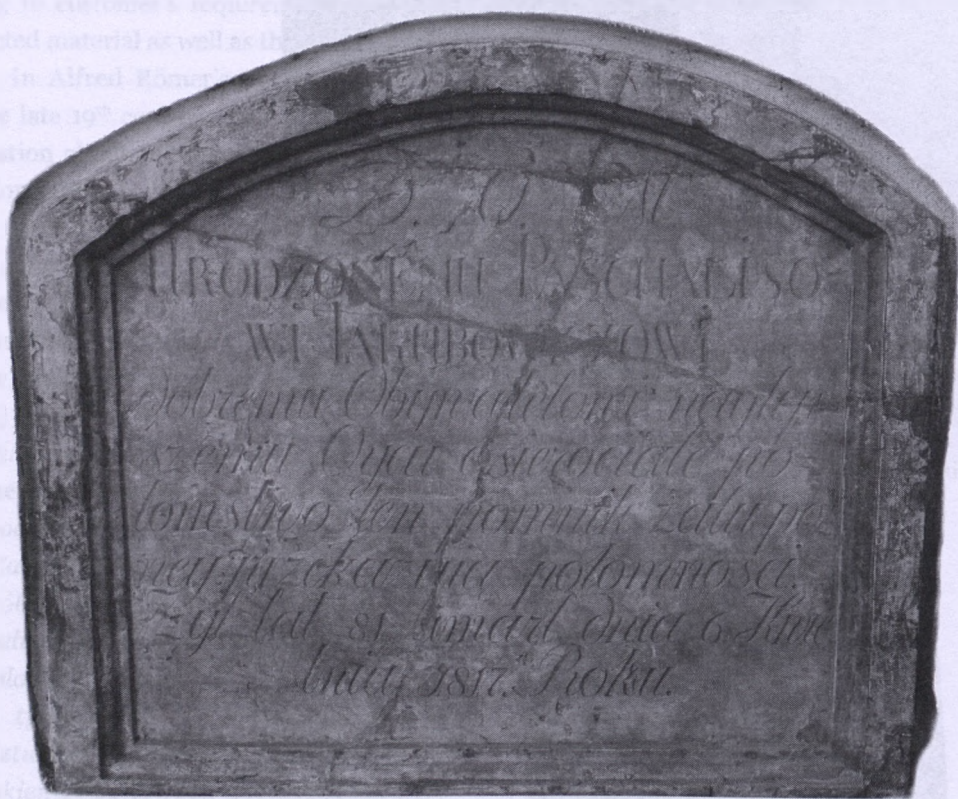


Fig. 5. Memorial plaque of Paschalis Jakubowicz, Powązki Cemetery, Warsaw, photo by M. M. Olszewska, 2017

⁷ "[...] brick classicist mansion. It is small one-storied building, covered with mansard roof with very wide double-storied ryzalite on the axis crowned with triangular pediment and articulated pilasters in great order. The corners of the building are rusticated" [transl. M.M.O]. P. Libicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196. *Katalog Zabytków w Polsce ...*, pp. 16–17.

⁸ 'Drzewa Pani Grabowskiej i Króla Stasia', website of Agnieszka Kaczurba: www.lipkow.najlepsza.pl (5.10.2012).

⁹ The feast of Saint Roch falls on 16th August. Perhaps the choice of the saint's name dedicated to the church should be connected with the eve of Stanislaw August visit's anniversary, which took place on 17th August 1790. J. K. Miczyński, S. Brzozecki, J. Jagla, 'Roch', in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. XVII, Lublin 2012, c. 149–151.

¹⁰ P. Libicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196. Chruszczyńska mentioned that the church was built in 1791. J. Chruszczyńska, *op. cit.*, p. 297; K. Stopka, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

A plaque was placed above the entrance to the temple with the following inscription: *TO GOD, THE GIVER OF ALL GIFTS / SO THAT HE SHALL DEIGN TO BLESS THE WORKS OF AGRICULTURE AND HANDICRAFTS / AS WELL AS KING / STANISŁAW AUGUST / ENCOURAGING THEM / THIS CHURCH BUILT FROM FOUNDATIONS / BY THE LANDLORD OF THE ZIELONKI ESTATE / PASCHALIS JAKUBOWICZ / IN THE YEAR OF 1792 [BOGU DAWCY WSZECH DARÓW / ABY PRACOM ROLNICZYM I RĘKODZIEŁOM / ORAZ DO NICH ZACHĘCAJĄCEMU KRÓLOWI / STANISŁAWOWI AUGUSTOWI / RACZYŁ BŁOGOSŁAWIĆ / TEN KOŚCIÓŁ Z FUNDAMENTÓW WYSTAWIONY / PRZEZ DZIEDZICA DÓBR ZIELONEK / PASCHALISA IAKUBOWICZA / ROKU 1792]*¹¹.

I hope that further exploration of sources will bring additional information about the meeting of the king and the Armenian.



Fig 6. Paschalis' mansion (now a presbytery), Lipków, photo by M. M. Olszewska, 2012

¹¹ The church was in raw condition probably in 1792, which could be proved by installing the plaque. At the end of 1793, or at the beginning of 1794 it was already fully equipped. The 'Warsaw Newspaper' in 1796 informs: "It has been the third year when Paschalis Jakubowicz in his estate in the Lipków village [...] [and] established the church from foundations and all the necessary things for the church provided [...]. Domestic revolution [2nd Partition] suspended consecration of this church". *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1796, supplement to No. 7, the second half of the year, (6th August), p. 84. The consecration took place on 31st July 1796.



Fig. 7. Saint Roch's Church, Lipków, photo by M. M. Olszewska, 2012

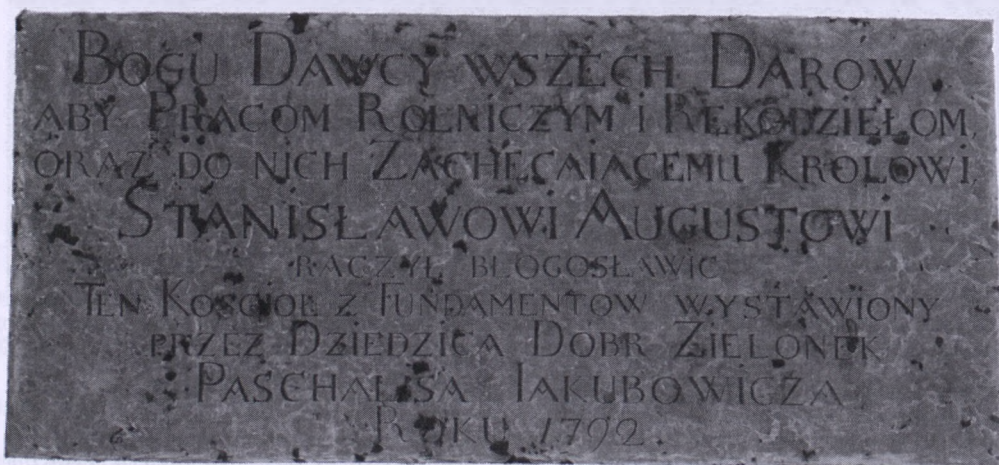


Fig. 8. Foundation plaque of Saint Roch's Church, Lipków, photo by M. M. Olszewska, 2012

Rafał Hadziewicz (1803–1886) – his Life and Art

Magdalena Tarnowska, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University

Rafał Hadziewicz was one of the few artists of Armenian roots in Poland. Nowadays a somewhat forgotten painter and draughtsman – was an important figure in artistic circles 19th-century Warsaw.¹ The only monograph on his life and works published to date, authored by J. Puciata-Pawłowska, was published more than five decades ago in *the Archives of the Commission on Art History* (1961). This valuable publication was based on materials gathered by the author before 1939, several of which no longer exist. Since 2006, articles on Hadziewicz's selected works and related restoration issues have appeared in

¹ The main publication connected with Hadziewicz is: J. Puciata-Pawłowska, *Rafał Hadziewicz (1803–1886) – życie i twórczość, Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki* 1, 2 (1961), pp. 213–386. The work is based on Puciata-Pawłowska's PhD thesis from 1939. In 2016 there was a catalogue published as a monograph of an exhibition of Hadziewicz organized in the National Museum in Kielce: J. Kaczmarczyk, *Rafała Hadziewicza twórcze życie*, Kielce, 2016. This catalogue includes all artworks by Hadziewicz, but there is not new information about his life and art; unfortunately, there are also a few incorrect speculations concerning iconography and the sources of Hadziewicz's inspiration. Cf J. Malinowski, *Malarstwo polskie XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2003; A. Ryszkiewicz, *Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne: w kręgu J. L. Davida*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 01, 102, 195; M. Nitka, *Twórczość malarzy polskich w papieskim Rzymie w XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 109–114, 133–134, 149–150, 199–204; E. Jeżewska, 'Artysta malarz Rafał Hadziewicz (1803–1886) (Artist and painter Rafał Hadziewicz (1803–1886))', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 22 (2000), pp. 78–89; J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Wzory ikonograficzne w malarstwie Hadziewicza na przykładzie obrazów sakralnych woj. Świętokrzyskiego', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 28 (2013), 176–188; Eadem, 'Wędrówek po kraju ciąg dalszy, czyli o obrazach Rafała Hadziewicza na terenie obecnego województwa lubelskiego', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 29 (2014), pp. 123–140. M. Misztal, 'Obrazy Rafała Hadziewicza z okresu stypendium zagranicznego – uwagi dotyczące budowy technicznej i problematyka konserwatorska na podstawie prac z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 26 (2011), pp. 209–226; Eadem, 'Malarstwo portretowe Rafała Hadziewicza', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach*, 27 (2012), pp. 199–228.

the Yearbook of the National Museum in Kielce in connection with the preparation of the exhibition of his works in the Museum (in which the author of this article has been privileged to take part). It should be admitted, however, that in order to provide a full description of the painter's oeuvre in a cultural context, thorough and multi-faceted restoration studies using advanced digital technology (applied by the National Museum in Cracow at present) and relying on source materials, iconographic materials and 19th-century art criticism, would first have to be carried out. Hopefully, this highly demanding task will be undertaken by the Museum.

Hadziewicz was one of Poland's most prominent 19th-century religious painters; he was primarily a portraitist, but also a historical painter.² This talented and prolific artist left behind more than 700 drawings and graphic works, as well as 250 oil paintings, now kept in museums, 40 churches in Poland and the former Eastern Borderlands, and in private collections.³ Inspired by the Neoclassicist spirit, he remained wedded to its ideals throughout his professional career. During his formative years as a painter and as a mature artist, he was appreciated by viewers and critics alike, but later, with the approach of new art trends, was criticized for his eclecticism and conservatism.⁴ Hadziewicz not only worked as a painter, he also taught in art schools – for more than thirty years. In 1837–1839, he lectured at the faculty of the School of Fine Arts in Cracow, where he taught drawing and painting, substituting for Józef Brodowski. Next, he taught in Moscow as a professor of painting at the University, from 1839 until 1844, and subsequently at the Stroganov School of Technical Drawing. From 1846 until his retirement in 1871, he held the position of professor of drawing, painting, history of art and mythology at the Warsaw School of Fine Arts – and after it was closed down in 1865 – at the Drawing School that replaced it. Certainly, he must have stamped his personality on a number of students. Wojciech Gerson described him briefly as “a man of slight figure, slim, bony, dark-eyed, highly animated, speaking curtly in a melodious voice”.⁵

Rafał Hadziewicz taught and gave guidance to many students of art. Among his most accomplished students were Władysław Czachórski (1850–1911), Józef Brodowski (“the younger”, 1828–1900), Franciszek Kostrzewski (1826–1911), Alfred Kowalski-Wierusz

² J. Malinowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95.

³ According to the most recent research, the artistic output includes: 159 paintings and approximately 750 drawings and graphics. The works are stored in: the National Museum in Kielce (28 paintings and more than 120 drawings and graphics), the Museum of Kielce History, the National Museum in Cracow, the National Museum in Warsaw, also in the Art Gallery in Lviv, the National Museum in Wrocław and in museums and public libraries in Kórnik near Poznań, Warsaw, Lublin, Piotrków Trybunalski, Poznań, Rzeszów and in Zamość. 91 religious paintings are located in churches in 36 towns across Poland and Ukraine.

⁴ He paraphrased, edited or simply copied the ideas of old masters, and he was openly stating that there is no harm done to the art and there is no plagiarism in using others' ideas, borrowing from here and there. Cf. W. Gerson, *Rafał Hadziewicz w: Jednodniówka. Pamięci profesorów i kolegów b. Szkoły Sztuk Pięknych z Wydziału malarstwa i rzeźby w roku 1847*, Warszawa 1897, p. 8

⁵ W. Gerson, 'Rafał Hadziewicz', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1886, no. 194, p. 183.



Fig. 1. Portrait of Rafał Hadziewicz (1803-1886), from Kossowski J. 'Rafał Hadziewicz', Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 13 (1866), no. 333, p. 1

(1849-1915), and Leon Wyczółkowski (1852-1936), an apostle of new trends in art. Wojciech Gerson (1831-1901) was also his student – in his early years – and was awarded the chair of the Painting Department after Hadziewicz's retirement in 1871. He published a few recollections about Hadziewicz in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" ("Illustrated Weekly") magazine and in a one-off publication of the School of Fine Arts (Jednodniówka SSP) in 1897. Kossowski described the life and oeuvre of the artist in an article published in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" in 1866 on the 20th anniversary of his academic teaching.⁶

Rafał Hadziewicz was born on 13th October 1803 in Zamach near Biłgoraj.⁷ He was born into a noble family with Armenian roots connected to the Wieniawa coat of arms. According to the Polish coat of arms scholar, Adam Boniecki, the Hadziewicz surname (variations: Hadzi, Chadzi, Hadziejewicz) originated from Lviv and belonged to an Armenian merchant family. In 1654, Mikołaj Hadziewicz, later a royal chancellor, received a noble rank and the Wieniawa coat of arms.⁸ His father, Marcin, was an administrator of goods in Hruszów, near a small town Chełm in the south – east of Poland), his mother, Julianna, came from the Dekańska family of the Sas coat of arms.⁹ His parents took good care of his education, at first at home and later, from 1813, in the Zamoyski Provincial School in Szczebrzeszyn (Szkoła Oddziałowa im. Zamoyskich w Szczebrzeszynie).¹⁰ Attending one of the best middle schools provided him with vast knowledge in arts and sciences and training in French and German languages. He graduated in 1822. His mother, faithful to the family's traditions, had destined her son for the priesthood, since the Hadziewicz family already had several representatives of Greek and Roman Catholic Churches.¹¹ However,

⁶ J. Kossowski, 'Rafał Hadziewicz', *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1866, no. 333, p. 1–3.

⁷ The biographers of Hadziewicz give various dates and places of birth: 1805, 1806, Glucha in Hrubieszowski County, Luków (a place of his christening in 1906) – for the explanation of inaccuracies see: J. Puciata Pawłowska, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁸ From the marriage with Rozalina Ściborówna, Mikołaj Hadziejewicz had a daughter Elżbieta after Franciszek Ossoliński and sons Grzegorz, Krzysztof and Piotr-Paweł. Rafał Hadziewicz was the descendant of Piotr Paweł (born in 1661) an heir of Rybitwa and Śniatycze, of the Czernichowski pantler, married three times and had sons: Józef and Antoni, Piotr and Ignacy,

According to Kacper Niesiecki, Antoni, the son of Piotr-Paweł had the following sons: Jan, Jakub, Antoni with Franciszka Duninowa Karwicka, and son Marcin with Złowodzka. Hadziewicz, on one of his drawings titled *Marcin Hadziewicz and Jakub Hadziewicz* had shown most probably his father and grandfather – this is proving that Jakub, the son of Antoni, was his grandfather – a Nowomiejski guard, a judge in the law court during the interregna in Poland, a deputy and a sub-judge in the Sandomierskie Voivodeship in 1791. Cf. K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, Warszawa 1839, p. 306. Rafał Hadziewicz had a sister, Joanna, born around 1911 in Skierbieszów and married in 1826 (in Roman Catholic parish in Łabunie) to Konstanty Lipowski born in 1807, a cotter of the Surowieckie parish, the son of Jakub – the parson of Greek Catholic parish in Turów.

⁹ A. Boniecki, A. Reiski, *Herbarz polski*, t. 4, Warszawa 1901, p. 187.

¹⁰ The school was a continuation of the Zamoyski Voivodeship School in Zamość, existing since 1809 and one of the best middle schools. It had 6 grades. The following subjects were taught there: Polish and Latin literature, Polish and World history, geography, mathematics, physics, religion and languages: Latin, French and German. Cf. Z. Klukowski, *Dawne szkoły im. Zamojskich w Szczebrzeszynie*, Zamość 1927, p. 9.

¹¹ Among others, the priest Andrzej, a vicar of the Armenian cathedral in Lviv, Nicefor – a member of the Dominican order, prior and provincial superior of the order, died in 1747, and the priest Marcin, the Cathedral Canon in Kiev, a parson of the parish in Nakło in 1778. Cf. A. Boniecki, A. Reiski, *op. cit.*, p. 227.



Fig. 2. Rafał Hadziewicz, Saint Anthony, ca. 1850, the Church of St. Anthony of Padua in Warsaw

1. Kozłowski, op. cit., s. 189. What helped in this regard was the amount of money...
2. J. Kozłowski, op. cit., vol. II, Warszawa 2002, pp. 278-280. The...
3. Kozłowski, op. cit., s. 189.



Fig. 3. Rafał Hadziewicz as a professor of painting with students of The School of Fine Arts in Warsaw, 1860

Rafał, who since childhood had been showing his talent and interest in the arts, opposed his parents' will and decided to follow the artistic path.

In autumn 1822, he took up a course at the University of Warsaw Sciences and Fine Arts Faculty in the class of Antoni Brodowski and Antoni Blank. He was moneyless and without contacts in the elites of Warsaw. At the beginning of his career, however, he was able to find an appropriate mentor. Thanks to his vigorous temper, strong character and perseverance, he won the friendship of Blank, "who, having surrounded the young student by truly paternal feelings, assisted him eagerly with his care and advice as a teacher, and besides this, he did take him in his home by sharing his own apartment and painting room."¹² It was him to whom Hadziewicz also owed his drawing skills.¹³ In 1826, he en-

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 63.

¹³ Hadziewicz's academic education, his early work and participation in exhibition were described in detail by J. Puciata-Pawłowska, *op. cit.*, 216–253.

rolled in the "Teacher University, that is, a pedagogy boarding school"¹⁴, as well. He displayed his drawing and painting work since 1823 at exhibitions organised biennially by the school. As early as in 1825, his two exhibited oils suggested religious themes to be his major line of artistic interest. They were the *Lord Christ Abandoned in the Town Hall* and the awarded *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness*, and the *Oil Portrait Painted from Nature*, which gained acclaim.¹⁵ In 1828, he was awarded a gold medal for the painting entitled *Saint Nicholas the Archbishop of Myra Receives Tribute of Gratitude from a Poor Family*. The painter gifted it to Tsar Nicholas I, who accepted it in his graciousness.¹⁶ This depiction was the first of several ones devoted to this character, placed, for instance in the St. Nicholas church in Lisów and in the main altar of the St. Nicholas church in Szczepczeszyn and – probably - in the church in Mędzyszczyce Podlaski.¹⁷

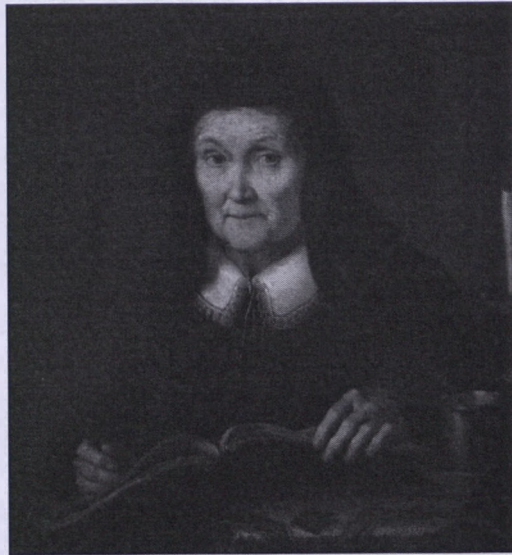


Fig. 4. Rafał Hadziewicz, Portrait of Julia Hadziewicz the mother of Rafał, ca. 1860, oil on canvas, National Museum in Cracow

Having obtained decent grades and appreciation of artistic circles, as well as a commendation note from the Government Commission for Religion and Public Education, he graduated in 1828. In 1829, he was awarded a government grant for the continuation of his education abroad over the years 1830–1833, which consisted of a one-year stay in Paris and a two-year stay in Rome.¹⁸ Thanks to the works he made during his grant period – oils, aquarelles and drawings – the path of his journeys and the artistic interests of this

¹⁴ Being admitted to the University meant to receive a scholarship of PLN 300 annually, which he would collect over 3 years. He was granted the scholarship as only one of the 11 eligible students of other faculties at the University. Cf. J. Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski (1816–1831)*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1907, p. 726.

¹⁵ S. Kozakiewicz, *Warszawskie wystawy Sztuk Pięknych*, Wrocław 1952, pp. 141, 172; J. Puciata-Pawłowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219; J. Bieliński, *op. cit.*, vol. Warszawa 1912, p. 630.

¹⁶ J. Bieliński, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1912, p. 630.

¹⁷ In the composition *Mariusz na gruzach (Mariusz Amidst the Ruins)*, he adopted the theme – inspired by ancient history – rarely encountered in his later works. Cf. J. Bieliński, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1912, p. 630; J. Kaczmarczyk, 'Wzory ikonograficzne w malarstwie Hadziewicza ...', pp. 176–188; Eadem, 'Wędrowek po kraju ciąg dalszy ...', pp. 123–140.

¹⁸ S. Kozakiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 189. What helped in this enterprise was the amount of PLN 4000 assigned from the tsar's private funds, as part of the reward for the painting gifted to him, to use in 1830, see: J. Bieliński, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1912, pp. 586–587, 842.



Fig. 5. Rafal Hadziewicz, St. Nicholas , the St. Nicholas church in Lisów



Fig. 6. Rafał Hadziewicz, St. Nicholas, the main altar of the St. Nicholas church in Szczepleszyn

art disciple may be traced. In 1830, he made a drawing of the *Massacre of the Innocents* by Daniele da Volterra in Bologna (presently in *Galleria dell'Accademia* – the Academy Gallery of Fine Arts). In 1831, he was in Naples, where he studied the works by Raphael, Giulio Romano (died in 1546) and frescos by Domenico Zampieri (1581–1641) in the chapel of *Reale cappella del tesoro di San Gennaro* at the local cathedral.¹⁹ In the same year, he visited Bologna again to study paintings of Guido Reni and the Carracci brothers. In 1832, he made sketches of the architecture and antique sculptures in Pompeii and Paestum, visited Perugia, where he made some drawings of the characters from the *Annunciation*,

¹⁹ Except for signing and dating, the artist frequently provided information on where they had been made and the works they were referring to. Such information, apart from the sketchbooks from the National Museum in Warsaw, are also contained in the sketchbook in the National Museum in Kraków - Sketches from the journey to Italy, from Cracow and Moscow, pencil, aquarelle, paper, 19.5 x 12.5 cm, inventory no.: MNK III r-a 1032, and the works which are in the collection of the Ossoliński National Publishing House, Wrocław. What is worth being mentioned is that Hadziewicz's notes are incorrect as to the author, work or location. Part of the inscriptions may have been made by Hadziewicz once he had returned to Poland, or even in the 1870s, which is suggested by the notes in the Kraków sketchbook: e.g. in the sheet no. 32 with a drawing from Moscow: *Na ulicy Nikickiej w domu Glebowa Streszniewa tam mieszkanie z 4 pokoi za 50 p. 5 lat i miesięcy 4 stąd z powrotem do Warszawy do Szkoły Sztuk Pięknych p. lat 30 byłem (In the Nikicka street in Glebow Streszniew's house, there an apartment with 4 rooms for 50 roubles 5 years and 4 months, from there returned to Warsaw to the Fine Arts College I was over 30 years).*



Fig. 7. Rafał Hadziewicz (?), St. Nicholas, the church in Międzyrzec Podlaski



Fig. 8. Rafal Hadziewicz, St. Nicholas, drawing, National Museum in Warsaw

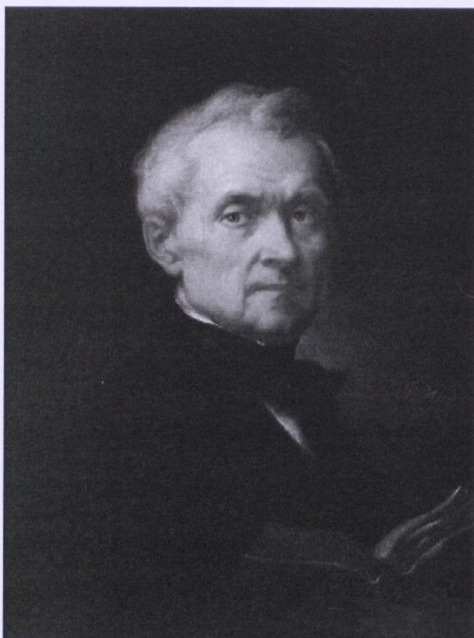


Fig 9. Rafał Hadziewicz, Self-portrait, 1872, National Museum in Warsaw

1592-1596 by Federico Barroci (1535-1612) in the local church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.²⁰ He worked throughout the year of 1832 mainly on drawing the works of Raphael, Domenichino in churches and galleries of Rome and Florence, and also the frescos by Andrea del Sarto in the church of Santa Annunziata. During the return journey in 1833, he visited Venice, where he painted three paintings according to Titian and Luca Giordano.

Works made then are kept in the Polish museum collections in the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław, national museums in Kielce, Cracow, Warsaw, in the Zamojskie Museum, among other places. At the same time, they comprise notes from his journeys and records of his fascination with the art of Italian masters of the 15th and 16th century (Raphael Santi, Paolo Veronese, Andrea del Sarto, the Carracci brothers, Domenichino, Guido Reni, Daniele da Volterra, Giorgione, Titian), antique sculptures as well as the ones created by Bertel Thorvaldsen and Antonio Canova – which formed simultaneously his “artistic capital”, from which he drew for the next fifty years of his artistic activity. His admiration for the classical ideal of beauty, born at the time, accompanied him until the end of his life and was manifested in the form and content of his artwork. He also passed it on to his students.

Hadziewicz came back to the country in 1833. He stayed in Cracow where he intended to reside permanently. There, in 1835, he married Anastazja Glowacka who was a sister of the painter Jan Nepomucen Glowacki (1802-1847). In 1839 Hadziewicz went to Moscow. On his return in 1844, he settled in Warsaw.²¹ In 1871, while retired, he moved with his family to Kielce, where he died in 1886. He was buried at the Powązki cemetery in Warsaw.

Hadziewicz devoted himself, first of all, to the subject of religion – undoubtedly led by the need of his heart and the conviction that it is the most sublime and decent type of art.

²⁰ The sketchbook from the collection of the National Museum in Cracow (inv. no. MNK III r-a 1032).

²¹ To find more on the life and work of the artist in Warsaw see: J. Puciata-Pawłowska, *op. cit.*, p. 320-382; on his role in Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts; J. Wiercińska, *Towarzystwo Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie. Zarys działalności*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 18, 54, 93, 108, 109, 118, 130, 152, 154; Eadem, *Katalog prac wystawionych w TZSP w Warszawie w latach 1860-1914*, Wrocław 1969, 115; D. Konstantynów, ‘Sztuka i artyści w Warszawie połowy XIX wieku’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 74 (2012), no. 2, p. 253.

It is also known that he donated a part of his works to the church as a gift. Most frequently he gave to his artwork the forms inspired by the masterpieces of Raphael Santi, Domenichino, Guido Reni and at times by Titian and Rembrandt. He also usually repeated an iconographic theme developed during his stay in France and Italy, modifying it to a certain extent. Two themes are a good example of that – the already-mentioned presentation of Saint Nicholas in the scene of resurrection of three drowned boys in the church in Lisów and in the main altar of the Szczepreszyn church – the model for which was the aquarelle titled *Saint Nicholas* inspired probably by an Italian etching from the 17th century.²²

The other is *Christ On The Cross* in the main altars of the following churches: Saint Nicholas in Lisów, the parish church of the Exaltation of the Cross in Adamów and of Saint Peter and Paul in Jabłona Kościelna (illustration). The model for those designs is, among others, a picture titled *Christ On The Cross* (the National Museum in Warsaw, stock number in the Polish illustrations – 5983/17) labeled with the annotation: *From existing model / at the French Academy / in Rome in 1832*.²³

Works of art created by Hadziewicz are located in churches in several districts – most of them in Mazowieckie, but also in Łódzkie, Świętokrzyskie and Lubelskie. By reviewing their topics one can point to favorite themes of the artist – these are scenes from the life of Mary and the Holy Family, such as: the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Teaching of Mary, Holy Lady of Rosary, Holy Lady of Scapular, the Mother of God and Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Joseph with the Child, and deserving attention the Tribute of Three Wise Men in Grodzisk Wielkopolski (illustration), Christ – Infant Jesus on the IHS monogram, Baptism in the Jordan River, the Transfiguration of Jesus, the Crucifixion of Jesus, Ecce Homo, scenes from the life of Saint Francis, Saint Nicholas. Apart from that there are numerous portrayals of the saints – probably mainly in line with orders from particular parishes – Saint Anna, Saint Barbara, Mary Magdalene, Martin, Vincent de Paul, Stanislaw of Szczepanów – the bishop of Cracow, Jude the Apostle, Saint Peter of Alcantara, Isidore of Seville, *Roch healing the sick in Jasienica*, *Valentine healing the possessed* in the Saint Mary's Basilica in Cracow, and *The Martyrdom of Saint Jacob*. The majority of the mentioned paintings contain themes inspired by the artwork of the Italian renaissance, which can be confirmed by iconographical analysis of the studies made by Hadziewicz while he stayed abroad.

Sometimes he also referred to the “old masters” in his second favourite kind of painting – portraiture, which revealed his talent for reflecting on the model and his or her psyche.²⁴ He allowed himself a greater freedom, which can be seen both in his choice of the means

²² Stock number of the object in the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. 1146044).

²³ Cf. J. Kaczmarczyk, ‘Wzory ikonograficzne w malarstwie Hadziewicza ...’, pp. 176–188.

²⁴ The portrait entitled *Sybilla (Sybil)* from 1824 or 1826 (National Museum in Kielce, inv. no. M/138), presenting an old woman, is considered to be an image of the mother of the artist. Given the likelihood of the woman being much younger (about 40 years old), a re-examination of the image might need to be taken into account.

of artistic expression, as well as in his playful distance, especially in the self-portraits, towards the conventions he had applied.²⁵

In undertaking a reflection on the identity of the artist, it is important to discuss a lost but extremely significant set of 30 paintings decorating the iconostasis in the Greek Catholic Orthodox Church of the Exaltation of the Cross in Starzawa in Obwód Przemyski. Hadziewicz created it in 1835 at the request of Józef Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1793–1852), the owner of the Medyka estate, a social and cultural activist and a patron of the arts in the region.²⁶ As he was just beginning his career, straight after his return from abroad, and full of enthusiasm and creative powers, he completed the task within less than a year. He worked in the residence of the Pawlikowski family in Medyka. Unfortunately, the church burned down in 1914, while the description of the iconostasis by Stanisław Przyłęcki survived and was published in 1839.

The order was connected with the reconstruction of the church after the fire in 1831, thanks to the efforts of Pawlikowski, as Przyłęcki describes this building: “according to the plan of Father Jerzy Strzelbnicki, official of Przemyśl, on the cruciform plan, adequately to its invocation. Length of 36 and width of 32 cubits”.²⁷ The plan of the iconostasis was probably developed by Strzelbnicki and consulted with him. According to the description, it contained the following paintings.

In the sovereign tier: on the royal doors – the 4 Evangelists and the Annunciation, on the southern deacon’s door (right) St. Michael the Archangel, on the northern door St. Raphael – as it was emphasized by author of the description – the patron of Rafał Hadziewicz, on the left side of the royal doors Madonna with the Child – Eleusa, on the right side Christ the Teacher, and St. Cyril and St. Vladimir on the edges of the tier. In the feasts (prazdnik) tier, 12 quadrilateral paintings – the Birth of the Mother of God, Presentation of Mary in the Temple, the Birth of Jesus Christ, Feast of Jordan, Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration, and Dormition of the Mother of God. Between the paintings 6 and 7 – an oblong round painting – the Last Supper. In the Deesis tier – in the middle Christ – the High Priest on the throne and the 12 Apostles and their properties, two per one painting, “which

²⁵ A good example on this artistic attitude is *Autoportret z narzeczoną Anastazją Glowacką i trzema mężczyznami* (*Self-Portrait with the Fiancée, Anastasia Glowacka and Three Men*), National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MP 2816.

²⁶ The Pawlikowski family from Medyka. The family settled in Medyka near Przemyśl for several generations (from 1809 to 1939), and at the same time partly in Lviv (1891–39) and in Zakopane, in their own House under Jedly (Dom pod Jedłami) on Koziniec (from 1897). The seat of the Pawlikowski family in Medyka was one of the prominent cultural centres in Polish territory. The relations of the lineage with Zakopane, Podhale and the Tatras, important for culture and science, lasted from 1860 until 1980.

²⁷ S. Przyłęcki, ‘O obrazach Rafała Hadziewicza w Starzawie w obwodzie przemyskim’, in: *Dniestrzan-ka. Zbiór artykułów wierszem i prozą ku zabawie i nauce wydał Stanisław Jaszowski*, Lwów 1841, p. 202.



Fig. 10. Rafał Hadziewicz, Angel, 1832, National Museum in Warsaw



Fig. 11. Rafał Hadziewicz, Holy Family, 1844, National Museum in Cracow

together form a unity and a certain framework.”²⁸ In the tier of the prophets: 6 small circular paintings showing the 12 Minor Prophets, two per one painting.

In the chancel (altar) there were the following paintings: a painting depicting the Exaltation of the Holy Cross with the saints: Patriarch Macarius, Helena, Constantine, two deacons (Stephen and Lawrence?) and the “wielding” Mother of God on the throne and St. Nicholas the Bishop.

Thanks to the testimony of Przylęcki, we also have some information on the design of these works: their drawing was “exquisite, pleasant in colour, the faces and characters were truly Slavic”. Moreover, all of the paintings were well composed, forming formally and colour-wise a comprehensive whole, while each of the paintings separately was endearingly beautiful – and, according to the parishioners of Starzawa, “life-like”.²⁹

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 204–205.

We have also the descriptions of several individual works. According to the author of the descriptions, *The Birth of Mary* was painted in an endearing manner and was the noblest in style. This picture presented a beautiful woman holding a baby in one of her arms, checking the bath water with her second hand. In turn, *The Wielding Mother of God* was characterised by the strength and momentum of the art of Rubens, while in *The Annunciation* – the Angel knelt before Mary and put a lily at her feet, she looked up to the Holy Spirit (a dove) and listened with dedication to the message. According to Przyłęcki “A person whom this painting does not win over to the deification of Mary has probably no sensitivity”.³⁰ *Nativity* was inspired by the work of Raphael that was at that time in Dresden, and St. Cyril was inspired by the painting of Van Dyck. The author of the description highlighted that, during the implementation of the order, Hadziewicz had to comply with the Orthodox canon concerning the design of the iconostasis and iconography, but he revealed there “the real genius of an artist educated with thinking and deep examination of the subject.”³¹

In the absence of any materials depicting the decoration of the church in Starzawa, we can only guess the iconography, design, and sources of inspiration of the works discussed. Perhaps, while creating the individual paintings, Hadziewicz used the above *Annunciation* by Barrocci, his own oil sketches of the *Presentation of Mary in the Temple* (National Museum in Kilece) by Titian, the studies of the Holy Family by Raphael (placed in Louvre) or the Holy Mother and Child.

Undoubtedly, with the skills of Hadziewicz, the paintings evoked widespread admiration and introduced to Polish art the spirit of masterpieces from the history of European art. Przyłęcki, who was a great enthusiast of the paintings, claimed that they could provide decoration to many temples in the biggest capital³². Certainly, it was a great challenge for the young artist, who successfully met it.

According to this short description Rafał Hadziewicz was one of the most interesting and prolific artists in the artistic milieu of 19th century in Poland, in Warsaw especially. During his career he undertook various tasks not only as a painter or draughtsman but also as a teacher of painting and history of art. Therefore his life and art should be thoroughly studied in a wider historical, cultural and iconographical context which will be able to provide a full description of the painter's oeuvre.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 205.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 204.

³² *ibidem*, p. 205.

*The Manuscript Heritage of an Armenian Intellectual from Gherla – Zacharia Gabrushian (A Source-Based Study)**

Lusine Sargsyan, Yerevan

Zacharia Gabrushian (1794–1870) played a significant role in the Armenian community, living and creating in Transylvania in the 19th century (fig 1). We find information on the author's biography both in his autobiographical monograph¹, which, unfortunately, was left unfinished, as well as in the historian Christoph Shongott's monograph² dedicated to the history of Gherla. Gabrushian was born in the city of Armenopolis (currently Gherla) on August 18, 1794, into the family of Joseph and Anna-Maria (maiden name Varderes) Gabrushian³. He received his middle school education there before continuing his high school education in Cluj, where he studied philosophy⁴. In 1815, he studied theology for two years in Alba Julia⁵. As he explains in his autobiography, Gabrushian had a strong desire to become a priest since his childhood, but this desire remained unfulfilled⁶, and so in 1817 he

* The present study was made possible through a grant provided by New Europe College (Institute of Advanced Study, Bucharest) during the Academic years 2013–14 and 2016–17 to the author of the article. We are grateful to the entire staff of the New Europe College, and also our gratitude to Dr. Paola Ivan – the director of National Archives in Cluj-Napoca and Vicar Gábor Zoltán – the Roman-Catholic Parish in Frumoasa, for their support.

¹ Cluj National Archives, Ms. nr. 104.

² K. Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. Város monográfiája, 1700–1900*, vol. 3, Szamosújvár 1901, pp. 148–156; Cf. Romanian translation K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber Regal Gherla (1700–1900)*. *Metro-pola armeano-maghiară*, ed. L. Nastasă Kovács, trad. A. Ghiţă, vol. 3, Bucureşti 2012, pp. 201–209; Գ. Գովրիկեան, *Դրանսիլուանիոյ հայոց մետրապոլիսը կամ նկարագիր Կերլա Հայաքաղաքի ի գիր եւ ի պատկերս*, Վիեննա 1896, pp. 133–143.

³ Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

⁶ In an autobiographical work, the author considers it Divine Providence from above, writing: 'That God rules over us, one cannot conceal: all my life I desired to be a priest, but how God commanded it to be, will be seen (Թե Աստուած կի կար[ո]ւաւրէ զմեզ մարդ չի կարնա[յ] պարտըկելու, եւ թեպէթ[տ] մեծ փափակ[զ]

returned to his hometown, where he was appointed to the position of commissioner of taxes (Lat. *rectificator commissarius*), in 1818, assuming a post for educating children⁷.

In his hometown Gabrushian was actively involved in pedagogical and literary activities. Over the 42 years he worked, he educated 2425 students⁸, and staged theatrical performances with them, for which he constructed the props himself⁹. Gabrushian is the author of the alphabet book – *Armenian Hungarian ABC book*¹⁰, published in 1834 in Vienna. He also fashioned two church altars, for the Armenian churches of Gherla¹¹ and authored many graphic, sculptural, and pictorial works¹².

Over forty years of creativity, Gabrushian left a rich legacy of manuscripts (we have found 38 manuscripts¹³ bearing his signature¹⁴) of religious songs, prayers and poems, theological and pedagogical studies, Armenian-Latin-Hungarian dictionaries, as well as albums of heraldic



Fig. 1. The portrait of Zacharia Gabrushian, photo from the monograph of K. Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. Város monográfiája*, 1700–1900, III, Szamosúzvár, 1901, p. 149

ունացա բո[ն]որ կենացս մեջ քահանայական կարբ[զ]ի, սակայն, թե զայն Աստուած ինչպես կարգադրիլ է, պի երևի), Cf. *Cl. Nat. Arch.*, Ms. nr. 104, fol. 19v. According to K. Szongott and G. Govrikean, the master's short stature was the reason why he did not become a priest, Cf. K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, p. 203; G. Govrikean, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁷ K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, p. 203; Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–6.

⁸ K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, p. 203; Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁹ Ս. Քոլանջյան, 'Գեոլա Հայաքաղաքը և նրա հայերեն ձեռագրերի ժողովածուն', *Բանբեր Մատենադարանի*, 6 (1962), pp. 527–8.

¹⁰ "Armenian-Hungarian ABC book. Written in Armenopolis in Transylvania and printed with the payment from the city for the needs of Armenian boys" ("Հայնակ եւ մաճրոնակ Այբու Բենի թուղթ, շարադրած ի Հայաքաղաքն Դրանսիլվանիայ, և տիպեցուցած իւր քաղքին խարճովս վասն պիտոյութեան հայ տղոց"). K. Szongott, *op. cit.*, p. 204. The name of the author is not published in the Alphabet book, and if K. Szongott's information is reliable, then it is possible that Gabrushian was the author of the work *Կարճատու քրիստոնէական վարդապետութիւն* (Abridged Christian Doctrine) published in the Mekhitarist press in Vienna in 1834. Here, as in the Alphabet book, the author's name is missing; but it is mentioned that the book: "was published for the children of the principedom of Transylvania's Armenopolis, with its payment" ("վասն շահապետութեանց մանկանց Դրանսիլվանիոյ Հայաքաղաքի, իւր խարճովս տիպեցուցած"). The digital copies of both of those books are available on the website of National Library of Armenia, see http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsd/collect/armbook/books/haynak1834_index.html and http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsd/collect/armbook/books/karcharot1834_index.html; and the brief descriptions Cf. Հ. Դավթյան, *Հայ գիրքը 1801–1850 թվականներին*, Երևան 1967, pp. 203-4; B. Kovács, 'At the Foot of Mount Ararat', in: *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin*, ed. B. Kovács, E. Pál, Budapest 2013, p. 113, I. 3; E. Pál, 'New Eras', in: *Far away from ...*, pp. 169–70, VI.2.1.

¹¹ K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, p. 204;

¹² More detailed see K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, pp. 204-5; Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹³ This list of manuscripts may be further supplemented with new samples.

¹⁴ The author has signed his manuscripts as վարպետ (master) Զարպիա, Զօրօր (Zak'aria, Zök'ör) Կապրուշեան (Kaprusean), in Hungarian - Gábrus Zakhariás, see table I.

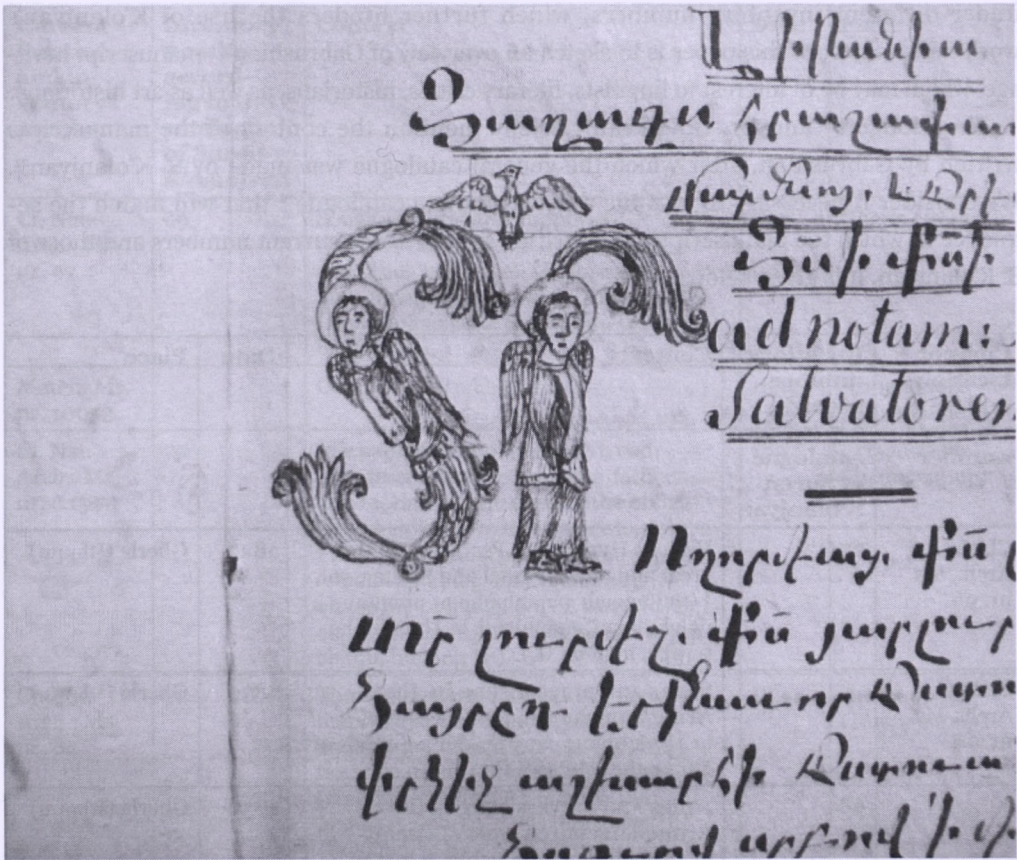


Fig. 2. Letters - ՏԸ (=ՏԵԸ, TĒR); Book of songs for the Glory of God and love of my Armenians, 1842, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 81, p. 169 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan).

illustrations. Most are in Armenian, but some are also in Latin and Hungarian, mainly kept in the document of Gherla at the National Archives of Cluj-Napoca (Romania), as well as in the Matenadaran (Armenia)¹⁵ and the library of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna (Austria)¹⁶. Two manuscripts (Mss. nr. 68 and 92) are described in K'olanjyan's catalogue¹⁷, but their location is currently unknown.

Manuscripts was briefly mentioned in Christoph Shongott's thesis, while K'olanjyan compiled a succinct, but incomplete, catalogue. Now the manuscripts are catalogued

¹⁵ The brief description of the manuscript nr. 10053 see O. Եգանյան, Ա. Ջեթունյան, Փ. Անթաբյան, *Յուզակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի*, vol. 2, Երևան 1970, p. 1038.

¹⁶ The description of the manuscript nr. 2006 Cf. O. Սեբուլեան, *Յուզակ հայերեն ձեռագրաց Մխիթարեան մատենադարանին ի Վիեննա*, vol. 3, Վիեննա 1983, pp. 651-2.

¹⁷ Ս. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ հայերեն ձեռագրաց Գեոլա Հայաբաղաբի', *Բանբեր Մատենադարանի*, 9 (1969), pp. 470, 476.

under different inventory numbers, which further hinders the use of K'olanjyan's work¹⁸. The object of this paper is to sketch an overview of Gabrushian's manuscript heritage, which may be of interest to linguists, literary critics, historians, as well as art historians.

Kr. Szongott¹⁹ and Gr. Govrikan²⁰ briefly mention the content of the manuscripts written by Gabrushian, after which the general catalogue was made by S. K'olanjyan²¹. We consider it necessary to compile a new complete catalogue²² that will match the sequence in which the manuscripts were written as well as the current numbers and those of S. K'olanjyan. It is given below:

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|------|----------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 96 | 67 (13) | Various Hymns and Psalms from the great and new Hymnal and Psalter, vol. I (Ջանազան շարականք ու սաղմոսք ի մեծ եւ նոր Շարակնոց եւ Սաղմոսից թղթէն, հատոր Ա.) | 1829 | Gherla (Կերլա) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 94 | | Songs and prayers sung in the Armenian church, vol. II (Երգք եւ լիթանիայք, որք Երզնի ի հայոց եկեղեցիս, հատոր Բ.) | 1830 | Gherla (Կերլա) |
| | 68 | Songs and prayers sung in the Armenian church, vol. VI (Երգք եւ լիթանիայք, որք Երզնի ի հայոց եկեղեցիս, հատոր Զ.) | 1830 | Gherla (Կերլա) |

¹⁸ The catalogue given by S. K'olanjyan is incomplete as he saw these manuscripts in 1960 at the History Museum of Gherla (Muzeul Istoric Regional Gherla). Before World War II the manuscripts were conveyed to Budapest from the History Museum of Gherla, and after the War back to Gherla then to the National Archives of Cluj-Napoca, Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', pp. 433-4.

¹⁹ K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, pp. 204-5.

²⁰ Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-8.

²¹ While compiling this catalogue, S. K'olanjyan set conventional numbers to the manuscripts, following the chronological sequence in which they were written. In the catalogue, Z. Gabrushian's manuscripts occupy the numbers 62(100)-93(254) (the numbers in parentheses, according to S. K'olanjyan, are the old numbers of the library of Gherla's Holy Trinity Cathedral), Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', pp. 468-477.

²² The places left out in this catalogue mean that we do not know their former or current location (except Matenadaran Ms. nr. 10053, which was in Gherla's (regional) Museum of History, but S. K'olanjyan did not include it in his catalogue, because the author donated it to the Matenadaran, Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, 'Գեղլա Հայաստանը ...', pp. 521, 526-7). It is possible that Mss. nr. 68 and 92 in K'olanjyan's catalogue are now in Cluj National Archives, because while working in the archives we could not see three manuscripts, which were being restored. Some manuscripts (nr. c 154, nr. 29.6 and nr. 22 f) have not received inventory numbers by the National Archives, so we have conventionally denoted them according to the numbers on the title pages, which were probably the numbers in Gabrushian's personal records.

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---------|-------------------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 97 | 69 | Songs and Prayers, Supplications for the Holy Mother of God and other saints, vol. III (Երգք եւ լիթանիայք պաղատանաց առ սրբուհի Աստուածածին եւ այլ սրբոյս Աստուծոյ, հատոր Գ.) | 1831 | Gherla (Կերլա) |
| Maten. Ms. nr. 10053 | | Complaint (Գանկ[զ]ատ) | 1834-35 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. c 154 | 70 | The explanation of the fourth commandment, that honors your father and mother, which explain the obligation of children to their parents, vol. I (Թարբ[զ]մանութիւն տեառն չորրորդ պատուիրանաց, որ է պատուեալ] զհայր թո եւ զմայր թո, որ թարբ[զ]մանէ զպարտաւորութիւն մանկանց առ իւր ծնողս, հատոր Ա.) | 1837 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 84 | 71 | The explanation of the fourth commandment, that honors your father and mother, which explain the obligation of parents to their children, vol. II (Թարբ[զ]մանութիւն տեառն չորրորդ պատուիրանաց, որ է պատուեալ] զհայր թո եւ զմայր թո, որ թարբ[զ]մանէ զպարտաւորութիւն ծնողաց առ մանկունս, հատոր Բ.) | 1839 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 95 | 72 (21) | Books of various poems, composed for the principedom of those whose hearts are sad (Զանազան ոտանաւոր զիրք, շարադրեալ վասն շահապետութեան այնոցիկ, որք տրտմեալք են սրտիք) | 1839 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 83 | 64 | For the Glory of God and love of the Armenians. Songs, vol. I (Վասն Աստուծոյ փառացը եւ հայ ազգին սիրուն: Երգք, հատոր Ա.) | 1840 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 82 | 65 | For the Glory of God and love of the Armenians. Songs, vol. II (Վասն Աստուծոյ փառացը եւ հայ ազգին սիրուն: Երգք, հատոր Բ.) | 1840 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 93 | 73 (24) | A completed book of verse, lamenting Armenopolis, which is in the region of Transylvania (Կատարեալ է ոտանաւոր զիրք, ողբալ զՀայաքաղաքն, որ է ի գաւար[թ]ս Դրանսիլվանիայոյ[ն]) | 1840 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|------|-------------------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 24 | 66 | Book of songs for the Glory of God and love of the Armenians ²³ (Գիրք երգոց վասն փառացն Աստուծոյ եւ հայ ազգի սիրոյ) | 1842 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 81 | 62 (100) | Book of songs for the Glory of God and love of the Armenians (Գիրք երգոց վասն փառացն Աստուծոյ եւ հայ ազգիս սիրոյ) | 1842 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Vienna, Ms. nr. 2006 | | Armenian - Latin -Hungarian New Dictionary, which contains letters from K to Y, vol. III (Հայ, լատիտ]ին եւ մաճար լեզուաց Նոր բառգիրք, հատոր Երրորդում, որ ունի հինքնեան ի գրէ Կ մինչն ցՅ գիրս) | 1848 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 75 | 74 | Armenian - Latin -Hungarian New Dictionary, which contains letters from N to S, vol. IV (Հայ, լատիտ]ին եւ մաճար լեզուաց Նոր բառգիրք, հատոր Զորրորդ, որ ունի հինքնեան ի գրէ Ն մինչն ցՄ գիրս) | 1848 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 74 | 75 (108) | Armenian - Latin -Hungarian New Dictionary, which contains letters from V to the end, vol. V (Հայ, լատիտ]ին եւ մաճար լեզուաց Նոր բառգիրք, հատոր Հինկ[գ]երրորդում, որ ունի հինքնեան զգիրս ի Վ մինչն ցվերջ) | 1849 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 98 | 76 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. I, Annamaria (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Առաջին, Աննամարիա) | 1852 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 86 | 77 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. II, Three children (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Երկրորդում, Երեք մանկունք) | 1852 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 91 | 78 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. III, Eleonora (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Երրորդում, Էլեօնօրա) | 1852 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |

²³ According to S. K'olanjyan, the manuscript was written for publication in Vienna, see U. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', p. 469

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|------|-------------------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 85 | 79 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. IV, Ak'mēt (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Չորրորդ, Արմէթ) | 1853 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 99 | 80 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. V, fascicle I, Antro (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, Հինգերորդ հատորի Ա. մասն, Անտրո) | 1853 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 100 | 81 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. V, fascicle II, Antro (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, Հինգերորդ հատորի Բ. մասն, Անտրո) | 1854 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 29.6 | 82 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. VI, The righteous will not perish (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Վեցերորդ, Արդարք ոչ կորնչին) | 1854 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 92 | 83 | Note called Divine Providence, vol. VII, Thomas (Գիր, որ կոչի աստուածա[յ]ին նախախնամութիւն, հատոր Եօթներորդ, Արդարք ոչ կորնչին, Թովմաս) | 1854 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 6 | 84 (22 a) | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Life of Emanuel Lorenzo, vol. I (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ կամ Վարք էմանուէլ Լօրենզօի, Ա. մասն) | 1855 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 87 | 85 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Life of Emanuel Lorenzo, vol. II (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ կամ Վարք էմանուէլ Լօրենզօի, Բ. մասն, Ֆրանսիշգօ Լէրմա) | 1855 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 89 | 86 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Garlos Second king of Spain, vol. III (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ կամ Բ. Գարօլս արքայ Սպանիայի, Գ. մասն) | 1856 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 7 | 87 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Inclined Labour, vol. IV (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ կամ Մուր դատմունք, Դ մասն) | 1856 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|------|----------------------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 22. f. | 88 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Kerzon, vol. VII (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ կամ Կէրզօն, Է. մասն) | 1856 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 88 | 89 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God, Tion, vol. VIII (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ, Տիօն, Ը. մասն) | 1857 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 90 | 90 | Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God, Don Garlos, vol. IX (Յոյս հաստատուն ի տէր ոչ ամաչեցէ, Տօն Գարլօս, Թ. մասն) | 1857 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 80 | 63 | For the Glory of God and love of Armenians; New Songs (Վասն Աստուծոյ փառացը և հայ ազգին սիրուն, Նոր գիրք) | 1862 | Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 101 | 91 | The Life of Jesus. Ernest Renan's false works do not come for the sake of God's love, observations by N. N. ²⁴ (Jézus élete ellensége, Renan Ernő koholmányai ellen Isten iránti szeretetből tett észrevételek N. N. által) | 1864 | Szamosújvart ²⁵ |
| | 92 ²⁶ | Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms (Scuta Heraldica, Totius Mundi, Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatum, Provinciarum, Ducatum, Ac Comitatum Insignia In Se Continentia ²⁷) | 1867 | Szamosújvárini |

²⁴ Instead of his name, the author used a conventional abbreviation. Among manuscripts written by Gabrushian, K. Szongott mentions also the following manuscript, Cf. K. Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab.*, 3, p. 152; *Oraşul Liber*, p. 205.

²⁵ This is the Hungarian name of Armenopolis.

²⁶ These manuscripts should be the First part of First volume of these Heraldry albums, as the other three volumes we know already. Besides, this volume consists of 495 pages, and the next album (volume Second, part First) continues on page 497. The next three albums were omitted from the catalogue of K'olanjyan because of not being in the museum, Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, 'Գեղա Հայաքաղաքը ...', p. 519.

²⁷ While describing this manuscript, K'olanjyan mentions the Roman date MDCCCLXVII, probably so as to match it with the date 1867 written at the bottom of the title page. Whereas in the original, according to K'olanjyan, is the date MDCCCXCXVII, see U. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', p. 476, footnote, 1.

| Current location and inventory number | Inventory number according to the catalogue of Suren K'olanjyan | Context | Date | Place |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|------|----------------|
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 71 | | Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms, vol. I, fascicle II (<i>Scuta Heraldica, Totius Mundi, Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatum, Provinciarum, Ducatum, Ac Comitatum Insignia In Se Continentia. Tomi Primi, Fasciculus II</i>) | 1867 | Szamosújvárini |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 70 | | Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms, vol. II, fascicle I (<i>Scuta Heraldica, Totius Mundi, Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatum, Provinciarum, Ducatum, Ac Comitatum Insignia In Se Continentia. Tomi Secundi, Fasciculus I</i>) | 1867 | Szamosújvárini |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 105 | | Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms, vol. II, fascicle II (<i>Scuta Heraldica Totius Mundi Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatum, Provinciarum, Ducatum, Ac Comitatum Insignia In Se Continentia. Tomi secundi, Fasciculus II</i>) | 1867 | Szamosújvárini |
| Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 104 | 93 (254) | I have lost my oil and my job (<i>Oleum et operam perdidit</i>) ²⁸ | 1867 | Szamosújvárt |

Firstly, let us discuss the paleography of the manuscripts. The texts are written on paper in one column (except the dictionaries, which are in two columns) in modern cursive *şelagir*, employing black ink (author used red ink for the cover pages, and the openings of chapters and paragraphs). The author bound them with handmade cardboard, frequently designating the type of volume on the back of the cover.

The manuscripts' artistic decoration is very interesting. Sometimes images are copies of earlier illustrations, often accompanied by the author's brief quotations. For example, on the page facing the Canon of Christ's Nativity the scene depicts the Child's Birth²⁹, or next to the psalm dedicated to the Resurrection is an image of *Christ's Resurrection* with the caption "Christ is risen from the dead" ("Քրիստոս յարեալ ի մեռելոց")³⁰, or next to a prayer to the Virgin is the image of the Virgin and Child with a quotation "I am the mother

²⁸ This is the direct translation, which means 'I worked in vain', Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', p. 476.

²⁹ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 96.

³⁰ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 94.

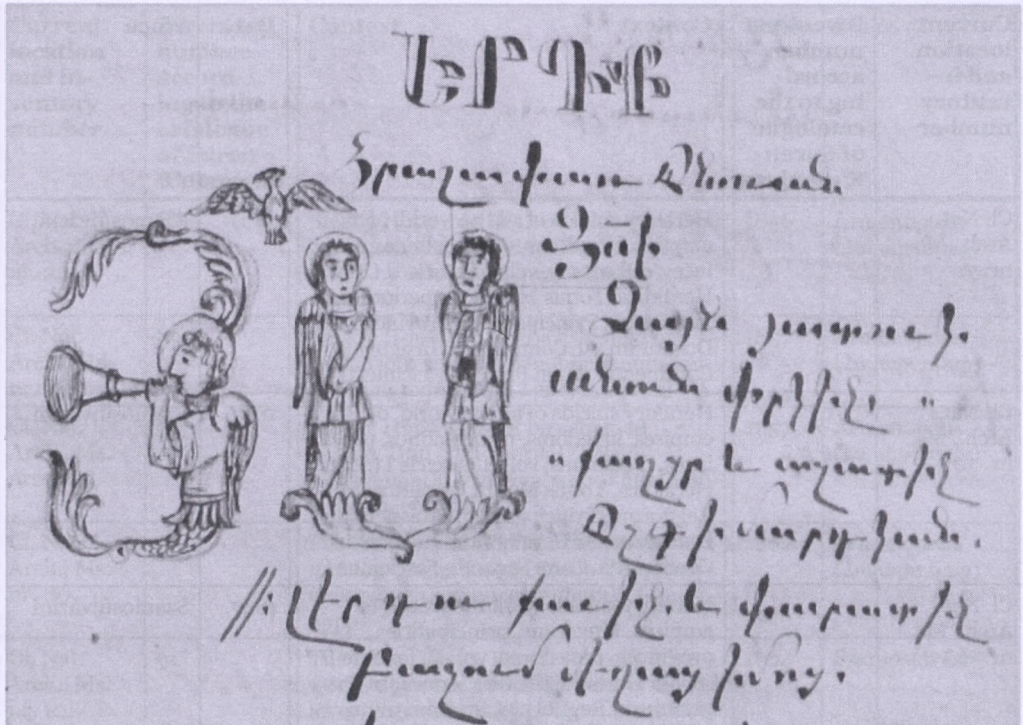


Fig. 3. Letters – ՅՍ (=ՅԻՍՍԻՍ, YISUS); Book of songs for the Glory of God and love of my Armenians, 1842, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 81, p. 61 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan).

of beautiful love” (“Ես մայր զեղեցիկ սիրոյ”)³¹, or St. Gregory the Illuminator baptizing the King Trdat³². These manuscripts also contain handwritten ornamental letters such as the anthropomorphs ՏԸ (=ՏԷԸ – Lord)³³ and ՅՍ (=ՅԻՍՍԻՍ - Jesus)³⁴.

According to the list, the most recent books of 1829–31 are collections of spiritual songs, such as hymns, psalms, and prayers integral to various religious rituals.³⁵ At the beginning of each volume there is a quotation from the author’s preface, sometimes this was composed after the main writing (a year or two, sometimes more³⁶), where he adds the content of each volume. These are collections of spiritual songs and prayers narrated by the author “for the

³¹ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 97.

³² Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 93.

³³ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 81, fig. 2.

³⁴ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 81, fig. 3.

³⁵ Books called *Various Hymns and Psalms from the great and new Hymnal and Psalter*, Cl. Nat. Arch., Mss. nr. 96, 94, 97 and in S. K’olanjyan’s catalogue Ms. nr. 68.

³⁶ Almost all of the manuscripts contains such prefaces.

glory of God among these spiritual songs, in honor of Our Lady the Virgin, the angels, and other saints, composed according to the melodies of Latin and Hungarian songs”.³⁷

Another work written in 1834–35 called *Complaint* (Matenadaran, Ms. nr. 10053) contains an interesting series of stories, where the author refers to the cultural life of Armenopolis, his contributions to the field, and the theatrical performances he staged with his students³⁸. At the same time, he mentions how many unjust persecutions he had endured (fol. 2r), and how “Gherla elevates foreigners and belittles its sons” (“Կերլան զօտարը կի բարձրացնում, զիր որդիքը կի կօ[n]խէ”, fol. 95r).

The explanation of the fourth commandment, that honors your father and mother (1837 and 1839; Cl. Nat. Arch. Mss. nr. c 154, 84) is a monograph in two volumes, in which the author explains a child’s obligation to their parents and the reciprocal relationship between parents and their children. The work has an admonitory character revealing the moral perceptions of the time. It is interesting that it was written in the dialect of Transylvanian Armenians³⁹, and that these books also contain words in Russian with Armenian letters, such as school (շգ[կ]օլա), and music (մուզիկա[կ]ա).

The volumes *For the Glory of God and love of the Armenians* (1840 and 1842, 1860; Cl. Nat. Arch., Mss. nr. 24, 80–83) contain different religious songs that Gabrushian collected over the years. As he states in the prologue, he himself is the author of some of them. He indicates that they were sung in church, a detail that can help us study the distinctive rites of the Armenian Catholic Church in Transylvania.

An important part of Gabrushian’s output is his Armenian-Latin-Hungarian dictionaries in five volumes (1848–9; Vienna, Ms. nr. 2006, Cl. Nat. Arch., Mss. nr. 75 and 74, fig. 4). Unfortunately, the current location of the first two is not yet known. According to K’olanjyan, a comparison of these dictionaries with the New Haigazian and Ardzern dictionaries exposes to us a number of new words⁴⁰.

A trilingual Armenian-Hungarian-Latin dictionary is mentioned, written by another eminent Armenian from Transylvania, Christoph Lukach (Khachik Lukachian).⁴¹ The dictionary consists of 576 sheets in total, although both the Armenian-Hungarian and the

³⁷ “վասն Աստուծոյ ալ մեջ փառացը, որին մէջ կու գտ[ն]վին աստուածապաշտութեան զանազան երգք, ի պատիւ Տիրամայր կու[ն]սին, հրեշտակաց, և այլ սրբոց շարադրած լաղ[տ]ին և մաճար երգերու ձայնի զօ[n]րայ”. We quote the preface of Ms nr. 96 of Cluj National Archives, which is a colophon that was added later (in 1830) by the author (for the lack of page numbering in the preface, we cannot provide the relevant page number). For other quotes from the introduction of this manuscript, Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, ‘Համառոտ ցուցակ ...’, p. 469.

³⁸ More detailed Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, ‘Գեղա Հայաքաղաքը ...’, pp. 527–8:

³⁹ The preface is written also in the Latin language.

⁴⁰ U. Քոլանջյան, ‘Գեղա Հայաքաղաքը ...’, p. 519.

⁴¹ R. Bernád, *The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive in Armenopolis*, co-authored with B. Kovács, Budapest-Gyulafehérvár-Leipzig 2011, p. 78, footnote 43. Here the author refers to several works, including the monograph by K. Szongott, however, we should note that in Szongott’s work, next to works by Christoph Lukachian, there is no information on that dictionary, Cf. K. Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab.*, 1, pp. 393–403.

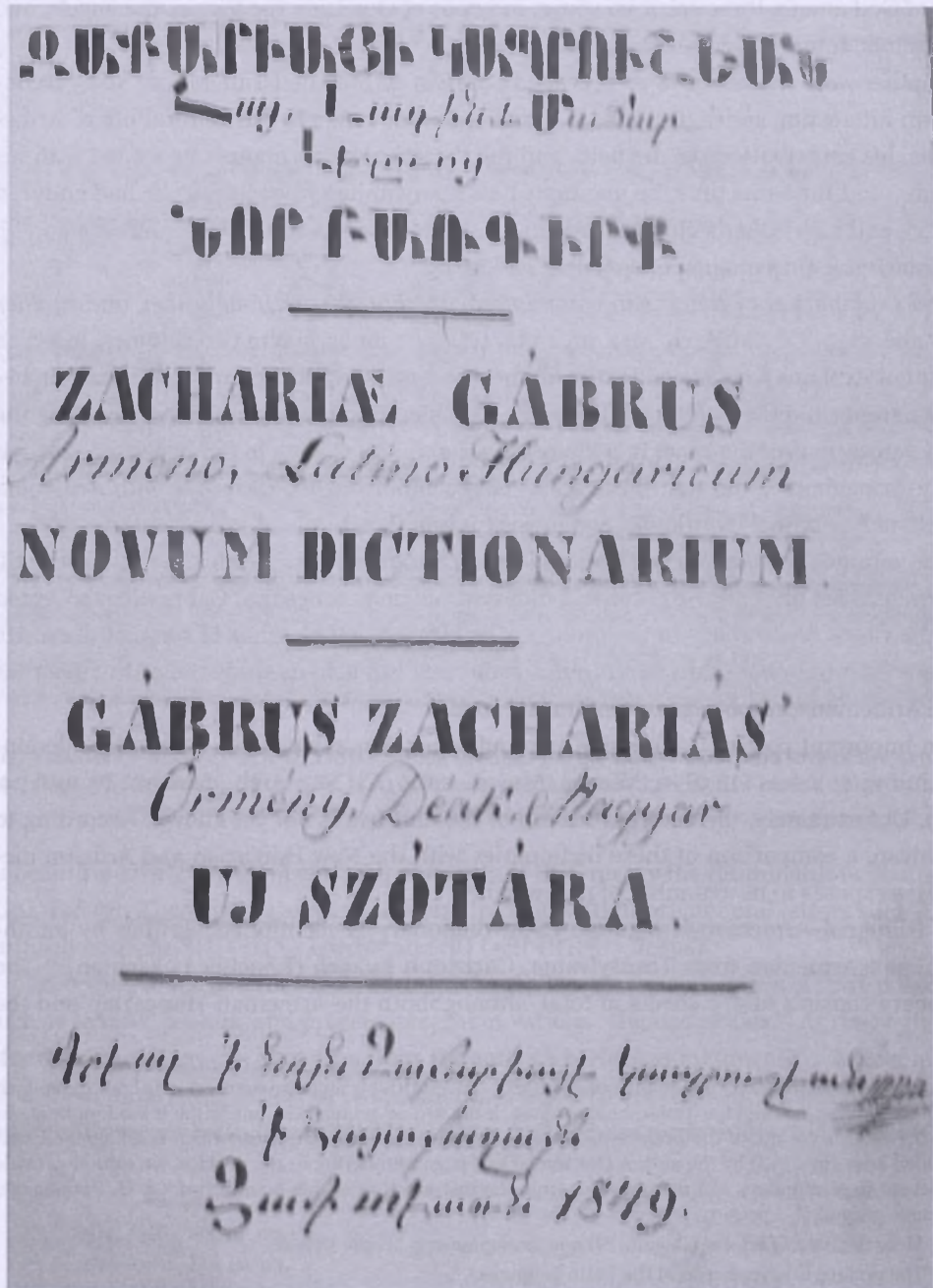


Fig. 4. Armenian-Latin-Hungarian New Dictionary, title page of the Fifth volume, 1849, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 74, (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

Hungarian-Armenian dictionaries are incomplete⁴². Later, in 1922, Ferenc Alexis, published a Hungarian-Armenian dictionary consisting of 59 pages⁴³.

Gabrushian's dictionaries are also important for the study of the dialect of the Armenians of Transylvania. Specialists, namely Anton Voitian⁴⁴, Hrachya Acharyan⁴⁵ and Hakob Siruni⁴⁶, have partly studied the dialect, but unfortunately they did not know about these unprinted dictionaries by Z. Gabrushian and his other works in general, otherwise that would have allowed for more comprehensive research. Among the dialect words included in these dictionaries are: Չանայ⁴⁷ (in Turkish) – բալխիր⁴⁸, կգակ, գրգագ⁴⁹ (in Armenian), chin (in English); Պազրկան⁵⁰ [or պագիրկեան⁵¹] (in Turkish) – վաճառական⁵² (in Armenian), merchant (in English).

Later, certain Sim(e)on Fafaōnean copied Gabrushian's dictionaries. Two volumes are known us from the Roman-Catholic Parish in Frumoasa (Romania):

Ms. nr. 11 - Armenian – Latin – Hungarian New Dictionary by Zak'aria Kaprușean, which contains letters from E to H, vol. II (Հայ, լաղ[տ]ին եւ մաճար լեզուոց Նոր Բառգիրք, հատ[n]ր Երկրորդում, որ ունի յինքնեան ի գրէ Ե մինչև ցձ գիրս). This manuscript was written in Armenopolis (Հայաքաղաք) in 1899, and consists of 264 folios (fig. 5).

⁴² U. Քոլանցյան, 'Համառոտ ցուցակ ...', p. 483. Now we do not know the location of these dictionaries.

⁴³ A. Ferenc, *1000 szobol allo Magyar ormény szótár*, Erzebenváros 1922, 59 pages. Cf. G. Uluhogian, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Anton Voitian has made a comparison of the dialect of Armenians of Transylvania with other languages: Turkish-Tatar, Wallachian, Latin, Hungarian. He used as a source several books about Armenians of Transylvania, which were printed in Vienna. Cf. U. Վոյթեան, 'Հաւաքածոյ Թրանսիլուանիոյ հայոց զավառական բառերուն', *Հանդես Ամսօրեայ*, 11 (1897), pp. 186–7, 249–50, 281–2, 304–5; 2 (1898), pp. 46–51, 105–106.

⁴⁵ According to Hr. Atcharian: "Artial dialect has four branches: those of Poland, Hungary, Romania and Suceava, the first two are similar to each other, and the latter two are similar to each other", Cf. Աճառյան Հ., *Քննություն Առտիալի բարբառի*, Երևան 1953, p. 9. In another book the author refers to the dialect of Hayak'alak', i.e. Gherla, as a branch of Austria-Hungary, Cf. Աճառեան Հ., 'Աւստրո-հունգարիոյ բարբառ', *Հմիներան ազգագրական ժողովածու*, 8 (1911), pp. 278–9. As a source the famous linguist uses some originals from Govrikean's monograph *The Armenian Metropolis of Transylvania or description of the Armenian city Gherla with letters and images*.

⁴⁶ H. Siruni considers remarkable the existence of Turkish words in this dialect, which according to him comes from Armenians, who came to Transylvania first from Crimea, and then from Moldova and Galați, because there had been no direct flow of Armenians from Turkey to Transylvania. Cf. Հ. Սիրունի, 'Հայ արուեստին մտքին հետքերը Ռումանիոյ մէջ', *Հայրենիք ամսագիր*, 7 (1928), p. 99; Dj. H. Siruni, 'Cuvinte Romanesti in Dialectul Armenilor din Transilvania-Citeva note Istorice', *Revista Istorica*, 4–6 (1927), pp. 129–139; Dj. H. Siruni, 'Cuvinte Romanesti in Dialectul Armenilor din Ardeal', *Ani*, 2 (1936), pp. 82–90. Siruni quotes songs and sayings collected by G. Govrikean, Cf. Dj. H. Siruni, 'Proverbe din dialectul Armenilor din Ardeal', *Ani*, 3 (1936), pp. 49–50; 'Proverbe Armenesti', *Ani*, 4 (1936), pp. 25–27; Հ. Սիրունի 'Ռուման լեզվի հետքերը Թրանսիլվանիոյ հայոց բարբառի մէջ', *Նոր կյանք ամսագիր*, 47 (1969).

⁴⁷ Cf. Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 75, p. 171, II column.

⁴⁸ U. Վոյթեան, *op. cit.*, 12 (1898), p. 49.

⁴⁹ Յ. Պօզաճեան, *Համառոտ բառարան ի հայէ ի տաճիկ*, vol. 1, Վիեննա 1838, p. 46.

⁵⁰ Cf. Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 75, p. 194, I column.

⁵¹ U. Քիւփելեան, *Բառագիրք երեքլեզուեան տաճկերէն-հայերէն-գաղղիերէն*, Վիեննա 1883, p. 742.

⁵² U. Վոյթեան, *op. cit.*, 12 (1898), p. 49.

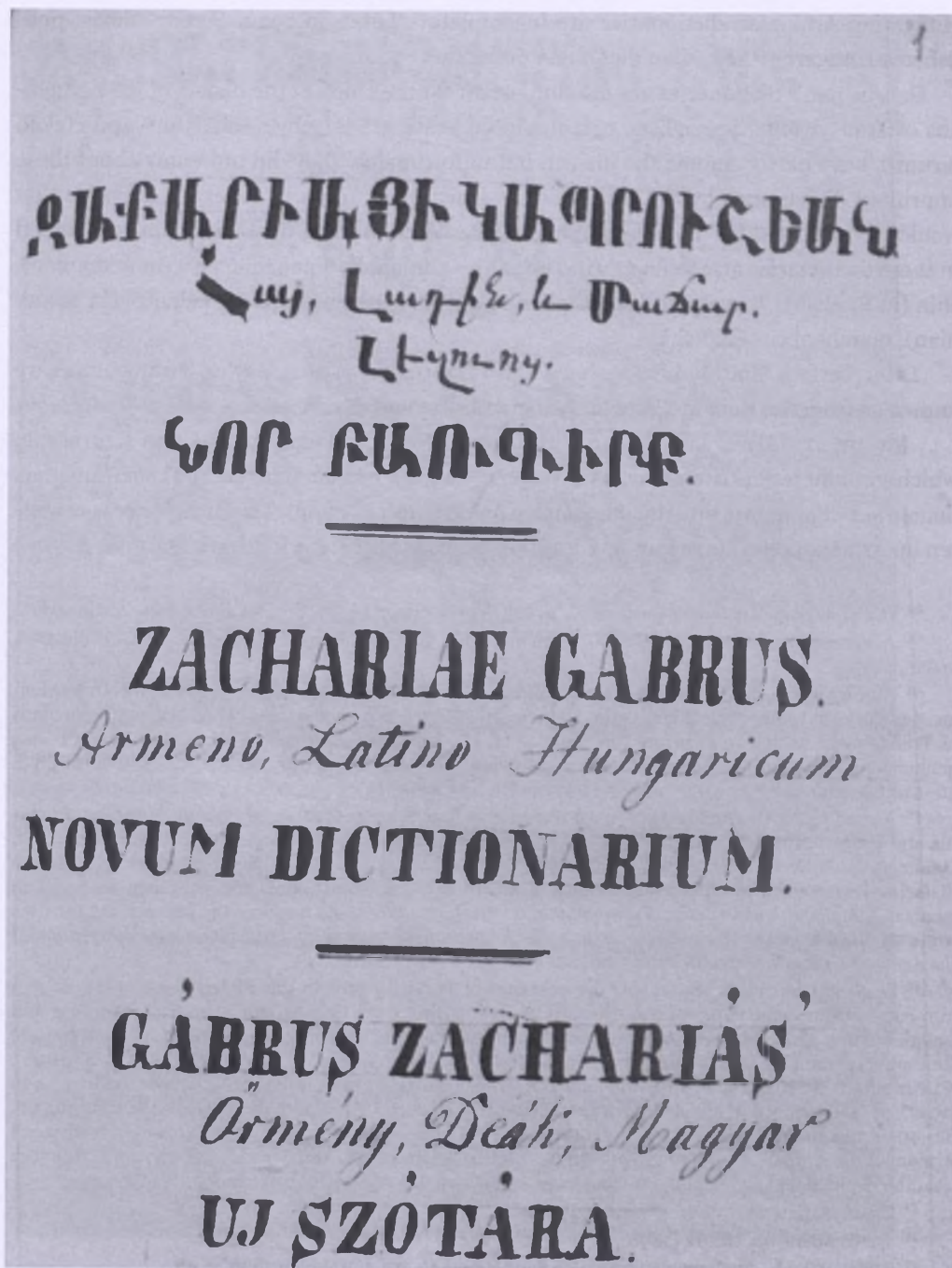


Fig. 5. Sim(e)on Faraōnean, Armenian-Latin-Hungarian New Dictionary by Zak'aria Kaprušean, written in Armenopolis in 1899. Roman-Catholic Parish of Frumoasa, Ms. nr. 11, title page (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan).

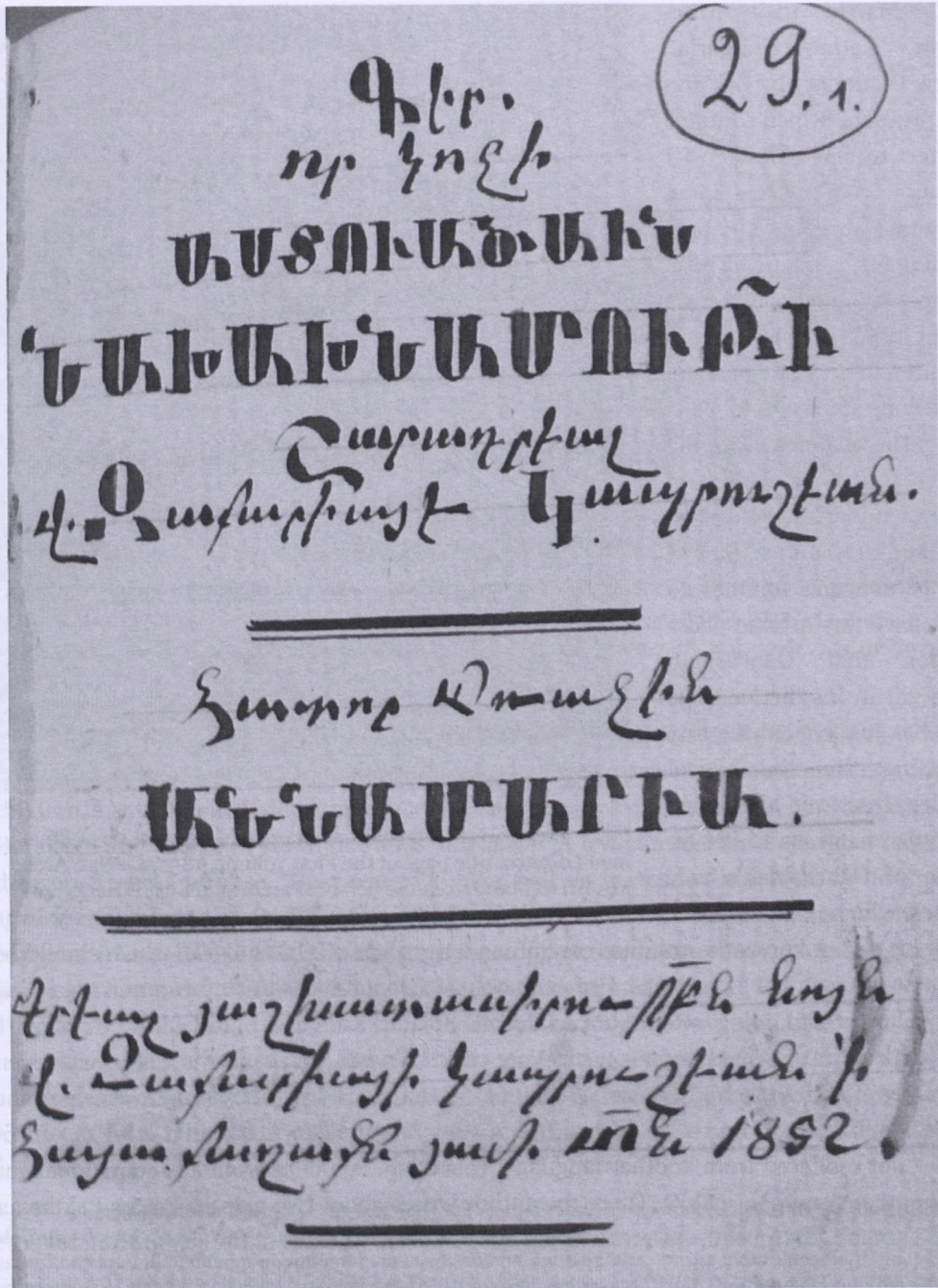


Fig. 6. Note Called Divine Providence, title page of the First volume, 1852, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 98 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

Ms. nr. 10 – Armenian – Latin – Hungarian New Dictionary by Zak'aria Kaprušean, which contains letters from J̄ to F, vol. III (Հայ, լատին եւ մաճար լեզուոյ Նոր Բառգիրք, հասոր Երրորդում, որ ունի յինքեան ի գիրէ Ձ փնչն ցԳ գիրս). This manuscript was written in Belgrade in 1862, and consists of 230 folios.

These copies proof the interest and importance of the dictionaries even when the author was alive. Sim(e) on Fařaōnean's volumes do not have any artistic decoration that Gabrushian has got in his dictionaries. He has just copied the text keeping the alphabetical order. Due to it his manuscripts enable us to get an idea of Gabrushian's volumes which current loca-

tion we do not know: the volumes containing letters from E (Ե) to C (Մ), which should be in Gabrushian's I or II volumes. Unfortunately, we do not have any information regarding the volumes containing letters from A (Ա) to D (Դ).

Written in the years 1852–54, his *Note called Divine Providence* is a study in seven volumes (Cl. Nat. Arch., Mss. nr. 98 (fig. 6), 86, 91, 85, 99, 100, 29.6, 92), of which the fifth is subdivided into two fascicles. It is a story “naturally written, that is to say original – not rendered from another language” (բնական, այսինքն originalis շարադրած, ու չէ յայլ լեզուէ դարձուցած)⁵³. There the author writes about two princes Petros Paktatean and Thomas Arutiunean, with their wives and children, who live in the city of Hunarakert⁵⁴

⁵³ Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 98, part of the prologue.

⁵⁴ A town in Utik (or Gugark, according to other sources) province of Greater Armenia, Cf. Թ. Հակոբյան, Ա. Մելիք-Բախշյան, Հ. Բարսեղյան, *Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան*, vol. 3, Երևան 1991, pp. 464–5.

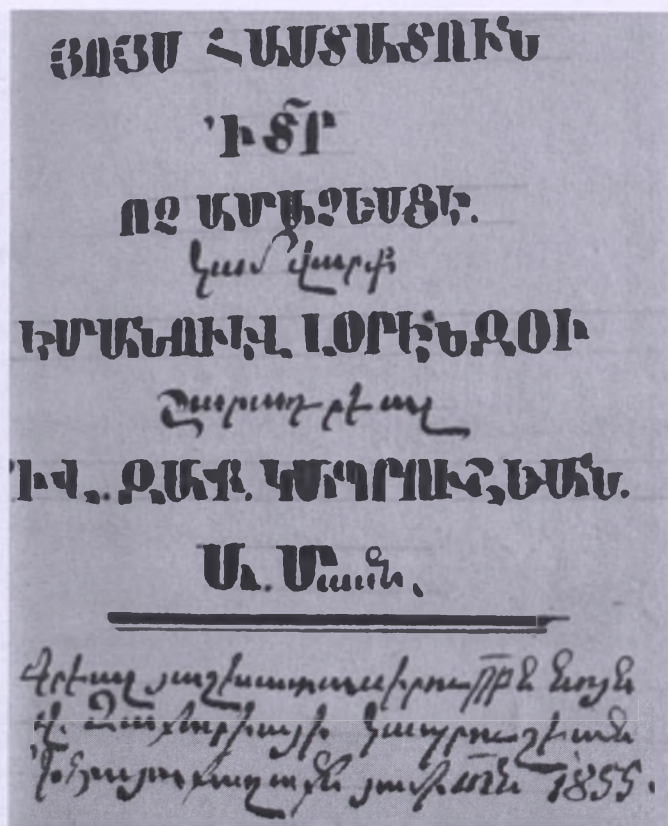


Fig. 7. Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God or Life of Emanuel Lorenzo, title page of the First volume, 1855, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 6 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

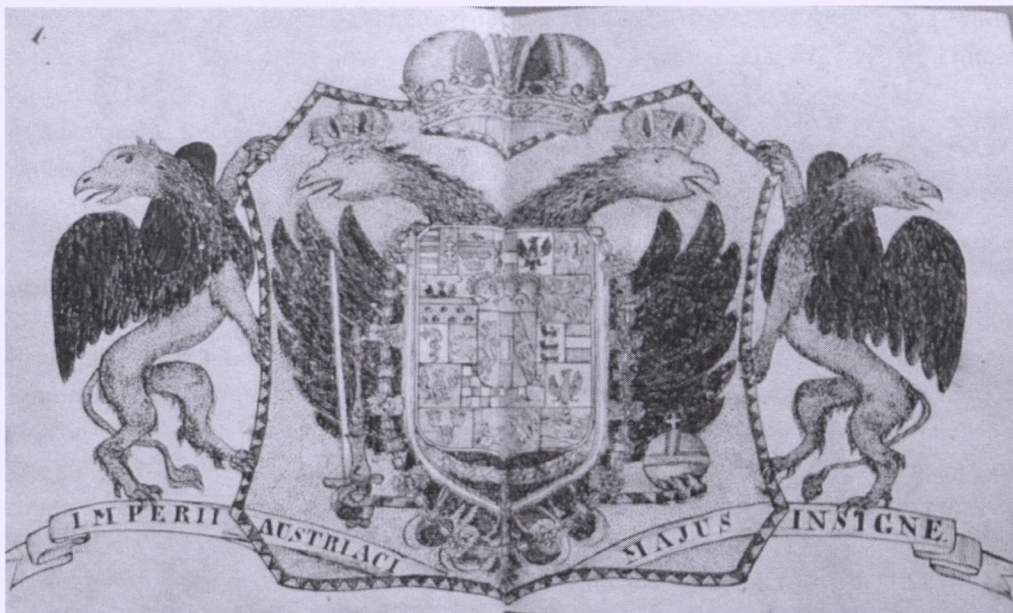


Fig. 8. Coat of arms of the Great Austrian Empire; Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms, vol. II, fascicle I, 1867, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 70, p. 1 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

in Armenia (1562–1618). Each volume contains various chapters and subchapters, where the main characters are prince Petros and his wife Annamarie Osdzimean and their three children Astvatsatur, Helena, and Jacob, then Thomas Arutiunean and his wife Tsaghik Harakean and their two children Minas and Jacob. A few citations help convey a sense of the work's moral purpose. "Dear reader, [...] You will see here how Lord Peter's wife stands against trial, hoping on God. [...] You will learn from her how to live in a marriage, how to love your friend, how to keep the marriage sacred, how to educate your sons to the glory of God. [...] From the servant Anton You will learn to keep Your clarity. [...] Finally, from Prince Thomas you will learn to recognise your sin within you, to judge yourself [...]"⁵⁵

Gabrushian's other writing, *Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God* (1855–1857), is a prose work originally consisting of nine volumes, of which only seven volumes are known to us (Cl. Nat. Arch. Mss. nr. 6 (fig. 7), 87, 89, 7, 22.f, 88, 90). The author states in the pro-

⁵⁵ "Սիրելի ընթերցող, [...]: Պի տեսնուս հօ[ն]ս, թէ Պետրոս իշխանին կինն ըստըր կան[գ]նիլ է ընդ[ի]նմ փորց[ձ]ութեանը, ըստըր յուսացիլ է Աստուծոյ մեջ [...]: Պի սօ[ն]րվիս իրմեն, թէ ըստըր ապրիս ամուսնութեան մեջ, ըստըր սիրիս զընկերըտ[ի], ըստըր պահպանիս գտորբ ամուսնութեան կապը: Պի սօ[ն]րվիս, թէ ըստըր մեծցընուս զտըրդաքըտ[ի] Աստուծոյ փառացը [...]: Պի սօ[ն]րվիս Աստուծոյ տալու զայն, ինչ որ Աստուծոյ է, առաջևորդութեանը, ինչ որ անորն է, քեզ, ինչ որ ըզբուտն է, ու բարեկամիտ[ի], ինչ որ նորանն է [...]: Աստոն ծառայեն պի սօ[ն]րվիս զմաքրութիւնըտ[ի] պահպանելու [...]: Վերջապես իշխան Թօ[ն]մասէ պի սօ[ն]րվիս զմեղըր ըզբու մեջ ճանչնալու, դուն զքեզ դատելու [...]" Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 98, part of the prologue.



Fig. 9. Coat of arms of Transylvania (hung. Erdély); Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms, vol. II, fascicle I, 1867, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 70, p. 173 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

logue: “Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God: This is the title of this new writing, which is just a fable, like the other note – Divine Providence. I composed it with a special intent for those groaning under a thousand hardships [...]”.⁵⁶

Like the *Note called Divine Providence*, these volumes are dialogues, several sections of which, according to K’olanjyan, “may have been presented at the Gherla theatre, as theatrical performances in Armenopolis in the first half of the 19th century”⁵⁷.

The characters of *Steady Hope - do not be ashamed of God* are members of the Spanish royal court and other representatives related to them. The main characters are King Gar(o) los, his wife Queen Elizabeth, Commander Emmanuel Lorenzo, the Queen’s brother don Garol(os), the king’s attendant Lerma Frandzishgon (Frantziskose), a gang leader Kerzon, Emmanuel’s assistant Tion Antonio, and others.

The work opens: “Part A, Chapter 1, Spain’s preparation for war against the French: §a. The king’s counsel: King Garlos II of Spain wanted to wage war against the French: he took counsel with his servants about selecting a commander. Although most of them opposed his granting the position to Emmanuel Lorenzo, as the king knew Lorenzo’s fidelity and great knowledge of military science, he confirmed him as commander-in-chief [...]”.⁵⁸

Gabrushian’s Hungarian study *The Life of Jesus. Ernest Renan’s false works do not come for the sake of God’s love* (Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 101) is notable too. There the author criticizes the reconstruction of Jesus’ biography that the contemporary French writer and philosopher Ernest Renan had proposed in his “Life of Jesus”. The latter appeared in 1863, while Gabrushian’s retort was written in the following year. Later the German philosopher Albert Schweitzer also criticized Renan in his epoch-making monograph *The Quest for the Historical Jesus* of 1906. Only a complete study and comparative analysis will enable us to understand the real value of Gabrushian’s work, which consists of 624 handwritten pages.

Another important aspect of Gabrushian’s output are his albums of heraldry entitled *Heraldic shields of the whole world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms*. The albums in two volumes, each consisting of two parts, were written and illustrated in 1867. Though they originally consisted of four parts, only three are now known to us.

⁵⁶ “Յոյս հաստատուն ՚ի տեր ոչ ամաչեցէ: Այս է զլխագիրը այս նոր գրիսը, զորն որ թեպէթ[տ] միայն առակ է, և նման է գրիս, որ կոչի Աստուածային նախախնամութիւն, յատուկ փորց[ձ]արարութենէ շարադրեցա վասն այնոցիկ, որք բիր ծանրութեանց տակ կի տըքան [...]” Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 6, part of the prologue.

⁵⁷ Ս. Քոլանջյան, ‘Գեղիւ Հայաբաղաբը ...’, p. 519.

⁵⁸ “Ա. մասն, զլուխ I. Պատրաստութիւն պատերազմի ի Սպանիայէ ընդ[դ]եմ կաղդիացոց: Տա: Խորհուրդ թագաւորի: Գարօլոս անուամ[բ] Երկրորդում թագաւոր Սպանիայի ընդ կաղդիացոց, կամենալով պատերազմիլ, խորհուրդ բըր[ո]նեց ընդ իւր սպասաւորաց վասն սպարապետութեան, թեպէթ[տ] մեծ փայլ սպասաւորացը անոր ընդ[դ]եմ եղան, օ[ն]ր Էմանուել Լօրենզօի տըրվի այս պաշտօ[ն]նը, սակայն թագաւորը ճանաչելով զԼօրենզօի հաւատարմութիւնը և զին[վ]որական մեծ իմաստութիւնն, հաստատեց զինքը սպարապետ դիւի [...]” Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 6, pp. 1–2.

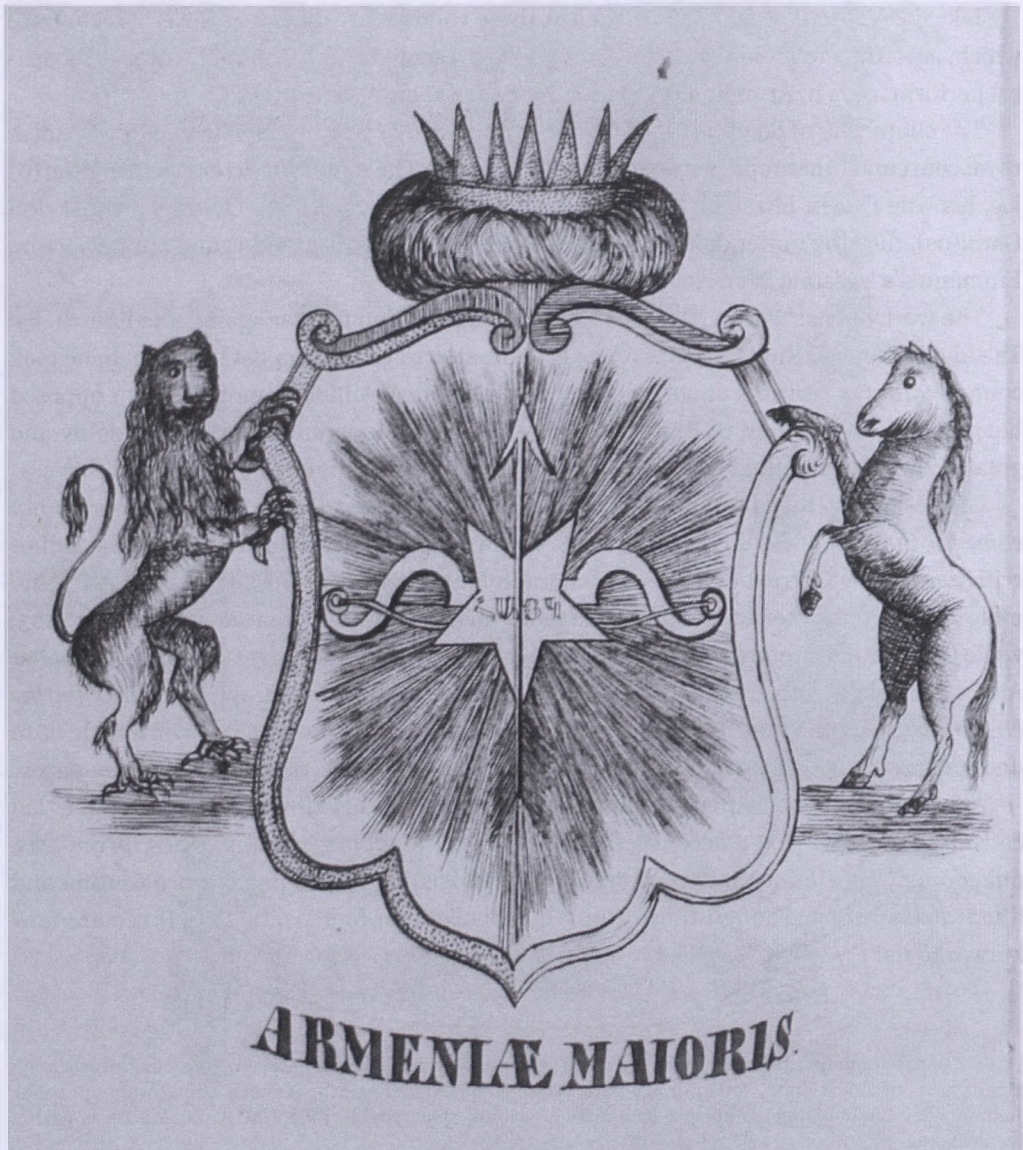


Fig. 10. Coat of arms of Greater Armenia, *Heraldry shields of all the world, of empires, kingdoms, principalities, provinces, dukedoms*, vol. II, fascicle II, 1867, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 105, p. 724 (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

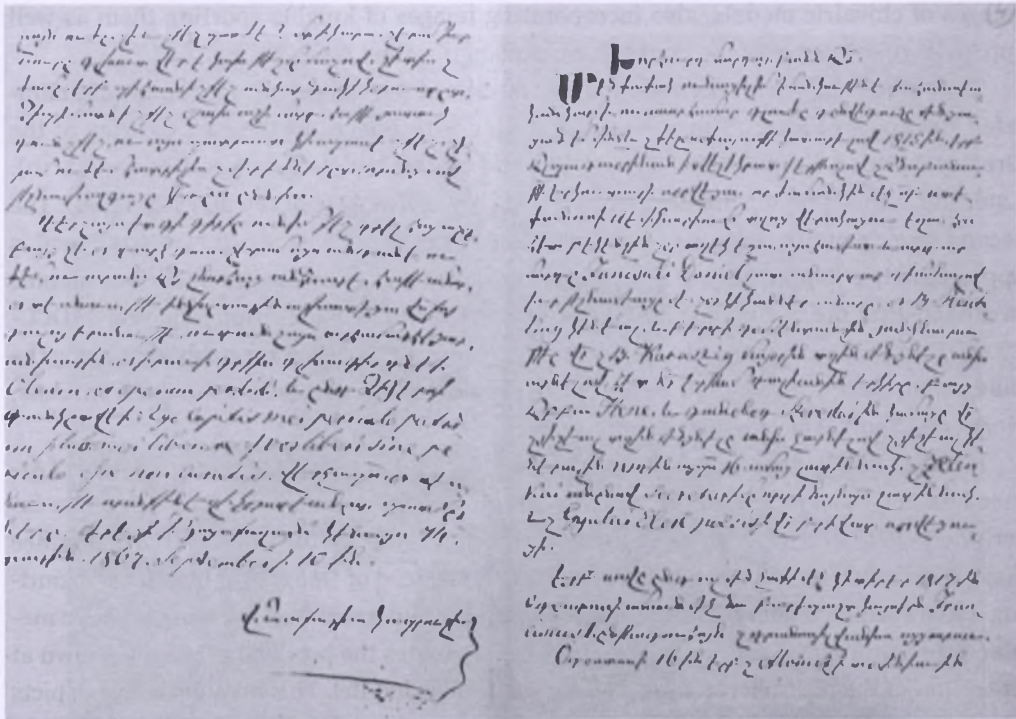


Fig. 11. Two original pages from the autobiographical monograph “I lost my oil and job”, 1867, Cl. Nat. Arch., Ms. nr. 104, fols. 3v-4r (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan).

The location of the First fascicle of the First volume is still unknown⁵⁹, but the remainder is held by the National Archives of Cluj-Napoca, numbered as follows: Ms. nr. 71 contains the Second part of the First volume, Ms. nr. 70 contains the First part of the Second volume, while Ms. nr. 105 contains the Second part of the Second volume.

According to Kolanjian’s brief description, the First fascicle of the First volume consisted of 495 pages⁶⁰. The second fascicle of the same volume continues from pp. 497 to 1040. The author’s table of contents indicates that there are, overall, 497 heraldic images in the album together with coats of arms, shields, flags, chivalric medals, etc. The work begins with the Dutch royal coat of arms (p. 498), before going on to treat the coats of arms of the different regions of Europe (Britain, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Iceland, Bulgaria, Portugal, Moldavia, Walachia, Germany, etc.), ending with the coat of arms of the city of Wartenberg in Germany (p. 927), comprising a crowned lion. Then follow the

⁵⁹ Cf. Ms. nr. 92 (S. K’olanjian’s catalogue).

⁶⁰ U. Քոլանջյան, ‘Համառոտ ցուցակ ...’, p. 476. The next three albums were omitted from the catalogue of K’olanjian because of not being in the museum, Cf. U. Քոլանջյան, ‘Գեղա Հայաբաղաբը ...’, p. 519.

images of chivalric medals, also incorporating images of knights sporting them as well (pp. 928–1040). Some of the images have explanations in Latin.

The author's table of contents to the first fascicle of the second volume (pp. 1-548) tabulates 326 coats of arms. The manuscript begins with images of the coat of arms of the Greater Austrian Empire (p. 1, fig. 7), followed by the Middle (p. 6) and Minor (p. 10). Later the author presents heraldic images from Transylvania (pp. 169 and 173, fig. 8). The second fascicle of this volume concludes Gabrushian's heraldic study (p. 549-975)⁶¹ and is appropriately equipped with a comprehensive inventory of the images in all four albums in alphabetical order. Here, as well as in the two previous manuscripts, the year MDCC-CXCVIII in Roman numerals (= 1898) is printed on the title pages, probably signifying the publication date⁶². In addition to European heraldry, here we observe images from Asia, North and South America, and Africa.

It is noteworthy that one of the heraldic images in this album is Greater Armenia (*Armeniae Mai(j)oris*, p. 724, fig. 9), in the center of which is located the only Armenian inscription - ՀԱՅԿ (HAYK). If we assume that the author meant the historic Մեծ Հայք (Mec Hayk'), we would have expected the letter Քե (K'e) instead of Կեն (Ken). Instead of regarding it as a spelling mistake, it seems more plausible to interpret it as referring to the Armenian progenitor Hayk, especially if we note his attributes the bow and arrow are shown at the center of the picture, recalling the legend of Hayk and Bel. This heraldic image depicts another unusual feature, a horse bearing the shield on the right, whereas it is customary in Armenian heraldry for the lion and eagle to act as shield bearers. Other coats of arms are observed here with Latin titles - *Armeniae*, *Armeniae Minoris*, *Armeniae Novum* (pp. 726, 728, 730). In the center of flags with the same inscriptions are the images of the crowned lion and ram (pp. 919, 921). Unfortunately, the albums on heraldry were unfinished: sometimes the frames are drawn, but the author has not had the occasion to insert the appropriate image. Separate images are sometimes accompanied by extensive explanatory texts in Latin. The manuscript ends with a list of the images of all four albums in alphabetical order.

The last of Gabrushian's manuscripts is his autobiographical monograph, simply written in Armenian, Latin and Hungarian (*Cl. Nat. Arch.*, Ms. nr. 104, fig. 10, called "I lost my oil and job", 1867). Unfortunately, this, too, is incomplete. After a short illness, Zacharia Gabrushian passed away on April 27, 1870⁶³. Today the grave (fig. 12) can be seen in the Armenian cemetery of Gherla, which was erected in his memory.

This brief sketch of Gabrushian's manuscript legacy highlights the fact that we are dealing with a talented figure with a profound knowledge of theology, linguistics, and music, who

⁶¹ The general description of the manuscript, Cf. I. Chindiş, A. E. Tatay, 'An Armenian Man of Culture and Artist from Transylvania. Zacharias Gábrus (Zacharija Gabrusjan) and his Heraldic Manuscript', *Series Byzantina*, 9 (2011), pp. 139–143.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 141.

⁶³ K. Szongott, *Oraşul Liber ...*, p. 208; Գ. Գովրիկեան, *op.cit.*, p. 142.



Fig. 12. A stone in the Armenian cemetery of Gherla erected in memory of Z. Gabrushean (photo from the personal archive of Lusine Sargsyan)

was a master in literature and a self-trained artist. Apart from its intrinsic artistic merit, it is important to study Gabrushian's literary heritage for several other reasons: to expand our knowledge about the lifestyle and customs of the Armenian community of Transylvania; to gain a fuller understanding of the structure of the Armenian-Catholic liturgical rite; and to open up the Armenian dialect of Transylvania to more serious linguistic investigation.

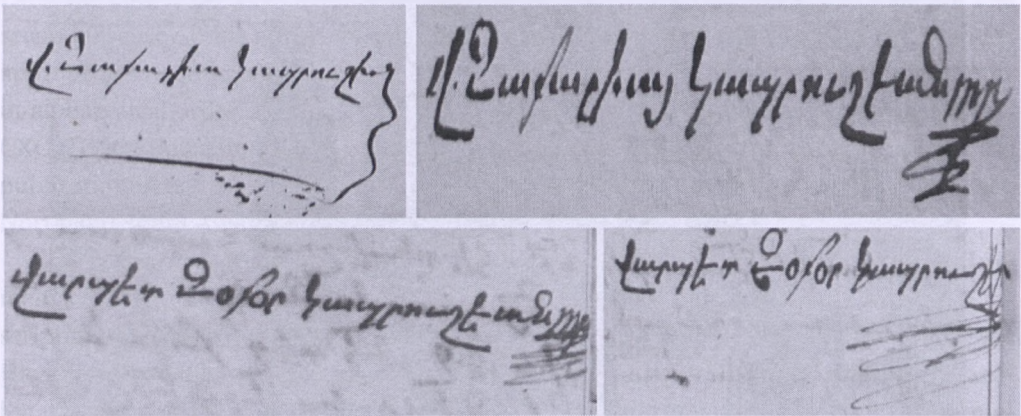


Table I. The signature of Zacharia Gabrushian

ABBREVIATIONS

Collections of Manuscripts

Cl., Nat. Arch. – Fund of Gherla, National Archives of Cluj-Napoca, Cluj-Napoca.

Maten., Matenadaran – Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan.

Vienna – Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, Vienna.

TABLE OF THE TRANSMISSION FROM ARMENIAN

| | | |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| U u – A a | Վ կ – K k | U u – S s |
| F f – B b | Հ հ – H h | Վ վ – V v |
| Գ գ – G g | Չ շ – J j | S s – T t |
| Դ դ – D d | Լ լ – L l | Ր ր – R r |
| Ե ե – E e | Ճ ճ – Č č | Յ չ – C' c' |
| Զ զ – Z z | Մ մ – M m | Ի ի – W w |
| Է է – Ē ē | Յ յ – Y y | Փ փ – P' p' |
| Ը ը – Ə ə | Ն ն – N n | Ք ք – K' k' |
| Թ թ – T' t' | Շ շ – Š š | Օ օ – Ō ō |
| Ժ ժ – Ž ž | Ո ո – O o | Ֆ ֆ – F f |
| Ի ի – I i | Չ չ – Č č | Ու ու – U u |
| Լ լ – L l | Պ պ – P p | +u-ew |
| Խ խ – X x | Ջ ճ – J j | |
| Ս ը – C c | Ռ ը – R r | |

Les Arméniens de la Grèce moderne : situation démographique linguistique et éducative

Themistoklis Papadopoulos

Les Arméniens ont fait leur apparition en territoire grec très tôt, au Ve siècle pendant la période proto – byzantine. La cause de cette première immigration était une guerre contre l'empire Perse qui a forcé un grand nombre d'Arméniens à fuir les territoires du Caucase et de trouver refuge dans les grandes villes de l'Empire Byzantin. A partir de cette période et durant toute la période Byzantine de nombreux Arméniens vont jouer un rôle important dans l'administration et dans la vie quotidienne de l'Empire jusqu'à sa disparition en 1453. Parmi eux, on peut citer l'illustre militaire Nicéphore Phokas (devenu plus tard empereur Nicéphore II) et de nombreux empereurs comme Léon l'Arménien et Ioannis Tsimiskis.

Durant la période ottomane, on observe des mouvements d'immigration arménienne vers la Grèce en raison des persécutions turques. La majorité des territoires grecs était également sous domination ottomane mais étant majoritairement de religion chrétienne ils étaient considérés par les Arméniens comme des endroits de sécurité¹. Pour la même raison, de nombreux Arméniens ont choisi de s'installer en Grèce insulaire parce qu'à l'époque, de nombreuses îles faisaient partie des royaumes occidentaux notamment des duchés de Venise et de Gênes. Ainsi, on observe la présence des Arméniens à l'île de Corfou² qui n'a jamais été sous domination ottomane et également aux îles de Rhodes, Naxos

¹ A. Μαντζικιάν, « Η παρουσία των Αρμενίων στον Ελληνικό χώρο, από τον 5 αιώνα μ.Χ. ως το τέλος του Α' Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου », *Αρμενικά τεύχος*, 80 (2004), p. 1.

² A. Γεραμιάν, « Οι Αρμένιοι στην Κέρκυρα, μια παρουσία πέντε αιώνων », *Αρμενικά τεύχος*, 16 (2000), p. 1-2.

et Crète³ qui ont été annexées à l'Empire Ottoman, tardivement par rapport aux territoires du continent grec⁴.

Le premier grand mouvement d'immigration arménienne en Grèce (1915–1925)

La période 1915–1925 fut une période déterminante pour les populations chrétiennes des territoires de l'Empire Ottoman et de la République Turque qui lui a succédé. En 1915, durant la 1^{re} Guerre Mondiale, le génocide arménien fut réalisé. Il faut d'abord noter que, parmi les victimes, étaient aussi des Grecs Pontiques⁵ et des Turcs de religion chrétienne. Avant 1915, la région de Trapezoun, qui contenait le plus grand nombre de Grecs Pontiques et qui se trouve très proche de l'Arménie, avait bénéficié d'une certaine autonomie qui a mis en alerte les nationalistes turcs qui allaient commettre le génocide Arménien plus tard⁶. Le nombre des victimes Grecs Pontiques était certainement inférieur de celui des Arméniens et, en raison du manque de chiffres et d'informations exactes, les persécutions contre cette population ne sont pas reconnues comme étant un génocide. Cependant, jusqu'à aujourd'hui les Grecs Pontiques commémorent le 24 avril comme *jour de commémoration du génocide des Arméniens et des Grecs Pontiques*⁷.

Le génocide et l'instabilité géopolitique ont conduit de nombreux Arméniens à trouver refuge sur les côtes turques de la mer Egée où les chrétiens constituaient la forte majorité et qui étaient déjà occupées par les forces de l'Entente. D'autres ont décidé de s'installer en Grèce qui était un endroit offrant plus de sécurité. Pendant l'année 1915, 17.520 Arméniens, dans leur majorité des enfants orphelins du génocide, se sont installés surtout en Grèce du sud et en Grèce insulaire. Plus tard leur nombre va dépasser les 20.000⁸.

³ La Crète était occupée par les Vénitiens jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle. De 1899 à 1912 elle bénéficiait d'une semi – indépendance ayant comme chef d'état le prince Georges de Grèce, fils du roi Georges 1^{er} (1845–1913). Cet état possédait son propre système administratif, son propre drapeau et sa propre monnaie nationale (la drachme crétoise). Dans cet état toutes les religions étaient tolérées mais les chrétiens constituaient la majorité des habitants. Cette situation a été favorable pour de nombreux Arméniens qui ont décidé de s'installer en Crète durant les dernières années de l'Empire Ottoman.

⁴ Un grand nombre des ports et des îles en territoire grec était occupé par les royaumes et duchés d'Italie, les français, les britanniques et les chevaliers de Malte. Dans ces territoires les habitants de religion chrétienne orthodoxe, catholique et arménienne bénéficiaient d'une protection par les autorités et la présence des musulmans était faible ou parfois inexistante par rapport au continent grec.

⁵ On nomme Grecs Pontiques les population chrétiennes orthodoxes hellénophones qui habitaient la vaste région du Pont (Mer Noire) partagée entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Empire Russe. Leur langue était un dialecte d'origine grecque et à la différence des Arméniens ils habitaient surtout les côtes de la Mer Noire.

⁶ R. Hovanisian, « Γενοκτονία Αρμενίων: ξεριζωσαν 3.000 χρόνια ιστορίας », dans : *Ε-Ιστορικά: Α' Παγκόσμιος Πόλεμος*, Αθήνα 2008, p. 142.

⁷ A. Γαβριηλίδης, *Εμείς οι Έποικοι* Ιωάννινα, Ισνάφι 2014, p. 221–222.

⁸ A. Μαντζικιάν, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

La période des années '20 sera d'une importance capitale pour les populations non musulmanes de la République Turque naissante. En 1923, après la défaite de l'armée grecque en Asie Mineure, le traité de Lausanne a été signé entre la Grèce et la Turquie. Ce traité obligeait les deux pays à un échange des populations minoritaires⁹. Par l'initiative des diplomates turcs, les critères de cet échange ont été de nature religieuse et non pas nationale ou linguistique¹⁰. Ainsi, de nombreux musulmans hellénophones de Grèce et des chrétiens turcophones de Turquie ont été obligés de quitter leurs pays. Certaines populations n'ont pas été concernées par ce traité. Il s'agissait des populations musulmanes, turcophones et bulgarophones de la Thrace Occidentale pour la Grèce, et des chrétiens hellénophones de Constantinople pour la Turquie. Les populations juives et arméniennes n'ont été guère mentionnées, considérées comme non concernées par cet échange. Les juifs étaient de toute façon non chrétiens et les Arméniens non orthodoxes. Il faut aussi ajouter que la République Soviétique d'Arménie était déjà proclamée, donc la présence des Arméniens dans les territoires grecs annexés par la Turquie constituait un problème étranger au traité de Lausanne.

Malgré tout, on observe un grand mouvement d'immigration arménienne vers la Grèce entre 1922 et 1925¹¹. Pendant cette période, plus de 100.000 Arméniens de Turquie vont s'installer en Grèce avec les réfugiés de religion orthodoxe¹². Cette volonté des Arméniens d'immigrer en Grèce malgré le fait qu'ils n'étaient pas concernés par le traité de Lausanne peut facilement trouver d'explication sur le fait que le génocide était relativement récent et, qu'après le départ des orthodoxes, les Arméniens seraient la plus grande minorité religieuse de la Turquie ; ils constituaient donc une éventuelle cible pour les nationalistes Turcs¹³. Pour cette raison, les autorités grecques ont toléré l'arrivée des Arméniens avec les réfugiés orthodoxes. Le gouvernement de l'époque va proposer d'accorder la citoyenneté grecque aux réfugiés Arméniens mais les communautés arméniennes de la Grèce et de la diaspora ont refusé parce que cette immigration était considérée par de nombreux Arméniens comme provisoire et, à l'époque, ils avaient toujours l'espoir de pouvoir rentrer un jour en Turquie. Ayant la citoyenneté grecque, ils risquaient de perdre leurs fortunes laissées en Turquie ainsi que le droit de rentrer chez

⁹ G. Prévelakis, *Géopolitique de la Grèce*, Bruxelles 2006, p. 54.

¹⁰ B. Oran, « Διδάγματα από τα άρθρα 1 και 2 της σύμβασης της Λοζάνης », dans : *Η ελληνοτουρκική ανταλλαγή πληθυσμών*, ed. K. Τσιτσιλίκης, Αθήνα 2006, p. 290-291.

¹¹ Jusqu'en 1925 l'échange des populations entre les deux pays était achevé.

¹² A. Μαντζικιάν, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

¹³ Il est à noter que de nombreux Juifs habitant surtout la région de Smyrne ont dû immigrer en Grèce malgré le fait qu'ils n'étaient pas concernés par le traité de Lausanne. Leur volonté d'immigration peut trouver des raisons pareilles que celle des Arméniens parce qu'eux aussi constituaient une minorité religieuse attachée plutôt à l'occident et pourraient devenir une cible des nationalistes Turcs. Les Juifs réfugiés en Grèce se sont installés dans les villes où il existait de grandes communautés juives notamment à Salonique, Ioannina et Corfou. Cette minorité a survécu jusqu'en 1944 où plus de 80.000 juifs de Grèce ont été exterminés par les occupants allemands. La plupart des survivants se sont installés en Israël en 1948. Aujourd'hui il ne reste qu'environ 1000 juifs dans toute la Grèce la majorité de ceux-ci étant de personnes âgées.

eux¹⁴. Cette situation a conduit à une intervention de la Société des Nations dans le but de trouver une solution. Certains Arméniens ont choisi de s'installer en Arménie Soviétique, d'autres en France et aux Etats – Unis. Ainsi, vers la fin des années '20, la population arménienne sera diminuée considérablement. Des 100.000 Arméniens arrivés en Grèce de 1915 à 1925, vont rester 65.000 donc 36.600 habitant à Athènes et aux environs, et 28.300 en Grèce du Nord¹⁵.

Les Arméniens de Grèce après 1940

La Grèce a connu une période d'instabilité les années qui ont suivi l'échange des populations avec des dictatures successives et des guerres. De 1941 à 1944 elle est occupée par les forces de l'axe et divisée en trois zones (allemande, italienne et bulgare)¹⁶. Durant cette période on estime qu'environ 3.000 Arméniens de Grèce sont morts soit dans les champs de bataille soit dans les grands centres urbains comme Athènes et Salonique où les conditions de vie pour les habitants étaient très difficiles, surtout à partir de 1943.

La Grèce a été libérée en 1944 mais, peu après, une guerre civile a éclaté entre les royalistes et les communistes, qui va aboutir à la défaite des communistes en 1948. Durant cette période, l'Union Soviétique va proposer aux Arméniens de la diaspora de se rapatrier en Arménie Soviétique. Plusieurs Arméniens ont décidé de quitter la Grèce en raison de la guerre civile et de la situation socio économique qui était devenue très difficile en raison des guerres successives. Le premier groupe pour l'Union Soviétique a quitté le port de Salonique en 1947. Cinq autres groupes vont suivre jusqu'en 1948, année de la fin de la guerre civile. On estime que, pendant cette période, 18.000 Arméniens ont quitté la Grèce pour la République Soviétique d'Arménie. Après la fin de la guerre civile environ 40.000 Grecs considérés comme communistes ont dû quitter la Grèce pour s'installer dans les pays du bloc de l'Est¹⁷. Dans les années '50, de nombreux Grecs, et parmi eux des Arméniens, seront obligés d'immigrer aux Etats – Unis et en Australie à la recherche d'une vie meilleure. Les années qui ont suivi, les Arméniens vont coexister pacifiquement avec les Grecs surtout dans les grands centres urbains comme Athènes et Salonique, qui seront privilégiés du point de vue économique par rapport à la province qui était ravagée par les guerres successives. Pendant plus d'un demi-siècle, de nombreux Arméniens vont s'illustrer dans le monde culturel grec. Parmi eux, on cite la chanteuse Marika Ninou

¹⁴ L'article 10 du traité de Lausanne prévoyait une liquidation des biens immobiliers des populations concernées. De nombreux Arméniens ont finalement perdu tous leurs biens en Turquie mais à l'époque de l'échange des populations la situation concernant leur fortune n'était pas claire. En 1968 la citoyenneté grecque fut accordée à tous les Arméniens qui habitaient en Grèce.

¹⁵ A. Μαντζικιάν, *op. cit.*, p. 3-4.

¹⁶ J. Dalègre, *La Grèce depuis 1940*, Paris 2006, p. 30.

¹⁷ A. Μαντζικιάν, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

(née Evangelia Atamian (1918–1957), la soprano Arda Mandikian (1924–2009) et l'acteur Arto Apartian (1956–2010).

En 1990, après la dissolution de l'Union Soviétique, de nombreux citoyens Russes, Ukrainiens et Arméniens vont s'installer en Grèce. La majorité d'entre eux étaient des Grecs Pontiques qui habitaient surtout les côtes nord de la Mer Noire et l'état grec va profiter de certains programmes d'aide financière de l'Union Européenne pour les installer dans les territoires du nord, notamment en Thrace Occidentale, dans le but de renforcer la population chrétienne à l'égard de la minorité musulmane protégée par le traité de Lausanne. Le nombre des citoyens soviétiques installés en Grèce reste imprécis mais on estime qu'environ 100.000 personnes se sont installées en Grèce du nord entre 1990 et 1995¹⁸. Parmi eux, un petit nombre d'Arméniens s'est installé progressivement dans les grands centres urbains surtout à Salonique. Vu que tous les néo – arrivants ont été considérés comme des Grecs rapatriés, ils n'ont pas été répertoriés selon leur langue ou leur origine mais seulement par leur ancienne citoyenneté (soviétique). Par conséquent, on ne possède pas d'informations précises sur le nombre exact de citoyens soviétiques d'origine arménienne venus en Grèce dans les années '90. Ceci n'a pas empêché de nombreux Arméniens de s'illustrer dans leur nouvel environnement grec. Parmi eux, on cite le champion olympique de lutte gréco – romaine (médaille de bronze aux Jeux Olympiques d'Athènes 2004) Artiom Kuregian (1976–).

D'après des sources qui proviennent des associations arméniennes existantes et par l'Eglise Arménienne de Grèce, on estime que le nombre d'Arméniens qui habitent aujourd'hui en Grèce ne doit pas dépasser les 40.000 personnes au total¹⁹. Il existe actuellement 11 églises arméniennes dans 8 villes de Grèce (Athènes, Salonique, Héraklion, Cavala, Xanthi, Comotini, Didimotychon et Alexandroupolis), toutes reconnues par l'état grec²⁰. La Grèce a été un des premiers pays qui ont reconnu l'indépendance de l'Arménie en 1991 et le génocide de 1915 trois ans plus tard. Presque tous les Arméniens, y compris ceux qui sont venus après 1990, sont titulaires de la citoyenneté grecque et possèdent les mêmes droits que le reste des Grecs.

La langue arménienne, les efforts de maintien et son enseignement en Grèce

La religion arménienne survit toujours et l'église arménienne bénéficie d'un statut de reconnaissance officielle par toutes les institutions en Grèce. Les Arméniens sont considérés comme une minorité religieuse et, contrairement à d'autres populations, ils n'ont pas connu de discriminations linguistiques ou religieuses par l'état ou par la société grecque.

¹⁸ J. Dalègre, *La Thrace grecque, populations et territoire*, Paris 1997, p. 193.

¹⁹ O. Γαζαριάν, « Η αρμενική παροικία κλείνει τα ενενήντα », *Αρμενικά τεύχος*, 74 (2012), p. 1.

²⁰ www.armenianprelacy.gr

Ceci s'explique par le fait que les Arméniens avaient eux aussi subi des persécutions turques et, contrairement aux populations turcophones, albanophones ou bulgarophones de la Grèce, ils étaient vus comme un peuple allié contre la Turquie et les autres états balkaniques avec lesquels la Grèce n'avait pas toujours de bonnes relations. Il faut aussi noter que les Grecs Pontiques voulaient eux aussi être reconnus comme des victimes du génocide de 1915. Il était donc nécessaire de ne pas négliger les Arméniens, victimes incontestables des atrocités.

Il y a aussi le fait que la plupart des Arméniens ont été au début considérés comme des réfugiés et non pas comme une population minoritaire²¹. La différence est importante du point de vue administratif parce que toutes les minorités religieuses et linguistiques de la Grèce n'étaient reconnues que dans certaines régions précises. Les turcophones et bulgarophones habitaient la Thrace, les albanophones et les Aroumains l'Épire et les slavophones la Macédoine. Les Arméniens étaient libres de pratiquer leur religion et langue dans toute la Grèce sans aucun problème. Des écoles bilingues ont été fondées dans les grands centres urbains notamment à Salonique mais elles n'ont pas survécu à la seconde guerre mondiale. Seulement les écoles à Athènes ont été maintenues en raison du développement que la capitale a connu à partir des années '50.

Vu la liberté qui leur a été accordée par les autorités grecques, les communautés arméniennes fondées dans les années '20 vont essayer de maintenir l'identité religieuse, linguistique et culturelle des populations arméniennes reparties dans toute la Grèce. En 1926, la *Croix d'Azur des Arméniens de Grèce* a été fondée à Athènes et depuis plus d'un demi siècle elle dirige un certain nombre d'écoles bilingues reconnues et en partie soutenues par l'état grec. Ces écoles font partie du système éducatif grec, elles suivent le cursus scolaire grec avec la différence que des cours de langue et de religion arménienne y sont assurés. Il s'agit de deux écoles maternelles, deux écoles primaires et un collège, toutes ayant leur siège à Athènes. Les établissements sont en grande partie financés par la Croix d'Azur et par des bienfaiteurs Arméniens de Grèce et de la diaspora. Durant l'année académique 2012–2013, 274 élèves étaient inscrits dans l'ensemble de ces écoles²².

Un autre effort important pour le maintien de la langue et de la culture arménienne en Grèce est sans doute la presse. On peut la distinguer en presse arménophone, bilingue et hellénophone. Le développement de la presse est lié aux mouvements d'immigration arménienne en Grèce à la fin XIX siècle et surtout aux années '20 après l'échange des populations. Les premiers journaux et magazines ont été arménophones et, dans leur majorité, ils ont été édités avant la seconde guerre mondiale. A partir des années '50, on remarque la présence des journaux et magazines bilingues (grec – arménien) et plus tard monolingues (grec)²³. La presse arménienne en Grèce était surtout de contenu culturel et elle était soutenue par

²¹ A. Μαντζικιάν, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²² www.armenikoskynousstavros.gr

²³ Ο. Σ. Αγαπατιάν, *Ο αρμενικός τύπος στην Ελλάδα*, Νοέμβριος 2009 dans : www.armenika.gr

les communautés arméniennes et les nombreuses associations culturelles déjà existantes. De nos jours, la presse arménienne en Grèce est dans sa forte majorité hellénophone et elle possède également des pages sur internet. Seule, l'Eglise Arménienne de Grèce utilise toujours la langue et l'écriture arménienne dans certaines de ses publications et dans son site officiel²⁴.

L'avenir de la langue et de la culture arménienne en Grèce

En tenant compte du nombre réduit des élèves des écoles de la Croix d'Azur et de la situation de la presse arménophone en Grèce, la première chose qu'on peut constater est que la religion arménienne survit toujours mais la langue se trouve dans une situation de déclin depuis quelques années. Seule, l'arrivée des Arméniens de l'ex Union Soviétique dans les années '90 qui étaient dans leur majorité arménophones a contribué à la survie de la langue en Grèce. De nos jours, la majorité des arméniens de Grèce sont soit hellénophones soit bilingues, la langue dominante étant le grec. La majorité des arméniens qui maîtrisent la langue arménienne sont des personnes âgées.

Plusieurs explications peuvent être données pour ce déclin de l'arménophonie en territoire grec. Il faut d'abord noter, qu'à la différence des autres minorités religieuses et linguistiques, les arméniens habitaient les grands centres urbains et coexistaient avec les grecs. Dans les sociétés industrialisées modernes les cultures sont moins perspectives et plus tolérantes aux différences mais aussi plus indifférentes aux disparités²⁵. Les Arméniens de seconde et troisième générations se sont assimilés avec les Grecs et dans un environnement où la langue dominante était le grec, il leur était très difficile de conserver leur identité linguistique. De nos jours, on observe souvent chez les jeunes Arméniens de Grèce un effort d'hellénisation de leurs prénoms dans la mesure du possible. Ainsi le prénom Takvor devient Takis, Krikor devient Grigorios, Serko devient Serkos etc²⁶.

Il faut ajouter l'absence des relations culturelles avec l'Union Soviétique (et la République Soviétique d'Arménie qui en faisait partie) pendant plus d'un demi siècle. Ainsi, les Grecs ont toujours été peu familiarisés avec des langues appartenant au bloc de l'Est et avec des alphabets comme l'alphabet arménien. Les Arméniens de Grèce étaient surtout aidés par la diaspora arménienne mondiale qui avait elle aussi beaucoup de problèmes dans les premières années après la seconde guerre mondiale. De nos jours les Arméniens de Grèce sont plutôt Arméniens de religion qu'arménophones.

²⁴ www.armenianprelacy.gr

²⁵ J. C. Beacco, *Les dimensions culturelles des enseignements de langue*, Paris 2000, p. 30.

²⁶ Il est à noter que les autorités grecques n'ont jamais forcé les citoyens Grecs d'origine arménienne d'helléniser leurs noms. Cette hellénisation est faite par les Arméniens eux-mêmes pour s'intégrer mieux à la société grecque. C'est pourquoi l'hellénisation concerne surtout les prénoms et non pas les noms arméniens qui n'ont pas changé. Il faut également ajouter que dans les textes administratifs grecs, seuls leurs vrais prénoms arméniens sont acceptés. Il s'agit donc d'un usage plutôt oral qu'écrit.

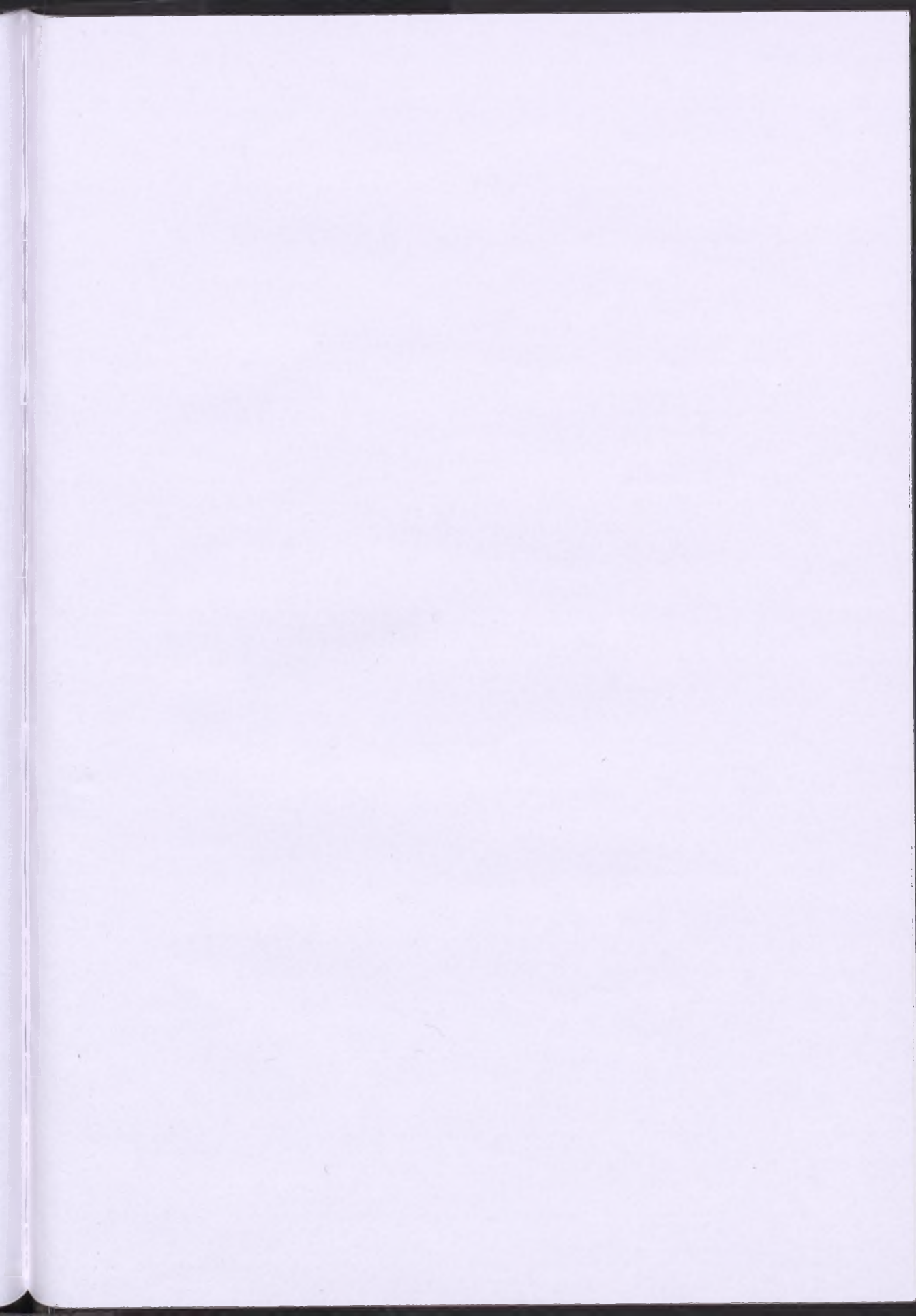
La question qui se pose dans la présente étude est si la langue arménienne en Grèce peut survivre et par quels moyens. Il est certain que, pour qu'une langue soit considérée comme vivante, elle doit être parlée ou utilisée par un certain nombre de jeunes personnes. Les Arméniens de Grèce sont depuis longtemps des citoyens Grecs, beaucoup d'entre eux n'ont jamais été en Arménie et leurs contacts avec la culture arménienne se limitaient au côté religieux et par l'intermédiaire de la diaspora arménienne mondiale. Les Arméniens originaires de l'ex Union Soviétique ont été certainement plus en contact avec leur langue, mais il ne faut pas oublier que maintenant on est dans la seconde génération, puisque les premiers immigrants sont arrivés dans les années '90. La politique linguistique grecque s'est montrée tolérante envers la langue arménienne mais cette tolérance n'était pas suffisante pour la survie de l'arménien chez les jeunes locuteurs. En raison de l'absence des études récentes sur leur situation linguistique, on ne peut faire que des suppositions. Cependant, on peut affirmer qu'un bilinguisme existe toujours chez plusieurs Arméniens de Grèce.

Une solution éventuelle serait un développement plus profond des relations culturelles entre les deux pays. Les conditions politiques pour cela sont favorables puisque l'Arménie a été, dès son indépendance, considérée comme un pays allié de la Grèce et déjà des efforts de rapprochement ont eu lieu²⁷. Cependant, un développement des relations culturelles seul ne suffit pas. Une ou plusieurs études sur la situation linguistique actuelle des Arméniens de Grèce est nécessaire pour qu'on soit en mesure de connaître leurs vrais besoins langagiers et leur maîtrise de la langue arménienne.

Une autre solution serait un développement de l'initiative privée, vu que la situation économique de l'état grec n'est pas bonne ces dernières années. Cette solution est en même temps difficile à réaliser. La crise a également touché les écoles de la Croix d'Azur, en partie financées par l'état grec et aussi les associations culturelles arméniennes qui étaient dès le début basées sur leurs propres revenus. Un développement de toute initiative privée dépend entièrement de la stabilité politique et économique en Grèce qui est encore loin d'être réalisée.

De nos jours, la langue arménienne est une langue peu parlée mais elle survit toujours dans la société grecque. Les Arméniens de Grèce ont les mêmes inquiétudes et les mêmes rêves que leurs concitoyens Grecs et, en même temps, ils essaient de maintenir leur spécificité religieuse, linguistique et culturelle.

²⁷ Après la dissolution de l'Union Soviétique les ministères de la défense grec et arménien ont décidé de renforcer les liens entre les deux pays en envoyant des officiers Arméniens faire de stages d'entraînement en Grèce malgré le fait que l'Arménie ne faisait pas partie de l'O.T.A.N. Cette collaboration du point de vue militaire continue jusqu'à aujourd'hui.



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE
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ISSN 1733-5787