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THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN ARMENIAN ART\*

Of the three major East Christian, non-Chalcedonian, churches — Coptic, Syrian, Armenian — representing three distinct geographical areas, the last had the least direct contact on its own soil with classical civilization. Syria and Egypt were conquered by Alexander the Great and subsequently subjugated by successive Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Empires. Their capitals, Alexandria and Antioch, became the most famous outposts of the classical world in the Near East. Armenia, which was never really conquered by Alexander, afterward became much more closely associated with the Parthian kingdom than other areas under the Seleucid successors of Alexander. Only occasionally was it under direct Roman rule, later to entangle itself in a love-hate relationship with the Byzantines, while enduring a schizophrenic existence between this Christian version of the East Roman Empire and the Sasanian kingdom, the two world powers it was geographically divided between.

Nevertheless, Armenia was clearly exposed to various aspects of the classical tradition, either directly through contact with Greek centers of the Hellenistic world and Roman armies, or, indirectly through the Greek Christian areas within the Byzantine Empire, both the capital, Constantinople, as well as major centers in Syria and Palestine. In the history of Armenian literature the effect of the classical tradition is more tangible through the large number of Greek works translated in the fifth century and after as a consequence of the invention of the Armenian alphabet around A.D.406. The final translation of the Bible into Armenian, based on Greek manuscripts brought for the most part from Constantinople, also contributed to this direct contact. The extremely

\* This study is based in part on a communication entitled, "The Eastern Case: The Classical Tradition in Armenia," delivered at the Symposium on the Classical Tradition, University of Birmingham, April 1979, and partially published under the title "The Eastern Case: The Classical Tradition in Armenia Art and the *Scaenae Frons*," M. MULLETT and R. SCOTT, eds., *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, Birmingham, 1981, 151-171. I would like to acknowledge that travel expenses to attend the symposium were provided by the Louise Nalbandian Memorial Fund for Armenian Studies, California State University, Fresno.

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large number of translations into Armenian produced a group of scholars who by their immersion in Greek texts became so influenced by that language that their style and movement is now referred to as the Hellenizing school<sup>1</sup>.

The classical tradition in Armenian art, though less studied, is also quite clear. The first century A.D. temple of Garni, recently reconstructed, is typical of similar Greco-Roman structures: peristyle, with a gabled roof, and mounted on a stepped stylobate. Its decoration of acanthus leaves, lion heads, egg-and-dart pattern friezes, denticulation, cornices, and coffered ceiling, provides a repertoire of classical motifs found in abundance in the eastern Mediterranean<sup>2</sup>. Descriptions of other pagan temples, destroyed in the wake of the conversion to Christianity in the early fourth century, and of the first century B.C. city of Tigranocerta, built by King Tigran (Tigranes) the Great, also attest to the direct accessibility of classical monuments in Armenia<sup>3</sup>. Much of the decorative vocabulary of Garni and classical architecture in general finds its way into Armenian church architecture of the formative period — the fourth to the seventh century — following the trend in other Christian areas of the Near East and the West<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The classic study on the Hellenizing school is Y. MANANDEAN, *The Hellenizing School and the Periods of Its Development*, Vienna 1928, in Armenian, originally published in *HA*. The "school" flourished in the six century, S. AREVSATYAN, "The Period of the Translation of Plato's Works," *BM* 10 (1971), 1-20, in Armenian with résumés in Russian and French. See also, CH. MERCIER, "L'Ecole hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne," *REArm.* 13 (1978-79), 59-75 (posthumously published by J.-P. Mahé) for an analysis of the features of the school. The most complete list of works translated into Armenian is found in Garegin Z[ARBHANALEAN], *Catalogue des anciennes traductions arméniennes (siècles IV-XIII)*, Venice 1889, in Armenian.

<sup>2</sup> The superstructure fell as a result of an earthquake in 1679, N. BOUNIATOFF, *Temple païen à côté du palais de Tiridate dans la citadelle de Garni*, Erevan 1933, in Armenian. Its reconstruction was undertaken by A. Sahinyan and B. Arak'elyan, for which see A. SAHINYAN, "Nouveaux matériaux concernant l'architecture des constructions antiques de Garni," *REArm.* 6 (1969), 181-200; ID., "L'Antico tempio della forteza di Garni," *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale di Arte Armena (Bergamo, 28-30 giugno 1975)*, Venice, 1978, 601-612, figs. 6-7 for views of the reconstructed temple which can also be seen in S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, London 1978, 19, fig. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A. CARRIÈRE, *Les huit sanctuaires de l'Arménie païenne* (Paris, 1899); R. W. THOMSON, *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians, Translation and Commentary*, Albany 1976, xxxvii-xlii, lix-lxiv. There was a theater in Tigranocerta for the production of Greek plays. Descriptions of the city are found in APPIAN, *Mithraic Wars*, chap. XII, STRABO, *Geography*, chap. XII, ii, and PLUTARCH, *Life of Lucullus*.

<sup>4</sup> B. ARAK'ELYAN and M. MAZMANYAN, eds., *Outline of the History of Armenian Architecture*, Erevan 1964, in Armenian, figs. 14-62 *passim*; A. KHATCHATRIAN, *L'Architecture arménienne du IVe au VIe s.*, Paris 1971; D. KOUYMIJIAN, "The Formative Period

Coinage of the Artaxiad kings of Armenia, particularly the widely known tetrachmas of Tigran the Great, also reflect a direct classical inspiration not only by the use of Greek legends and the classical tyche on the reverse, but also in the exceptionally fine engraving of the portrait of the king<sup>5</sup>. Other archaeological discoveries, beside the coins, such as the imported head of Aphrodite from Satala, Erzinjan, now in the British Museum<sup>6</sup>, and various statuettes and fragments from the excavation of the northern capital of Artasat<sup>7</sup>, also testify to the interest in and market for classical art in Armenia.

Armenia's sudden national conversion to Christianity in the first quarter of the fourth century<sup>8</sup> guaranteed a constant contact with the Christian inheritors of the classical tradition, but once again the exposure was second-hand. Armenia's more distant involvement with classical currents and her nearly equal contact with eastern — Syro-Mesopotamian and Iranian — civilizations, encouraged the continuation of a divided and diverse cultural expression. Architectural and artistic influences arrived through Byzantine Syria<sup>9</sup> as well as through more distant but sometimes direct contact with the imperial capital. And though individual Armenians excelled in schools of classical learning<sup>10</sup>, there is no evidence that Greek or Syriac works were recopied in their original languages in Armenian scriptoria.

of Armenian Architecture: the IVth to the VIIth Century," *The Armenian Review*, XXXI, No. 1 (1978), 17-41.

<sup>5</sup> P. Z. BEDOUKIAN, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, London 1978, figs. 7-42; DER NERSESSIAN, *ibid.*, 17, fig. 6.

<sup>6</sup> B. ARAK'ELYAN, *Outlines of the History of Ancient Armenian Art (VI c. B.C.-III c. A.D.)*, Erevan 1976, in Armenian with English résumé, pl. XXI; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *The Armenians*, London 1969, fig. 5.

<sup>7</sup> ARAK'ELYAN, *ibid.*, pl. XXII (standing female figure) and pl. XXXI (portrait head, male); DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 12, fig. 2 (female figure).

<sup>8</sup> Though most modern scholars in the west accept 314 as the date of conversion, the popular literature refuses to give up A.D. 301. P. ANANIAN, "La data e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore," *Le Muséon* 84 (1961), 43-73, 319-360, originally published in Armenian in *Bazmavep*. For a summary of the question and an opposing view which has had neither response nor echo, B. MACDERMOT, "The Conversion of Armenia in 294 A.D., a Review of the Evidence in the Light of the Sassanian Inscriptions," *REArm.* 7 (1970), 281-359.

<sup>9</sup> E. TER MINASSIANTZ, *Die armenische Kirche in ihre Beziehungen zu den syrischen*, Leipzig 1904; KHATCHATRIAN, *op. cit.*, 93-97; P. PABOUDJIAN, "Relation des Arméniens et des Syriens du premier siècle avant J.C. au septième siècle après J.C.," *Armenian Studies/Études Arméniennes, Annals of the Lebanese Association of Armenian University Graduates* 1 (1973), 115-155.

<sup>10</sup> King Artawazd, son of Tigran, was known as an author of plays and various works in Greek. Greek plays were performed at the northern capital of Artasat as well

Nearly the entire surviving corpus of figural art from the first thousand years of Armenia's conversion, the early fourth to the early fourteenth centuries, is Christian in content. The two major exceptions are themselves found in a religious context, the secular elements of relief sculpture on churches, especially at Alt'amar, 915-921<sup>11</sup>, and genre scenes scattered in and around the arcades of canon tables and headpieces of illuminated Gospel manuscripts<sup>12</sup>. The earliest extant illustrated secular manuscript is a fourteenth century copy of the *Alexander Romance*<sup>13</sup>. The overwhelming quantity of this Christian inspired art survives in manuscript illuminations; it is upon this material that a study of the classical tradition in Armenian art must be based. Sculpted reliefs and frescoes, and the few surviving mosaics and

as Tigranocerta, PLUTARCH, *Life of Crassus*. Armenian students attended such schools in Rome, Athens, and Antioch, especially that of Libanus in the latter city, for which see DER NERSESSIAN, *The Armenians*, 80-82, and PABOUDJIAN, *op. cit.*, 143-46, both relying on P. PETIT, *Les étudiants de Libanus*, Paris 1958.

<sup>11</sup> Particularly the peopled-vine scroll which forms a band around the entire church: K. OTTO-DORN, "Türkisch Islamisches Bildgut in den Figuren reliefs von Achthamar," *Anatolia* 6 (1961), 99-167; superceded by S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 25-28, and DER NERSESSIAN and H. VAHRAMIAN, *Aght'amar. Documents of Armenian Architecture*, Vol. 8, Milan 1974. For other examples of sculptural reliefs, see L. AZARYAN, *Armenian Sculpture of the Early Middle Ages*, Erevan 1975, in Armenian; N. STEPANIAN and A. TCHAKMAKTCHIAN, *L'Art décoratif de l'Arménie médiévale*, Leningrad 1971, *passim*; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, *passim*. Mention should also be made of the ceramics from the excavations of Duin and Ani with polychrome figures. STEPANIAN and TCHAKMAKTCHIAN, *L'Art décoratif*, pp. 53-55, and the carved wooden doors of 1134 from the church of the Holy Apostles in Muş now in the State Historical Museum, Erevan, *ibid.*, figs. 162-63.

<sup>12</sup> The best known examples are in the Mik'ē Gospels of 862, to be discussed shortly, Venice, Library of the Mekhitarist Fathers, MS 1144/86, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2. M. JANASHIAN, *Armenian Miniature Painting of the Monastic Library at San Lazzaro*, I. San Lazzaro, Venice 1966, pls. II-III (color); cf. D. KOUYMJIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*, Part I, *Manuscript Illumination*, Fasc. I (Draft), *Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts to the Year 1000 A.D.*, Fresno-Paris 1977, 3-4, figs. 8-9; the Mulna Gospels of the late eleventh century, Erevan, Matenadaran (Museum of Ancient Manuscripts), MS 7736, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, T. IZMAILOVA, "Les racines pré-byzantines dans les miniatures arméniennes (Les Canons du Tétraévangile de Mougna)," *Armeniaca, Mélanges d'Etudes Arméniennes*, Venice 1969, fig. 4, *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura XI veka*, Moscow 1979, 144, fig. 85 (color), and L. A. DOURNOVO and R. G. DRAMPAN, *Miniatures Arméniennes*, Erevan 1967, pl. 9; and the Halbat Gospels of 1211, Erevan, Mat., MS 6288, color reproductions in *ibid.*, pls. 18-20. In December 1977 we gave a public lecture (as yet unpublished) on this subject in Cambridge, Mass. for the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, entitled "The Secular in the Sacred: the Decoration of Armenian Canon Tables."

<sup>13</sup> Venice, Mekhitarist Library, MS 424.

art objects in wood and precious metals, serve only as a supplement to miniature painting<sup>14</sup>.

Prior to the ninth century, beside the book illustrations to be discussed below, there are a number of carved, four-sided stelae, dispersed throughout Armenia, especially in the precincts of churches and saints, New and Old Testament scenes make up the principal subjects of these monuments; however, their style and iconography display little familiarity with the classical tradition<sup>15</sup>.

The oldest surviving Armenian illuminations, the final miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospels, two leaves painted on both sides, bound at the end of a late tenth century manuscript, were thought by J. Strzygowski to be Syrian works of the sixth century<sup>16</sup>. S. Der Nersessian has convincingly determined their Armenian provenance and date (late sixth or early seventh century) by pointing out, *inter alia*, their close stylistic similarity to early seventh century Armenian wall paintings preserved in the churches of Lmbat and Tališ/Aruč<sup>17</sup>. These

<sup>14</sup> STEPANIAN and TCHAKMAKTCHIAN, *L'Art décoratif, passim*. For the mosaics of the third century bath in the precincts of Garni, which, though based on classical models, show a stylistic change toward Armenian types, see DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 19-20, fig. 7, and for the various classical mosaics with Armenian inscriptions of the fifth-sixth century in Jerusalem, *ibid.*, 69-70, fig. 44-45 (color), and B. NARKISS, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, New Rochelle 1979, 21-28, figs. 32-40 (color); see also B. N. ARAKELIAN, "Armenian Mosaics of the Early Middle Ages," *Atti del Primo Simposio*, 1-17, figs. 1-12.

<sup>15</sup> Unlike the famous Armenian *xac'kars* or cross-stones, which were produced in the thousands and in all periods, these stelae, funerary or commemorative in nature, number to fewer than one hundred, including fragments, and date from the palaeochristian period, i.e. up to the Arab invasions of Armenia; see G. YOVSĒPEAN, "Funerary Stelae and Their Archaeological Value for the History of Armenian Art," *Materials and Studies for the History of Armenian Art and Culture*, Vol. III, New York 1944, 46-127, (in Armenian), English trans., New York 1944, 30-54, without plates. B. ARAK'ELYAN, *Armenian Figural Sculpture from the Fourth to the Seventh Centuries*, Erevan 1949, in Armenian with Russian résumé, provides a corpus of these stelae. YOVSĒPEAN, *ibid.*, 119-27, trans. 51-54, suggests that the art shows similarities to Syro-Mesopotamian and Coptic traditions.

<sup>16</sup> Erevan, Mat., MS 2374, formerly Ējmiacin MS 229, fols. 288, 288<sup>v</sup>, 289, 289<sup>v</sup>; for full bibliography, D. KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, 1-2, figs. 1-4, color reproductions in L. DOURNOVO, *Armenian Miniatures*, New York 1961, pp. 33-39; J. STRYZGOWSKI, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar. Beiträge zur geschichte der armenischen, ravnennatischen und syro-ägyptischen Kunst. Byzantinische Denkmaler*, I, Vienna 1891.

<sup>17</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, "La peinture arménienne au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les miniatures de l'Évangile d'Étchmiadzin," *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, Belgrade 1964, vol. III, 49-57, reprinted in *idem*, *Études byzantines et études arméniennes. Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, 2 vols., Louvain 1973, 525-32.

four precious New Testament miniatures — Annunciation to Zachariah, Annunciation to the Virgin, Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 1), Baptism — show a clear mixture of classical and oriental elements. The faces in all of them are rendered frontally (a single Magi is seen in profile), with dark almond-shaped eyes, thick eyebrows, and small mouths. In contrast the archangels of the Annunciations, especially to Zachariah, appear in graceful classical contraposta stances with weight on the left foot and with body turned slightly toward the central character. Though the folds of their garments are stylized by long parallel strokes, the shape of their bodies is still apparent as opposed to the formlessness of those of the youthful Christ and John the Baptist, of Zachariah, and all the figures in the Adoration of the Magi, which reveal a hieratic frontality far removed from classical naturalism. The personae in the latter scene are counterpoised against an architectural background of direct classical borrowing. This building is probably the same one found in the two Annunciations, but split in half, the left behind Zachariah, the right accompanying the Virgin<sup>18</sup>. The stance of the Magi, pictured with heels together and knees apart, and their convincing Parthian garments, similar to those worn by a magus in frescoes from the Mithraeum of Dura Europos and various figures in the synagogue of the same city, later to pass into the world of the Sasanian usurpers<sup>19</sup>, make it clear that the Armenian artist, despite the classical models from which he borrowed the iconography of the scene and the background, was also perfectly familiar with the Iranian world from which the Magi originated<sup>20</sup>.

This fragment of an illustrated Gospel must have been amongst the first indigenous works of miniature painting. In an Armenian tract

<sup>18</sup> D. V. AINALOV had already touched on this feature in 1900-01 while developing a long discussion on the classical architectural background pitted against the oriental style of the figures. *Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, trans. from the Russian by E. and S. SOBOLEVITCH, New Brunswick 1961, 100-108, esp. 104, note 128. See also DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 75.

<sup>19</sup> E. R. GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Vol. XI, *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*, Vol. III, New York 1964, pls. VI and IX, fig. 140 for the Magus. For the Sasanian borrowing, the example often cited is the cup of Khosroes I in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. R. GHIRSHMAN, *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.-A.D. 651*, New York 1962, figs. 244, 401.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the first three miniatures' relationship to monumental art, especially to the lost mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, see *infra* p. 272. See also A. GRABAR, "Études sur la tradition arménienne dans l'art médiéval," *REArm*, 3 (1966), 31-37.

written in defense of images in the early seventh century, the priest Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol says, "Until now no one among the Armenians knows how to make images, but they are brought from the Greeks and our culture comes from them too"<sup>21</sup>. The exemplary copies of Greek Bible manuscripts sought in Constantinople by the students of Mesrop Maštoc' to guarantee that the final translation of the Testaments in Armenian be as reliable as possible, might well have had miniatures as well as decorated canon tables. A study of Armenian canon tables from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, with their clearly archaic qualities, suggests the use of very early models<sup>22</sup>.

Just as the classicizing prototypes which served in part for the execution of the final miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospels were from a pre-Iconoclastic era, so too must have been the manuscripts which served the artist of the Mlk'ē Gospels, the earliest dated Armenian manuscript, now ascribed to the year A.D. 862 or perhaps a decade earlier<sup>23</sup>. The large codex, one of the treasures of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice, was later offered, in 902, by Queen Mlk'ē to the monastery of Varag near Lake Van and may have been executed in the same region. Various scholars who have compared the miniatures of this work with those of the Rabbula Gospels of 586, a Syriac manuscript with miniatures inspired by a classicizing style, emphasize the antiquity of the model underlining the illuminations of the Armenian work by the striking similarities of the iconography, the impressionistic application of color, and the subjects illustrated. These include, floral decorations above the canon arcades, Evangelist portraits showing two seated

<sup>21</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *Byzantion* 17 (1944-45), 58-87, reprinted in *Études*, 386.

<sup>22</sup> C. NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Göteborg 1938, 73-85, pls. 17-23.

<sup>23</sup> JANASHIAN, *Armenian Miniature Painting*, pls. I-XI (color). There are two colophonic inscriptions affording the dates 851 and 862. The earlier was already proposed as the date of the manuscript by B. SARGISIAN, *Bazmavep* (1910), no. 11, 478-87 in Armenian, repeated in *idem*, *Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitarist of Venice*, I, San Lazzaro, Venice 1914, cols. 385-86 in Armenian; the latter date was put forward by N. ADONTZ, *Sion* (1936), 274-75 in Armenian. JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, 18-19, concluded that "it is not improbable to fix the date of the copy to 851," while 862 was for him the date of the rebinding. The second date has been accepted by Der Nersessian, see the Forward to JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, 2; *idem*, *The Armenians*, 140; *idem*, *Armenian Art*, 82. For full early bibliography consult KOUYMIJIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*, Fasc. I, 3-4, figs. 5-15. A close examination of the manuscript by Guy Petherbridge of London and myself confirms that the miniatures and the text are of the same epoch.

and two standing, and the full page miniature of the Ascension<sup>24</sup>. The natural stance of the standing Apostles, Luke (Fig. 2) and John (Fig. 3), in the Mlk'ē Gospels and the background of these same miniatures, described by M. Janashian as an atrium, but more recently correctly identified by Der Nersessian as a *scaenae frons* of Roman theater architecture, reveals again a clear classicizing model<sup>25</sup>. This classical motif is preserved in Byzantine Evangelist portraits of the tenth century<sup>26</sup>. In a period of classical renaissance, fostered in the post-Iconoclastic period by the dynasty founded by the Armenian Basil I, K. Weitzmann has suggested that this element was consciously adopted from the classical tradition<sup>27</sup>.

The *scaenae frons* of the classical theater<sup>28</sup> appears more than once in early Armenian manuscript illumination. It is usually misunderstood or

<sup>24</sup> F. MACLER, "Raboula-Mlqē," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, 81-97; S. DER NERSESSIAN, "Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel," *The Art Bulletin*, XV (1933), 335 ff., reprinted in *idem*, *Etudes*, 540-58; K. WEITZMANN, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnende 11. Jahrhunderts*, Bamberg 1933, reprint Amsterdam 1970, 4-8, figs. 1-9; JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, 21-23.

<sup>25</sup> JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, 20; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 83. Perhaps it would be useful to point out that Der Nersessian's latest study, *Armenian Art*, is more than a lavish art album; she has used the text and the extensive notes as a vehicle to update, correct, and supplement many ideas she has already discussed and also to present totally new ones relative to the entire history of Armenian art.

<sup>26</sup> The Byzantine manuscripts which have the clearest representation of a *scaenae frons*, all Evangelists portraits, are: Mt. Athos, Philotheu, Cod. 33, St. Mark, early tenth century, A. M. FRIEND, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 1 (1927), fig. 39; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Auct. E.V.11, p. 136, St. Mark, tenth century, with the colonades on the sides omitted, K. WEITZMANN, "Book Illumination of the Fourth Century," *Akten des VII. Intern. Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Trier, 1965*, Rome-Berlin 1969, reprinted in *idem*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. KESSLER, Chicago-London 1971, 112, fig. 90; Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Cod. 43, fol. 12v, St. Luke and fol. 13, St. John, tenth century, FRIEND, *ibid.*, figs. 97-98.

<sup>27</sup> K. WEITZMANN, "The Character and Intellectual Origin of the Macedonian Renaissance," originally *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance*, Cologne-Opladen 1963, *Studies*, esp. 196-7, and *Weitzmann*, "Book Illustration," 112-13. On theatrical backgrounds in Byzantine Evangelists portraits, see also FRIEND, "Portraits," *Art Studies* 2 (1929), 9 ff.

<sup>28</sup> For a well preserved early third century Roman *scaenae frons*, or stage façade, at Sabratha, Libyan Arab Republic, see R. BRILLIANT, *Roman Art*, Newton Abbot 1974, fig. I.61b; others are found at Dugga and various Mediterranean sites. They are also represented in Pompeian frescoes such as the Casti di Pinario Ceriale, WEITZMANN, "Macedonian Renaissance," *Studies*, fig. 186. However, perhaps one should not discount as a source large temple-complex façades such as that of the entrance to the hexagonal court of the early or mid-third century A.D. temple at Baalbek which had a central arch covered by a gabled roof and flanked by rows of columns, BRILLIANT, *ibid.*, fig. I.32.

awkwardly depicted. Even in these miniatures, the strong parallel lines give the impression of being more like long cubes than the cylindrical columns of a colonade above the proscenium wall. Yet, judging by the *scaenae frons* represented in the portrait of St. Luke in the Byzantine Gospels, Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Cod. 43 (Fig. 4), such a reduction could have existed in the model available to the Armenian artist<sup>29</sup>. The large drape in the background of the two Mlk'ē miniatures may have its source in the curtain hung in the center of the theater façade, the Porta Regia, which projected forward and was flanked by two columns. In the Armenian miniatures the traditional Corinthian or composite capitals are totally lacking. The artist's understanding of his model is surely in question.

This same reduction is evident in the miniature of the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 1) of the Ējmiacin Gospels. A close look at the area to the left of the central arch containing the Virgin, just above the heads of the two Magi, reveals a similar series of parallel lines which are certainly part of a *scaenae frons*. The hatching, which is barely visible near the tops of these upward sloping columns, represented the expected capitals lacking in the Mlk'ē Gospels (Fig. 3). The right hand side of the Virgin also bears the same element, but, because of the damaged state of the miniature, it is even less visible. This detail is in keeping with the central place which should be allotted the Virgin and Child in the Porta Regia; however, here the traditional architrave of this element is replaced by an arch nearly surmounting the Virgin with the expected scallup shell also used in niches of the Roman period for statues of divinities<sup>30</sup>. If compared to the portrait of St. Mark (Fig. 5) before the *scaenae frons* in another Byzantine manuscript of the tenth century, the faulty perspective of the Armenian painting, especially in rendering the ends of the gabled roof, confuse the actual form being displayed. Nevertheless, this clearly classical detail in a

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Mlk'ē, Luke or John, JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pl. X-XI (our Figs. 2-3) with Stauronikita, Luke, FRIEND, "Portraits," fig. 97, or J. BECKWITH, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth 1970, fig. 170. Of course the Byzantine example shows perspective and includes the central archway omitted in the Armenian ones.

<sup>30</sup> The miniature is best represented in DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, fig. 51. The architecture strongly recalls the miniature of Dioscurides and Epinoia in the famous Julia Anicia manuscript of ca. 512, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. gr. 1, fol. 5v, K. WEITZMANN, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression," *Byzantine Art an European Art*, Athens 1966, reprinted *idem*, *Studies*, 159, fig. 136. Cf. also the Temple of Baalbek façade, BRILLIANT, *op. cit.*, fig. I.32.

miniature dating to the late sixth or early seventh century, based as it must be on a model perhaps of the fifth or sixth century, adds further weight, perhaps proves, Weitzmann's speculation that the introduction of the *scenae frons* into miniature painting must be credited to Christian rather than pagan book illumination<sup>31</sup>.

It is possible, as has been suggested by several authorities, that monumental art could have served as the model for the first three unframed miniatures of the final Ējmiacin cycle with their relatively large figures for the size of the painted surface and in contrast to the fourth, the Baptism, which has a frame. Already in 1900, D. V. Ainalov insisted on this point. For the architectural backgrounds he suggested that mosaics like those surviving in Ravenna and the late fourth century group in the church of St. George in Salonica were available<sup>32</sup>. As direct models for the scenes, especially the Adoration of the Magi, of the Ējmiacin Gospels, which, following Strzygowski, he held to be a Syrian work rather than Armenian, Ainalov turned to the mosaics on the façade of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, perhaps dating to Justinian's reconstruction of the sixth century. Though these mosaics have not survived, a synodical letter of 836 sent to Emperor Theophilus mentions the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi among them. About the latter, the bishops report they were told that the Persians, when they took Jerusalem in 614, recognized their national costumes in the dresses worn by the three kings (Magi) and therefore spared the church<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> For St. Mark, Mt. Athos, Philotheu, Cod. 33. FRIEND, "Portraits," fig. 39; WEITZMANN, *Studies*, 112, fig. 89. Weitzmann's speculation, *ibid.*, 113.

<sup>32</sup> AINALOV, *Hellenistic Origins*, 100, 107; DER NERSESSIAN, "La peinture arménienne au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Etudes*, 529-32; *idem*, *The Armenians*, 139-40. For the mosaics of St. George, Wolfgang F. VOLBACH, *Early Christian Art*, New York 1961, pls. 124-25; for Ravenna, *ibid.*, pls. 141, 142, 152.

<sup>33</sup> AINALOV, *op. cit.*, 107; DER NERSESSIAN, *Etudes*, 530, citing L. DUCHESNE, "Lettre des patriarches Christophore d'Alexandrie, Job d'Antioche et Basile de Jérusalem à l'empereur Théophile en 836," *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912), 283-84; K.A.C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture*, second ed., Oxford 1969, Vol. I, Part One, 122. These mosaics are not to be confounded with those of 1169, today in dismal condition, commissioned by Emperor Manuel Comnenus during the reign of King Amaury of Jerusalem and not considered by all as works of Byzantine art; BECKWITH, *op. cit.*, 76-77, and esp. 183 note 20; S. DER NERSESSIAN, "Western Themes in Armenian Manuscript Illumination," *Hartford Seminary Foundation, Bulletin* 19 (1955), 1-7, reprinted in *Etudes*, 613; CH. DIEHL, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris 1910, 527-29. These later mosaics, depicting church councils, may have been restorations of earlier works of the early eighth century. According to the detailed description made of these mosaics in 1626 by the Franciscan friar Franciscus Quaresmius, the Nativity and Adoration of the

Ainalov's hypothesis is still valid, even though the final as well as the initial miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospels are now accepted as Armenian and not Syrian works. The presence of a significant Armenian community in Palestine in these centuries and continuously to our day, is clear from both literary accounts and the mosaics with Armenian inscriptions from the fifth-sixth centuries already discussed<sup>34</sup>. These mosaics would also suggest that there were Armenian artists who could have absorbed the decorative elements and iconography of depictions like the Adoration of the Magi and imported then into Armenia. One should not discount the possibility that the miniatures themselves might have been executed by Armenians in the Holy Land and later brought to their homeland, since an Armenian scriptorium was already established in Jerusalem in the mid-fifth century<sup>35</sup>. A spectrographic analysis of the pigments used in these miniatures and in other early Armenian manuscripts may help determine the region of their creation<sup>36</sup>.

A closer study may someday resolve the problem whether the first three miniatures were inspired by monumental art or copied directly from a Byzantine manuscript. Though the Adoration of the Magi is not specifically mentioned by Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł among the scenes painted in Armenian churches, "All the wonders of Christ that are related in the scriptures we see painted in the churches of God... the Nativity, Baptism, the Passion and Crucifixion, the Entombment, Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven<sup>37</sup>," it may have been part of the Nativity or simply neglected by the author. Unfortunately, no such narrative cycle from the early period has survived in Armenia,

Magi was depicted in the south apse, but it is far from clear if they had any relationship to the early mosaics depicting the Magi, which must have been made during Justinian's total reconstruction of the church in the first half of the sixth century; BECKWITH, *ibid.*, 183 note 20; R.W. HAMILTON, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, A Guide*, Jerusalem 1947, 35, 53.

<sup>34</sup> On the Jerusalem mosaics, note 14 *supra*. A. K. SANJIAN, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, 3-6.

<sup>35</sup> SANJIAN, *Armenian Communities*, 4 with references in note 16; *idem*, in NARKISS, *ibid.*, 11 without documentation.

<sup>36</sup> To the best of my knowledge the only work in this direction was first undertaken by Robert Allison on the Armenian manuscripts in the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, in the early 1970s. Recently Thomas Mathews has had the pigments analyzed of the early fourteenth century illuminated Gospels of T'oros of Taron formerly in the C. Minassian collection, New Julfa, now at U.C.L.A.; he reported orally on this analysis during an informal session at the Fifth Byzantine Studies Conference, Dumbarton Oaks, October 1979.

<sup>37</sup> DER NERSESSIAN, *The Armenians*, 137; *idem*, "Une apologie," *Etudes*, 384.

though a group of seventh century churches preserves various wall paintings<sup>38</sup>. Thus, the literary testimony and archaeological remains suggest clearly that Armenian artists had the opportunity to employ monumental images as models for manuscript illumination, both in Armenia or through the Armenian communities of the Holy Land.

Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol in a subsequent passage of his treatise in support of Christian images<sup>39</sup>, also speaks of "Gospel manuscripts of purple vellum, painted in gold and silver and bound with ivory plaques<sup>40</sup>." These were probably among the Greek manuscripts brought into Armenia from Constantinople and other places for use by the translator of the fifth and sixth centuries. From what we know of the major surviving purple codexes — the Rossano and Sinope Gospels, the Vienna Genesis — all attributed to the mid-sixth century, some of their miniatures were in part adopted from monumental art<sup>41</sup>. It is just as reasonable to predicate a manuscript model for the Ējmiacin miniatures, a model which had already been transplanted from a mosaic or fresco to parchment, as it is to look toward monuments such as the Bethlehem mosaics.

However, if the framed miniature, Baptism, was borrowed from a work other than the model(s) of the other three — a reasonable supposition — to form a special set of four, it would add further weight to Der Nersessian's argument that the unique theophanic cycle represented by the final miniatures of the Ējmiacin Gospels was composed by an Armenian artist to fit local theological attitudes<sup>42</sup>.

Returning to the *scaenae frons*, it is found again several times in

<sup>38</sup> L. DURNONO, *Kratkaja istorija drevnearmyanskoj živopisi*, Erevan 1957, 9-13; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 71-72.

<sup>39</sup> DER NERSESSIAN, *The Armenians*, 139; *idem*, *Armenian and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, Mass. 1945, 113; *idem*, "Une apologie," *Etudes*, 385.

<sup>40</sup> The ivory covers which actually bind the Ējmiacin Gospels today, Byzantine works of the sixth century, are probably surviving relics from Vrt'anēs's time and provide eloquent testimony to the accuracy of his statements; BECKWITH, *op. cit.*, fig. 116; AINALOV, *Hellenistic Origins*, figs. 82A-B; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, figs. 49-50 (color).

<sup>41</sup> Widely published and discussed in almost every work on early Christian or Byzantine art. Reference is given to only one important recent article which deals with the Rossano Gospels and the question of transference of images from monumental art to manuscript illumination, and convincingly demonstrates, through concrete examples from the Rossano codex, the steps involved in this process, W.C. LOERKE, "The Monumental Miniature," *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton 1975, esp. 69-97.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of this symbolic type of Gospel illumination, DER NERSESSIAN, "La peinture arménienne au VII<sup>e</sup> s.," *Etudes*, 527 ff.; *idem*, *Armenian Art*, 75-78.

the late eleventh century Muřna Gospels now in Erevan<sup>43</sup>. Recognition of this feature, here clearly misunderstood and truncated, is not obvious<sup>44</sup>. In the Visitation (Fig. 6), there are a series of parallel lines above the arch which encloses Mary and Elizabeth<sup>45</sup>; these must surely represent the *scaenae frons* in a composite architectural background held together by color rather than the form of the structure. In the same manuscript, the Presentation in the Temple<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 7) has the customary central arch supported by massive columns, suggesting more a Porta Regia than a ciborium, above which is an inverted conch supported by short pipe-like sections in the form of Pan's flute, but which again strongly suggests derivation from a *scaenae frons*.

The motif occurs three more times in the Muřna Gospels. In the portrait of St. Matthew (Fig. 8) it is centered between flanking lateral pavillions; allowing for a not too successful rendering of perspective, it must surely represent the area above a Porta Regia<sup>47</sup>. The "portholes" to the right and left are like those in the Visitation (Fig. 6), but more pronounced. Behind St. Mark (Fig. 9), the architectural ensemble is more symmetrical with the disguised *scaenae frons* again functioning as graphic decoration rather than an understood architectural component<sup>48</sup>. Curiously, in the image of St. John with Prochorus, the Porta Regia has been detached from the rest of the building, and with its dissimulated *scaenae frons* put off to the lower right corner for artistic balance<sup>49</sup>. The final occurrence of the motif in the Muřna

<sup>43</sup> T. IZMAILOVA, "Le cycle des fêtes du tétraévangile de Mougna: Maténadaran, n° 7736," *REArm*, 6 (1969), 105-39; D. KOUYMJIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*, Fascicule II, *Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts of the 11th Century. Preliminary Report and Checklist*, Fresno 1979, MS no. 20. And now, IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 124-181; Izmailova does not discuss the *scaenae frons*.

<sup>44</sup> DER NERSESSIAN vaguely hints at its identity in the Presentation miniature, *Armenian Art*, 115.

<sup>45</sup> Fol. 11, IZMAILOVA, "Le cycle des fêtes," fig. 1; color reproduction in DURNONO, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 53; IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 156, fig. 97.

<sup>46</sup> Fol. 13, IZMAILOVA, "Le cycle des fêtes," fig. 3; *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 157, fig. 98 (color).

<sup>47</sup> Fol. 22<sup>v</sup>, IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 148, fig. 89.

<sup>48</sup> Fol. 125<sup>v</sup>, *ibid.*, 150, fig. 91. The miniature of St. Luke, *ibid.*, 152, fig. 93, contains a similar background but the parallel lines of a *scaenae frons* are not visible. However, an interesting detail in this miniature is what appears to be a lyre-back chair, so dear to ANTHONY CUTLER, *Transformations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography*, University Park/London 1975, esp. 14, to my knowledge the only other one in Armenian art beside that of the Virgin's in the Presentation of the Magi of the Ējmiacin Gospels (our Fig. 1).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 154, fig. 95.



Gospels is in the Last Supper (Fig. 10) where the oval table with Christ and the Apostles is placed directly in the middle of a monumental architectural background with the same *Porta Regia* as in the evangelist portraits, the fluting representing the *scaenae frons* is shown twice, with portholes, above two separate, superimposed arches<sup>50</sup>.

The occurrence of this element from the classical theater in three early Armenian manuscripts emphasizes the availability to artists in that country of early Christian models closely associated with a classicizing style. In two of the three examples, the models had to be copies of works executed before the Iconoclast controversy rather than products of the Basilid renaissance.

\* \* \*

If we put aside the discussion of the *scaenae frons* and return again to Armenian manuscript illuminations after the ninth century *Mlk'ē* Gospels, we find that the *initial* miniatures of the *Ējmiacin* Gospels, executed in Greater Armenia in 989, also have as their source classicizing models<sup>51</sup>. Composed of a complete set of canon tables, evangelist portraits, and various full page miniatures, the manuscript serves as a point of discussion and comparison for a group of undated codexes of the tenth-eleventh centuries<sup>52</sup>. Though the upright figures

<sup>50</sup> Fol. 18<sup>v</sup>, IZMAILOVA, "Le cycle des fêtes," fig. 8; *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 162, fig. 103. The consistent use of this element in the *Mulna* Gospels suggests that the Byzantine model employed by the artist depicted the *scaenae frons* more clearly and more generally than the manuscripts thus far used by Weitzmann in his discussions of this iconographical detail from the classical tradition.

<sup>51</sup> Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 2374 (see *supra* note 16); F. MACLER, *L'Évangile arménien, édition phototypique du ms no. 229 de la Bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin*, Paris 1920; S. DER NERSESSIAN, "The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel," *op. cit.*, *Études*, 533-558; WEITZMANN, *Die armenische Buchmalerei*, 8-11, 14ff.; for full bibliography, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, 11-12, figs. 45-52.

<sup>52</sup> Erevan, Mat. MS 9430a-b, 2 folio fragments, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, 13, figs. 60 and 63 with bibliography; Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2555, N. BOGHARIAN, *Grand Catalogue of the Manuscripts of St. James*, VIII, Jerusalem 1977, in Armenian, 242-45, figs. 2-3, full bibliography in KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, 14-15, figs. 72, 75-78, and more recently, NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 30-32, 147, figs. 42-43; Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, MS 697, fragment comprising the initial gathering of miniatures only, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, 17, figs. 85-100, for earlier bibliography, and now H. and H. BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Illuinierten armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Congregation in Wien*, Vienna 1976, also abridged English and Armenian editions, but with complete plates discussion *in loc.*, color reproduction of all miniatures of MS 697, fig. 1-16. H. BUSCHHAUSEN, "Das Evangelien-Fragment Cod. 697 der Mechitaristen-Congregation zu Wien und seine Stellung zum frühchristlichen Prototyp," *II<sup>e</sup> International Symposium on Armenian Art, Erevan, 1978*, offprint of 15 pages; Heidi Buschhausen is preparing a major monography on this manuscript.

of the Evangelists, seen two by two or flanking Christ<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 11) under large arcades supported by impressive marble columns, are strictly frontal and static, their classical garbe with nearly uniformly patterned folds in broad parallel lines and the slight facial modeling, reflect a reduced but evident classical style. In this and related manuscripts narrative scenes are few with only one surviving "cycle" of five episodes<sup>54</sup>. The similarity of canon arcade decorations and the figural style amongst them are greater than the differences which to some extent can be explained by the artistic limitations of the various miniaturists.

However, not all early Armenian manuscript paintings are subject to analysis by their greater or lesser assimilation of the classical manner. The most striking of this 'nonconfirmist' group of illuminated manuscripts, an exception reinforced in its figural style by a fragment of another contemporary work and in its decorative mode by several codexes, testifies to an artistic expression that owes no discernable inspiration to the classical world. The Gospels of the Translators<sup>55</sup>, dated 966, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, contains a provincial group of miniatures (Fig. 12) and illuminations; however, their various components — drawing, design, decoration, color — are at times of such high quality that it is not easy to dismiss them as simply the quaint works of an Armenian primitive. Unconcerned with naturalism, or the form and shape of bodies and their graceful movement, or facial modeling, the artist has subordinated all to pattern, color, symmetry. Arcades, whether for canon tables or to enshrine the Virgin and Child and the Evangelists, like garments, are vehicles for rhythmic pattern rather than architectural components. As has been commented by A. Grabar and repeated recently by S. Der Nersessian, artists like the one responsible for these images, "refuse a classical tradition and replace this kind of aesthetic with another"<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> DOURNOVO and DRAMPAN, *op. cit.*, pl. 4 (color).

<sup>54</sup> Vienna, Mekhitarist Library, MS 697, fols. 6<sup>v</sup>, 7, 7<sup>v</sup>, 8, Sacrifice of Isaac and Annunciation to the Virgin together, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, BUSCHHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, figs. 12-15. A list of all narrative miniatures in Armenian manuscripts up to the year 1000, including the undated ones mentioned in note 48, can be found in KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, p. xii, and *idem*, "Illustrated Armenian Manuscripts to the Year A.D. 1000," *Arkheion Pontou* 36 (1979), 251-52.

<sup>55</sup> Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, MS 537, S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1973, 1-5, pls. I-II; full bibliography can also be found in KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, 6-7, figs. 20-27.

<sup>56</sup> A. GRABAR, "Le tiers monde de l'antiquité à l'école de l'art classique et son

This (what might be called) indigenous Armenian manner<sup>57</sup>, which shows no interest in classical naturalism, also appears in the unfinished canon tables — one containing a standing portrait of St. Matthew (Fig. 13) — of a tenth or early eleventh century Gospel fragment in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York<sup>58</sup>. Features in this later work such as the simple arcades in solid colors adorned with highly stylized peacocks and other birds in pairs and Matthew with a curious circular face, opened cape, and feet pointing outward in opposite directions, are similar in feeling to the Walters Gospels, but rendered by one with no artistic talents. Other early manuscripts also display a patterned approach to canon arcades, columns, and arches being constructs of various geometric forms<sup>59</sup>. Such arches — two or three joined together (Fig. 14) — are usually of the horseshoe type not surmounted by a large single arch as found in the Mlkē canon tables or the arcades above the standing Evangelists of the Ējmiacin Gospels<sup>60</sup>. All the canon arches of the Ējmiacin Gospels display this

rôle dans la formation de l'art du Moyen Age." *Revue de l'Art* 18 (1972), 23. cf. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 117, and Der Nersessian's own comments. "The great differences evident in the works of this period are not always due to the greater or lesser skill of the painter, although this must be taken into consideration, but rather to a different view of the world," *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>57</sup> Perhaps "manner" is preferable to the word style used in my communication "The Primitive Style in Armenian Miniature Painting," presented at the II<sup>nd</sup> International Symposium on Armenian Art, Erevan, September 1978, as yet unpublished.

<sup>58</sup> MS 789, unfinished fragment with six canon arcades on three folios of paper, for bibliography and partial reproduction, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, 18, figs. 101, 102, 105.

<sup>59</sup> Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 6200, Lazarian Gospels of A.D. 887, four arcades made of simple colored bands, three for the Eusebian Letter, the fourth for canons. G. Xalat'eanç, *Évangile traduit en langue arménienne ancienne et écrit en l'an 887, édition phototypique*, Moscow 1899, in Armenian, fols. 1-2<sup>v</sup> (in color), KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, 5, figs. 17, 19; Erevan, Mat., MS 7735, Gospels of 986 with two Eusebian Letter arcades and eight canon tables, bibliography in *Index*, 10; Venice, Mekhitarist Library, MS 123.68, undated, *Index*, 16; Venice, Mekhitarist Library, MS 887/116, the Adrianople Gospels of 1007, for which see *infra*, notes 62 and 65, canon tables in part illustrated in JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIV-XXXVI; Erevan, Mat., MS 4804, Gospels of 1018, T. IZMAILOVA, "Tables des canons de deux manuscrits arméniens d'Asie Mineure du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REArm*, 3 (1966), pl. LX, fig. 3 and *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 22-24, figs. 1-3; for the Gospels of 966, DER NERSESSIAN, *Walters*, 4.

<sup>60</sup> For Mlkē, JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pls. IV-VI, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, figs. 8-10; Ējmiacin Gospels, MACLER, *L'Évangile arménien*, fols. 6<sup>v</sup>-7, KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, figs. 56-57, Jerusalem, Armenian Pat., MS 2555, and Vienna, Mekhitarist Lib., MS 697, also have a large arch over smaller ones, as does a fragment formerly in the Haroutune Hazarian collection, New York, now in Erevan, for which *Index*, figs. 72, 92-94, 107. There is

former type which, according to C. Nordenfalk's basic study, goes back to a very early palaeochristian prototype<sup>61</sup>.

The non-naturalistic method used in rendering the human form in the Gospels of 966 is found again almost a century later in a manuscript of 1064 executed near Melitene (Malat'ia) now in Jerusalem<sup>62</sup>. The separate miniatures of four standing Evangelists and four saints (Fig. 15), the Crucifixion, Pentecost, and the canon arcades show a like provincialism<sup>63</sup>. The patterned costumes of the Apostles in the scene of Pentecost, and the Evangelists and saints are rendered with no regard to the appearance of actual garments. The degree of stylization and decoration of this manuscript is the most extenuated of any belonging to a large group of eleventh century provincial codexes copied in the general area of Melitene<sup>64</sup>. A connecting link or links between the tenth century Walters Gospels and the eleventh century Jerusalem Gospels, in addition to the Morgan fragment, are to be discerned in the image of Mary at the Well and a donor portrait, respectively of manuscripts

now a catalogue of the Hazarian collection prepared by the Matenadaran in Erevan in typescript waiting to be published. Eleventh century manuscripts of the provincial style also bear this feature of a large arch encompassing lesser ones. IZMAILOVA, "Tables des canons," *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura, passim*. AISO S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington 1963, esp. MS 33.5, 47.2-4, pp. 1-6, figs. 2-6.

<sup>61</sup> This is Nordenfalk's M type with separate arches for each canon column. *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, 74-83, and our text *supra* p. 269.

<sup>62</sup> MS 1924 copied at the monastery of Shukhr Khandara, BOGHARIAN, *Grand Catalogue*, VI (1972), 397-401; color reproductions of Crucifixion, and four Evangelists on a single folio, DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, figs. 82-83, and again with the addition of Pentecost, NARKISS, *op. cit.*, figs. 54-56, also for earlier literature. M. E. STONE in NARKISS, *ibid.*, 148 to which should be added D. KOUYMJIAN, "The Problem of the Zoomorphic Figure in the Iconography of Armenian Pentecost: a Preliminary Report," *Atti Primo Simposio*, 403-416, fig. 2 (Pentecost).

<sup>63</sup> The Evangelists, f. 6, are identified by inscriptions on the miniature and have been published as cited in the previous note. The four standing haloed figures (saints?) are unidentified, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>; published by A. MEKHITARIAN, *Treasures of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Catalogue No. 1, Helen and Edward Mardigian Museum*, Jerusalem 1969, fig. 3.2. The Eusebian letter, canon tables, and a braided cross on a stepped pedestal, to my knowledge, have never been published.

<sup>64</sup> IZMAILOVA, "L'Iconographie du cycle des fêtes d'un groupe de codex arméniens d'Asie Mineure," *REArm*, 4 (1962), 125-66, figs. 1-37; *idem*, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, esp. 215-223; NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 36-40; a complete list of these manuscripts is also contained in KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. II, which unfortunately lacks bibliography and reproductions, but this Checklist will be superseded by a complete fascicule in the near future.

now in Erevan dated 1001(?) and 1033 which display similar attitudes toward rendering figures and garments<sup>65</sup>.

The contrast between the two groups into which the miniatures of every eleventh century Armenian manuscript can be categorized acts as an interesting test for the perseverance of the classical tradition in Armenian art. On the one hand are the sumptuous or royal Gospels and on the other, the provincial or monastic type. The former is characterized by the use of fine pigments, excellent vellum, gold leaf, and above all a very painterly style, naturalistic in its approach and usually showing iconographic and stylistic affinities with Byzantine art. At least two of these manuscripts were commissioned by Armenian royalty or a high dignitary<sup>66</sup>. The second group is characterized by materials of lesser quality, the total absence of gold, the lack of any backgrounds in narrative scenes (the white parchment left unpainted), figures that are naively or sometimes crudely executed with very reduced naturalism or a total disregard for either actual human shapes or the modeling of facial expressions. Curiously, the feature common to every narrative scene and Evangelist portrait of this provincial series is that each is painted across the height of the page (canon arcades and crosses excluded), requiring a ninety degree rotation of the book by the reader in order for the miniature to be seen upright<sup>67</sup>. Contrariwise, all miniatures of the sumptuous Gospels are painted normally in an upright position. No explanation has yet been offered for this phenomenon. The earliest manuscript to display a miniature rendered

<sup>65</sup> Matenadaran, MS 7739, dated ninth-tenth century by DOURNOVO, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 23 (color); for the date 1001, A. MAT'EVOSYAN, "A New Reading of the Colophon of a Gospel Manuscript," *Ejm.* 23 (1966), nos. 11-12, 205-209, in Armenian and see note 68 *infra*. For the Gospels of 1033, Mat. MS 283, DOURNOVO, *Kratkija*, pl. 9; IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, 33-38, figs. 10-13.

<sup>66</sup> Venice, Mekhitarist Lib., MS 2556, Gospels of the Bagratid king, Gagik of Kars, circa mid-eleventh century, N. BOGHARIAN, *Grand Catalogue*, VII (1977), 245-48; Mekhitarian, *op. cit.*, 20, figs. 2.1-2.4; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 109-114, figs. 75-77 (color); NARKISS and STONE, *op. cit.*, 32-33, 147, figs. 44-48. Only some seventeen miniatures remain in this mutilated manuscript, which once contained, according to Der Nersessian's estimate, *ibid.*, about 170 scattered throughout the text.

<sup>67</sup> IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura, passim*; DER NERSESSIAN, *Freer*, 1-6; *idem*, *Walters*, 1-5; NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 36-40; KOUYMJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. II, for a list of all sumptuous and provincial Gospels and the miniatures in each. This duality was discussed in detail in my communication, "The Index of Armenian Art, Fascicule II, 11th Century Illuminations: A Progress Report," at the 5th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. in October 1979.

perpendicular to the text is that of 1001<sup>68</sup>; the practice virtually dies out after the eleventh century.

The classical tradition in this eleventh century is most evident in the portraits of two sumptuous Gospels and to a lesser degree in some of the narrative miniatures of one of these, now both in the Mekhitarist collection in Venice. The Adrianople Gospels were executed in that European city in 1007 at the demand of a high Byzantine military official of Armenian origin, Yovhannēs the Protospathary<sup>69</sup>. The Evangelists, gracefully standing in pairs (Fig. 16), the Virgin enthroned with child, and the donor portrait of Yovhannēs, all of extremely large size, demonstrate careful facial modeling and shading and nice rendering of garments<sup>70</sup>. The Byzantine model used as the source for these miniatures must have been a tenth century manuscript easily available to the Armenian artist working in this western city of the Empire<sup>71</sup>. The second codex, the undated Trebizond Gospels, named after the place from which it entered the Mekhitarist collection in the nineteenth century, also shows in its narrative cycle — including a Deisis and Christ Pantocrator, Byzantine scenes previously unknown in Armenian art — and two separate sets of Evangelist portraits<sup>72</sup>, a very classicizing manner. Unlike the Byzantine tradition, no allegorical figures or subjects

<sup>68</sup> On the Gospels of 1001 see *supra* note 65, however, Mme Izmailova in a personal letter of April 1980 says that the miniature was stitched into the manuscript, and, therefore, is perhaps of a different date.

<sup>69</sup> Fol. 8, JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pl. XL. Yovhannēs, as Protospathary, was in charge of the imperial guard; the colophon says he was the Proximos of the Armenian Duke Theodorokanus. JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, 28; on the manuscript see also, WEITZMANN, *Die armenische Buchmalerei*, 17-20, figs. 30-35.

<sup>70</sup> Fols. 6v-7, JANASHIAN, *Armenian Miniature Painting*, pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

<sup>71</sup> The vertical Greek inscriptions identifying each of the Evangelists adds to the argument for copying from a Byzantine codex; horizontal Armenian inscriptions are also found above each figure. JANASHIAN, *ibid.* Cf. to the single vellum leaf of the late eleventh century of a Byzantine manuscript, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W530c, and Mt. Athos, Vatopedi, MS 762, f. 330v, perhaps of the same date, G. VIKEN, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, Princeton 1973, figs. 37-38 respectively. Despite these examples, the standing Evangelists become less frequent in Byzantine art after the tenth century; see the discussion and additional examples from the Adysh and Bert'ay Gospels, Georgian works of the ninth-tenth centuries, S. DER NERSESSIAN and R. BLAKE, "An Old-Georgian MS of the Tenth Century," *Byzantion* 16 (1942-43) partially reprinted in DER NERSESSIAN, *Etudes*, esp. 207-210, figs. 136-38. The portrait of Yovhannēs in Armenian military costume is presumably an original work rather than an adaptation.

<sup>72</sup> Venice, Mekhitarist Lib., MS 1400/108, the colophon is missing, but the manuscript is usually dated to the first half or mid-eleventh century and was probably executed in Greater Armenia for a member of the Armenian nobility. The decorative rectangles

taken directly from the classical world occur in the Armenian tradition itself like those in the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. gr. 139) and related manuscripts of the Basilid renaissance.

Yet in both of these classicizing manuscripts, there are features which point to an Armenian artistic tradition with non-classical roots. The large decorative crosses and canon arcades (Fig. 14) of the Adrianople Gospels<sup>73</sup> are comparable to the decorative approach used in that of A.D. 966. In the Trebizond Gospels, the delicate and varied motifs of the rectangles above the canon tables show the Armenian penchant for decoration; the portrait of Mark (Fig. 17) has dark and bold facial characteristics far removed from the art used in the carefully modeled faces of Matthew (Fig. 18) and John. The garments worn by Mark and Luke display the same reduction of classical folds toward a more patterned schema<sup>74</sup>. These juxtapositions in the same sumptuous manuscript help us appreciate to what extent this classicizing was an importation by an Armenian aristocracy aspiring to imitate the best artistic fashions in a Byzantine Empire rule by its Armenian cousins. The classical tradition in Armenia as in Byzantium is clearly associated with the nobility, the non-classical, with an Armenian monastic temperament which continued to survive for centuries.

The Byzantine occupation of Armenia and the resettlement of Armenian royalty in Cappadocia in the early and mid-eleventh century, followed by the violent ravishing and occupation of the country by the Seljuk Turks, put an end to manuscript production and artistic creation in general for nearly a century. The revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a strong classicizing tendency, especially in the products of the new Armenian baronies, and ulti-

above the canon tables and chapter headings are similar to those of the Gospels of King Gagik of Kars, see *supra*, note 66, esp. BOGHARIAN, *Grand Catalogue*, VIII, figs. 2-3, for Adrianople canons, JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pls. XII-XVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII (in color). The loose half-page fragment of the Trebizond Gospels, bearing the Eusebian Letter, to my knowledge has never been published. See also WEITZMANN, *Die armenische Buchmalerei*, 19-23, figs. 36-50; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 114, figs. 78-79 (color).

<sup>73</sup> Crosses, fols. 131<sup>v</sup>, 216<sup>v</sup>, JANASHIAN, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI, figs. a and b respectively; of the ten folios comprising the Eusebian Letter and eight canon tables, only fols. 4, 5, 6 are illustrated by JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, pls. XXXIV-XXXVI, cf. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 537, fols. 1-1<sup>v</sup>, DER NERSESSIAN, *Walters*, figs. 1-2.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. St. Mark, fol. 1, JANASHIAN, *ibid.*, pl. XXVII with St. John, fol. 493<sup>v</sup>, or St. Matthew, fol. 2, *ibid.*, pls. XXXI, XXV, or with any of the four portraits grouped together on fol. 4, *ibid.*, XXIV.

mately, kingdom of Cilicia. This art, based on Byzantine and even Western models<sup>75</sup>, produced an ever refined product employing the best of materials and was characterized by a delicate figural style and a striking richness of color<sup>76</sup>. It is an art produced in royal or catholicos scriptoria and, therefore, one that catered to the tastes of a Western-looking — whether Byzantium or Europe — clientele.

The non-classicizing mode, however, was still practiced in Greater Armenia, far from Crusader or Imperial influence, in monastic environments. The images found in the Gospels of Halbat (1211), Xaç'ēn (1224) (Fig. 19), the Translators (1232), and the Red Gospels of Xaç'ēn (1237)<sup>77</sup>, show a clear detachment from the natural and plastic forms of Cilician miniatures or of those produced outside of Cilicia but which nevertheless follow to some extent naturalistic norms, like the Erzinjan Bible of 1269<sup>78</sup>.

The most stylized of this indigenous thirteenth century group is an unpublished Gospelbook of A.D. 1200 in the Venice Mekhitarist collection<sup>79</sup>. Its closest parentage is with the Walters Gospels of 966 and the Jerusalem manuscript of 1064, though the correspondences

<sup>75</sup> DER NERSESSIAN, "Western Iconographic Themes," *op. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> L. AZARYAN, *Cilician Miniatures, XIIIth-XIIIth Centuries*, Erevan 1964, in Armenian. Until S. Der Nersessian's forthcoming book — a labor of three decades — devoted entirely to Cilician Armenian painting is published, we shall have to content ourselves with her elaborate discussions of individual Cilician manuscripts in the Freer, Walters, Top Kapi, Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, and Vienna Mekhitarist collections as well as her remarks in the general studies of Armenian art cited in this paper. Most of her articles on the subject have been reprinted in her *Etudes Byzantines et Arméniennes*, see especially, "Miniatures ciliciennes," *L'Oeil*, No. 179 (November 1969), 2-9, 110, reprinted, *Etudes* 509-515, figs. 242-261. For good color illustrations of the important Jerusalem miniatures, see *idem*, *Armenian Art*, "The Kingdom of Cilicia," 123-162, figs. 89-119, and NARKISS, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 3-5, 7. For Cilician manuscripts in Erevan, DOURNOVO, *Armenian Miniatures, in loc.*, and DOURNOVO and DRAMPIAN, *op. cit., in loc.*

<sup>77</sup> Halbat, Erevan, Mat. MS 6288, DOURNOVO and DRAMPIAN, *ibid.*, pls. 18-21 (color); Xaç'ēn, Erevan, Mat. 4823, *ibid.*, pl. 22; Translators, Erevan, Mat. MS 2743, *ibid.*, pls. 24-28; Red Gospels, University of Chicago, Regenstein Lib., MS 949, G. YOVSEPEAN, "A Gospel Manuscript," *Materials and Studies, op. cit.*, in Armenian, II, New York 1943, 45-59, esp. figs. 1, 3, 6, 12. For further examples see *infra*.

<sup>78</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, "La Bible d'Erznka de l'an 1269; Jerusalem n° 1925," *Ejm* (1966), nos. 11-12, 28-39, in Armenian, French trans., *Etudes*, 603-609, figs. 374-385; NARKISS, *op. cit.*, figs. 84-86.

<sup>79</sup> MS 1366/124, place of execution unknown, scribe and probably miniaturist, Barsef the priest, G. SARGISIAN, *Grand Catalogue*, I, cols. 545-550. The manuscript was the subject of our communication, "Illuminations of an Armenian Gospel Dated 1200: the Non-Classical Style in Armenian Regional Art," *Primo Simposio Internazionale di Cultura Transcaucasica, Bergamo, June 1979*; the *Acts* have not yet been published.

are not exact, but rather in the attitude of miniaturists toward decoration. The unusual evangelist portraits, only three of which — Mark, Luke, John (Fig. 19) — have survived<sup>80</sup>, are closest in the drawing of the faces to that of Matthew in the Morgan fragment (Fig. 13) and to some of those in the Gospels of 1064<sup>81</sup>. The standing Evangelists of this manuscript not only wear highly patterned liturgical costumes<sup>82</sup>, but each holds in his right hand a cross or a staff, a detail unknown in other Armenian evangelist portraits<sup>83</sup>. Other manuscripts of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries also display traits which conform to a provincial attitude toward painting<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Fols. 90<sup>v</sup> 88<sup>v</sup> new, 148<sup>v</sup> 146<sup>v</sup> new, 242<sup>v</sup> 240<sup>v</sup> new respectively; there are also scores of decorations, birds, crosses, etc., throughout the manuscript of a type similar to the Gospels of 966, Baltimore, Walters MS 537, cf. DER NERSESSIAN, *Walters*, figs. 6-21. The manuscript has unfortunately been restored with a new leather binding and with already darkening pasted transparent silk filaments on all pages.

<sup>81</sup> The correspondences are only approximative. For the Morgan fragments, KOUYMIJIAN, *Index*, Fasc. I, fig. 12; for Jerusalem, Armenian Pat. MS 1924, DER NERSESSIAN and NARKISS as cited in *supra* note 62.

<sup>82</sup> DER NERSESSIAN, *Walters*, 3, has already remarked that the Evangelists in the Gospels of 966 (Fig. 12) wear Armenian liturgical vestments rather than the expected classical costumes; this is also true of the strangely stylized garments of the Evangelists in the Venice and Jerusalem Gospels (Figs. 19 and 15), the Morgan fragment (Fig. 13), the Gospels of 1001, and Erevan Mat. MS 7739, see *supra* notes 58 and 65. The colored patterns used for rendering the garments in all these manuscripts are also employed in at least two other manuscripts: Erevan, Mat. MS 283 of 1033, *supra* note 65, and a single folio leaf with two images from an unpublished eleventh century provincial Armenian Gospel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. We would like to thank Margeret Frazer, Curator, Department of Medieval Art, for kindly sending photographs of the recto and verso of the latter manuscripts; she reports that Thomas Mathews will be publishing the miniatures.

<sup>83</sup> The garments of the Evangelists in the Venice manuscript, like those of the Jerusalem Gospels and the Metropolitan Museum of Art fragment, are shaped like rectangles with the width at the shoulders equal to that at the hem. Jerusalem, Armenian Pat. MS 1288, a *Miscellany* of 1273, executed in Greater Armenia, has a portrait of St. Anthony dressed in Armenian clerical costume and holding a bishop's staff; the miniature is in a provincial style, fol. 142<sup>v</sup>. N. BOGHARIAN, *Grand Catalogue*, IV, Jerusalem 1969, 486, fig. 26; NARKISS and STONE, *op. cit.*, 75, 150, fig. 87. Narkiss's comment, p. 75, "In style this *Miscellany* of 1273 resembles the Halbat Gospel of 1211, and its crude quality emphasizes the Moslem influences," cannot be accepted. The miniature neither resembles the Halbat Gospel illuminations nor is it related to Muslim influence, on the contrary its stylistic and decorative antecedents are clearly Armenian.

<sup>84</sup> Nor Ĵula, Armenian Cathedral Museum, MS 531, unpublished; the manuscript was kindly brought to my attention by S. Des Nersessian, who also allowed me to examine her photographs of it: Vienna, Mekhitarist Lib., MS 3, *Lectionary* of the twelfth century, BUSCHHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, fig. 22; Nor Ĵula, Armenian Cathedral Museum, MS 35, Gospels of 1284, executed at the Monastery of T'anahat in Vayoc' Jor and offered to Gndevank', both localities in Greater Armenia, O. AVEDESSIAN, *Peintres et sculpteurs arméniens*, Cairo 1959, fig. 68 depicting St. Matthew and an Armenian clergyman. The list is far from exhaustive, neither are those cited similar to each other in style.

Cilician scriptoria seem not to have preserved this monastic style since no examples are known which originate from a purely Cilician context. The refined art of this kingdom, dominated by royal or noble patronage, allowed no room for what must have been considered a less sophisticated manner.

By the fourteenth century, artists like Sargis Picak<sup>85</sup> in Cilicia and T'oros of Taron in the northeast in Siwnik<sup>86</sup> have reduced the classicizing naturalism found in the works of the great Cilician master T'oros Roslin and his contemporaries and successors of the second half of the thirteenth century<sup>87</sup>. Various schools and styles flourish over the next three hundred years, most of them combining by different measures a reduced naturalism and the Armenian inclination toward pattern and color. A more classicizing style is evident in a series of manuscripts produced in the early and mid-fourteenth century in Armenian colonies in the Crimea under the strong influence of a classical revival in Paleologian art of the Byzantine Empire<sup>88</sup>.

At about the same time, the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, a new purely Armenian style appears and flourishes until the seventeenth century around the shores of Lake

<sup>85</sup> On Picak and his works, S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitaristes de Venise*, 2 vols., Paris 1936, 137-66, figs. 146-213; *idem*, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts*, 2 vols., Dublin 1958, xxviii-xxix, 35-38, esp. 37 note 2; NARKISS and STONE, *op. cit.*, 81-88, 151-52, figs. 102-110.

<sup>86</sup> On T'oros of Taron, DER NERSESSIAN, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés*, 110-136, figs. 102-145; H. KURDIAN, *T'oros of Taron* (New York, 1943), in Armenian; DER NERSESSIAN, *Beatty*, xxix-xxxii; A. N. AVETISYAN, *The Glajor School of Armenian Miniature Painting*, Erevan 1971, in Armenian; DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, 220-25; NARKISS and STONE, *op. cit.*, 76-79, 150-51, figs. 90-91, 93-99, T. Mathews and Der Nersessian have identified twenty-two manuscripts of T'oros in conjunction with the former's work on the U.C.L.A. manuscript mentioned in *supra* note 36.

<sup>87</sup> In an expanded version of her communication at the II<sup>nd</sup> International Symposium of Armenian Art, Erevan, 1978, T. VELMANS, "Maniérisme et innovations stylistiques dans la miniature cilicienne à la fin du 13<sup>e</sup> s.," *REArm.* 14 (1980), esp. 415-19, suggests that special characteristics and an incipient 'Armenian' mannerism — to blossom forth in the 1270's and 1280's — was already evident in the miniatures of T'oros Roslin, *florit* 1256-1268.

<sup>88</sup> Erevan, Mat. MS 7664, Gospels copied at the Monastery of Surxat, Crimea in 1332, painter, GRIGOR, *Armenian Miniatures*, pp. 153 and 155 (color); Vienna, Mekhitarist Lib. MS 242, Gospels dated 1330, perhaps attributable to Surxat, see BUSCHHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, in *loc.*, figs. 24-69, H. BUSCHHAUSEN, "Beziehungen der armenischen zur palaiologischen Buchmalerei im 14. Jahrhundert," *II International Symposium on Armenian Art*, Erevan 1978, 17 page offprint; Helmut Buschhausen is working on a separate monograph on this manuscript. See also, E. KORXMAZYAN, *The Armenian Miniatures of the Crimea (XIV-XVII Centuries)*, Erevan 1978, in Armenian.

Van in cities of the province of Vaspurakan such as Alt'amar, Mokk', Arčeš and Xizan<sup>89</sup>. The painting is very graphic and full of color; backgrounds and iconographic details are often suppressed allowing figures to stand out against the plain parchment or paper. Faces are usually round with wide-eyed, animated expressions. We are far from the naturalistic world of classical art. Even when backgrounds become filled in starting with the fifteenth century in the Xizan school<sup>90</sup>, (Fig. 20) or give way in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the miniatures associated with the Nor Ĵula school, to a different style, at times luxurious in its use of gold and expensive materials<sup>91</sup>, the artists still disregard naturalism for an oriental fascination with color and decoration.

In the final stage of Armenian miniature painting, that of the seventeenth century, we have an echo of the classical tradition from two sources. First, that derived from thirteenth century Cilician manuscripts, especially the works of T'oros Roslin, which are copied at times almost exactly, so revered are they by certain painters<sup>92</sup>; through this late revival, classicizing elements reflected in the œuvres of one of the most naturalistic periods of Armenian art and certainly its most elegant, find new life. Secondly, the diffusion of Armenian printed Bibles and Psalm books with western engravings and western printed books themselves, provided artists with ready models of many New and Old Testament scenes which they often copied directly in scriptoria still producing manuscripts, contrary to what might be expected

<sup>89</sup> H. HAKOPYAN, "Simeon of Arčeš, Representative of the Early Period of the Vaspurakan School of Miniatures," *BM* 6 (1962), 297-320, in Armenian with French resume; DER NERSESSIAN, *Beatty*, xxxiii-xxxv; H. HAKOPYAN, *Miniatures of Vaspurakan*, I, Erevan 1976, in Armenian, and *idem*, *Armenian Miniatures. Vaspurakan*, Erevan 1978.

<sup>90</sup> On the Xizan school, DER NERSESSIAN, *ibid.*, xxxv-xxxix; *idem*, *Walters*, 33-44, figs. 138-172. The Gospels in the Walters Art Gallery, MS W.543, of A.D. 1455, conveniently show in the same work miniatures whose backgrounds are both painted in and left blank, cf. fols. 9-9<sup>v</sup>, figs. 148-49 with those before and after. See also NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 92-94, figs. 129-138.

<sup>91</sup> Like most of the works of the later period, few of the Nor Ĵula illuminated manuscripts have been published, DER NERSESSIAN, *Beatty*, xxxix-xli; DOURNOVO and DRAMPAN, *op. cit.*, pls. 72-75; I. DRAMPAN, "The Characteristics of the Iconography of Hakob of Julfa," *BM* 10 (1971), 171-184, in Armenian with French resume; NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 94-95, figs. 42-45.

<sup>92</sup> Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS 36.15, Gospels of 1668-73, of Mik'ayel, son of Barlam, is copied from Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 539, Gospels of 1263 painted by T'oros Roslin, DER NERSESSIAN, *Freer*, 89-101, figs. 318-44.

two-and-a-half centuries after the first volumes were printed in Armenian<sup>93</sup>.

The provincial style, at times naive, at times primitive, becomes rarer as western contacts, mostly through commerce, become commonplace. The non-classical mode is rejected by patronized Armenian artists in Constantinople, Tiflis, and Nor Ĵula, but survives in remote areas on numerous tombstones, metal work (Fig. 21), and graffiti (Fig. 22) drawings added to manuscripts<sup>94</sup>. Only in the twentieth century do great Armenian artists like Martiros Sarian, Arshile Gorky, Minas Avedissian, turn their backs to the naturalism and illusionism of classical art to return once again to an Armenian manner dominated by color, pattern, and expression<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> The first Armenian books were printed in Venice in 1512-13; for borrowings, DER NERSESSIAN, *Beatty*, xliii; NARKISS, *op. cit.*, 94-95, figs., 139-141. The Armenian experience in this realm was no different than that of all East Christian communities.

<sup>94</sup> The tradition in stone goes very far back as can be seen by a number of sculpted heads of a primitive style from Urartian excavations and those at Duia. ARAK'ELYAN, *Ancient Armenian Art*, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 6), pls. IV-VII, XVII-XVIII. See also STEPANIAN and TCHAKMAKTCHIAN, *L'Art décoratif*, figs. 1-5 early heads, 41-42, 44, 46 medieval donor portraits on church façades, 82-84 medieval *xac'k'ars* (cross-stones), 88-90 medieval tombstones, 100 typanum of church at Noravank'. For metal work, silver bindings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which naturalistic decorative motifs contrast dramatically with the figural representations, e.g. in [CH. F. J. DOWSETT], *Catalogue of Twenty-Three Important Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, Sotheby, London 1967, lots 3 and 14; the sale was never held and the manuscripts were returned to the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem from whence they originated. Also an unpublished tinned copper plate, dated 1725, with three deacons represented in the style of Walters Gospel of 966 and related manuscripts, in a private collection, Paris. No study on graffiti drawings has been published, but a preliminary survey of the Venice Mekhitarist Library in 1977 and 1978 conducted by Guy Petherbridge of London and myself on Armenian manuscript bindings, has revealed a number of them all executed in a provincial style, at times crudely, at times sophisticated.

<sup>95</sup> On M. SARIAN (1880-1972), A. KAMENSKI, *Martiros Sarian. Le peintre du bonheur*, Moscow 1967, and the *Catalogue* by Shahan Khatchatrian of the Sarian centennial exhibit, Paris, Musée national d'art moderne Centre Georges Pompidou, June-September 1980; on A. Gorky, precursor of Abstract Expression, K. MOORADIAN, *Arshile Gorky Adoian*, Chicago 1978, which contains an elaborate discussion of the influence of Armenian art on Gorky's painting, any of the several catalogues accompanying the recent Gorky exhibits (1978-81), e.g. D. WALDMAN, *Arshile Gorky 1904-1948. A Retrospective*, The Guggenheim Museum, New York 1981, and especially H. RAND, *Arshile Gorky. The Implication of Symbols*, Montclair, N.J. 1981, which proposes a new, totally personal interpretation of his art; Minas Avedissian (1928-1975), G. IGITIAN, *Minas Avetisian*, Leningrad 1975.

Over the centuries Armenian art has been marked by its eclecticism<sup>96</sup>. Because the country's vast geographical extension brought it in touch with the East and the West, Armenian culture can claim to have descended from both oriental civilization and the occidental tradition of the Hellenistic and Roman world, absorbing in succeeding epochs Byzantine, Western, Muslim, and even Far Eastern elements<sup>97</sup>. It is this diverse experience which has enriched Armenian art and iconography. Yet, this ability to quickly discern and absorb international artistic trends should not obscure a native Armenian attitude, or attitudes, toward art which was quite its own and never totally overwhelmed by imported traditions.

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PLANCHE I



Figs. 1 and 1A (detail). Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 2374, *Ējmiacin Gospels*. Late sixth-early seventh century. Fol. 229. Adoration of the Magi. Photos: *Index of Armenian Art*.



<sup>96</sup> DER NERSESSIAN, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés*, 170, and reiterated in most of her general studies on Armenian art, e.g. *Armenian Art*, 245.

<sup>97</sup> D. KOUYMIAN, "Far Eastern Influences in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period," paper presented (and distributed in mimeographed form) at the Society for Armenian Studies panel of the XIth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New York, November 1977, to appear in *Armenian Studies in Honor of Haig Berberian*. Chinese motifs already appear in the *Lectionary* of King Het'um II, dated 1286 (Erevan Mat. MS 979, for instance fol. 295, DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art*, fig. 116) and in a Gospel of 1287 of Archbishop John, brother of Het'um I (Erevan, Mat., MS 197, fol. 341, DOURNOVO, *Armenian Miniatures*, fig. p. 113; this second example, a dragon on the tunic of Archbishop John, was kindly brought to my attention by Miss Der Nersessian). These Armenian borrowings even pre-date the earliest appearances of such motifs in Islamic manuscripts.





Fig. 2. Venice, Mekhitarist Lib. MS 1144/86, Mik'ē Gospels. A.D. 851-862. Fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. St Luke. Photo : D. KOUYMJIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*.



Fig. 3. Venice, Mekhitarist Lib. MS 1144/86, Mik'ē Gospels. A.D. 851-862. Fol. 6. St John. Photo : D. KOUYMJIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*.



Fig. 4. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita. Cod. 43. Tenth century. Fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. St Luke. Photo after J. BECKWITH, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, fig. 170.







Fig. 6. Erevan, Matenadaran. MS 7736, Mulna Gospels. Late eleventh century.  
Fol. 11, Visitation. Photo after L. DOURNOVO, *Armenian Miniatures*, p. 53.

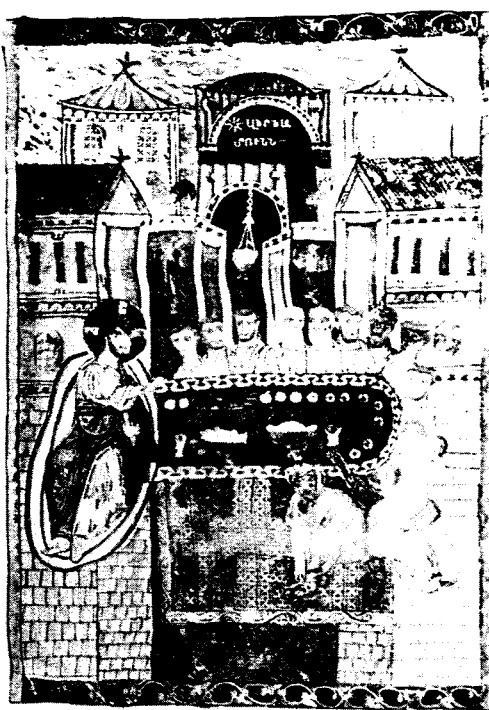


Fig. 7. Erevan, Matenadaran. MS 7736, Mulna Gospels. Late eleventh century.



Fig. 8. Erevan, Matenadaran. MS 7736, Mulna Gospels. Late eleventh century.  
Fol. 22<sup>v</sup>. St Matthew. Photo after T. IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, fig. 89.  
Fig. 9. Erevan, Matenadaran. MS 7736, Mulna Gospels. Late eleventh century.  
Fol. 125<sup>v</sup>. St Mark. Photo after T. IZMAILOVA, *Armjanskaja miniatjura*, fig. 90.





Fig. 12. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. MS 537, Gospels of the Translators. A.D. 966. Fol. 114. Detail, St Mark. Photo: *Index of Armenian Art*.



Fig. 13. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library. MS 789, unfinished Gospel fragment. Late tenth or eleventh century. Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. St Matthew. Photo: *Index of Armenian Art*.



Fig. 15. Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate. MS 1924. A.D. 1064. Fol. 7<sup>v</sup>. Four standing saints? Photo: *Index of Armenian Art*.

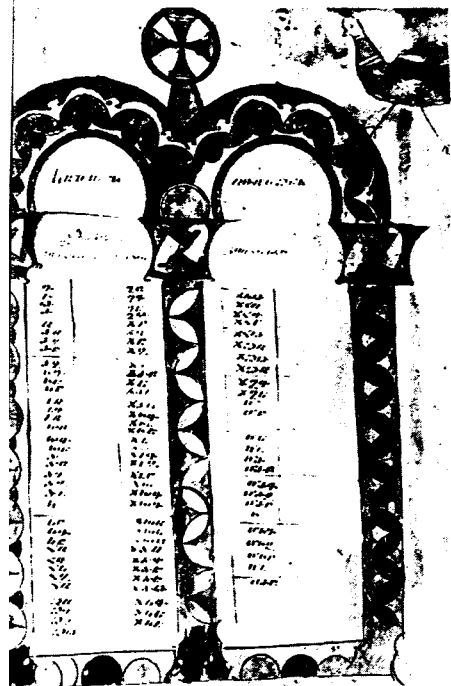


Fig. 14. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 887/116, Adrianople Gospels. A.D. 1007. Fol. 6. Canon Table. Photo after M. JANASHIAN, *Armenian Miniatures*, pl. XXXVI.  
 Fig. 16. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 887/116, Adrianople Gospels. A.D. 1007. Fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. St. Matthew and St. Mark. Photo after M. JANASHIAN, *Armenian Miniatures*, pl. XXXVII.



Fig. 17. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 1400/108, Trebizond Gospels. Mid-eleventh century. Fol. 192. St. Mark. Photo : D. ΚΟΥΜΪΑΝ, *Index of Armenian Art*.  
 Fig. 18. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 1400/108, Trebizond Gospels.



Fig. 19. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 1366/124. A.D. 1200. Fol. 240<sup>v</sup>—240<sup>r</sup>.



Fig. 20. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. MS 543. A.D. 1455. Fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. Holy Women at the Sepulchre. Photo after S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Walters*, fig. 151.



Fig. 21. Paris, private collection. Tinned-copper dish. A.D. 1725. Three Deacons. Photo : D. KOUYMIAN, *Index of Armenian Art*.



Fig. 22. Venice, Mekhitarist Library. MS 965. Eighteenth or nineteenth century, on paper doublure of back binding, graffito dracing of St. George (?). Photo : G. PETHERBRIDGE, *Index of Armenian Art*.