



Association Internationale
des Études Arméniennes

XV GENERAL CONFERENCE

2-4
September
2021

Martin Luther University
Halle-Wittenberg

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Registration, login and conference schedule: aiea2021.xcom.live

DAY 1

Thursday, 2 September 2021

14.00 – 14.30 CET	OPENING PLENARY SESSION Opening by President of the AIEA Valentina Calzolari (Genève) Welcome by Minister for Economy, Science and Digitalisation (Saxony-Anhalt) Armin Willingmann (Magdeburg) Ambassador H. E. Ashot Smbatyan (Berlin) Director of the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe/GWZO Christian Lübke (Leipzig) Head of the MESROP Center for Armenian Studies Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan (Halle)
14.30 – 15.30 Chair: Valentina Calzolari (Genève)	KEYNOTE LECTURE Vahan Ter-Ghevondian (Yerevan) Մատենադարանի մատենաշարերը. Երեկ, այսօր, վաղը (<i>Edition Series of the Matenadaran: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow</i>)

15.30-16.00 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

PARALLEL SESSIONS				
16.00 – 17.40 CET	Session 1 <i>Epigraphy / Archaeology</i> <i>Epigraphie / Archéologie</i> Արձանագրագիտություն / հնագիտություն	Session 2 <i>Medieval Manuscript Culture</i> <i>Culture médiévale des manuscrits</i> Միջնադարեան ձեռագրագիտական մշակույթ	Session 3 <i>Church History / Theological Literature</i> <i>Histoire de l'Église / Littérature théologique</i> Եկեղեցու պատմություն / աստուածաբանական գրականություն	Session 4 <i>Syriac-Armenian / Arabic-Armenian Interactions</i> <i>Interactions syriaque-arménien / arabe-arménien</i> Հայ-ասորական և հայ- արաբական առնչություններ
	Chair: Abraham Terian (Armonk / New York)	Chair: Levon Chookaszian (Yerevan)	Chair: Haig Utidjian (Prague)	Chair: Vahan Ter-Ghevondian (Yerevan)
	Michael Stone (Jerusalem) <i>The Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions from the Holy Land and Sinai</i>	Thomas Sinclair (Oxford) <i>Manuscript Illumination in Vaspurakan, 15th and 16th Centuries. Character and Quality</i>	Azat Bozoyan (Yerevan) <i>1178 թ. Հռոմկլայի ժողովը և մեզ հասած վավերագրերը (The Council of Hromklay 1178 and the Surviving Documents)</i>	Seta Dadoyan (New York) <i>In Quest of Historical Geoglyphs: Islam in Armenian Literary Culture. Texts, Contexts, Dynamics</i>
	Yana Tchekhanovets (Jerusalem) <i>Armenian Archaeology of the Holy Land: New Discoveries</i>	Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe (München) <i>Networks of Manuscript Production and Circulation in Medieval Armenia: A First Appraisal</i>	Riccardo Pane (Bologna) <i>Die Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom barmherzigen Samariter bei Gregor von Narek</i>	Arsen Shahinyan (St. Petersburg State University) <i>The Fate of the Church Authority in the Lands of Byzantine Armenia Occupied by the Arab Muslims</i>

	Khachik Harutyunyan (Yerevan) <i>Armenian Inscriptions of the Holy Sepulchre</i>	Mikayel Arakelyan (Moscow) <i>Armenian Handwritten Heritage in Russia: New Project for the Cataloguing of Armenian Manuscripts of the 9th-19th Centuries</i>	Mari Mamyan (Regensburg) <i>The Armenian Infancy Gospel: Manuscript Tradition</i>	Cornelia Bernadette Horn (Halle) <i>Ephraem the Syrian's Poetry and the Status Quaestionis of Research on Translations of his Works into Armenian</i>
	Lavinia Ferretti, Armenuhi Magarditchian (Genève) <i>Garhi: une inscription grecque convertie en xac'k'ar</i>	Jost Gippert (Frankfurt a. M. / Hamburg) <i>New Light on the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai</i>		Andy Hilken (Frankfurt a. M.) <i>The Contribution of John bar Andreas (d. 1155/6) to Syro-Armenian Polemics in the Twelfth Century</i>

17.40-18.00 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

PARALLEL SESSIONS				
18.00 – 20.00 CET	Session 5 <i>Digital Humanities / Project Presentation</i> <i>Humanités numériques / Présentation du projet</i> Թուային հասարակագիտություն / Օրագրերի ներկայացում	Session 6 <i>Reception and Translation</i> <i>Réception et traduction</i> Ռեցեպցիա և թարգմանություն	Session 7 <i>Early Modern and Pre-modern History</i> <i>Histoire moderne et prémoderne</i> Նոր և նորագույն շրջանի պատմություն	Session 8 <i>Art History</i> <i>Histoire de l'art</i> Արուեստի պատմություն

	Chair: Tara Andrews (Vienna)	Chair: Erna Shirinian (Yerevan)	Chair: S. Peter Cowe (Los Angeles)	Chair: Nazenie Garibian (Yerevan)
	Chahan Vidal-Gorène (Paris) <i>Text Recognition of Armenian Printed and Handwritten Documents (OCR-HTR)</i>	Irene Tinti (Pisa) <i>Word by Word? Translation and Adaptation in a Hellenising Corpus</i>	Gayane Shakhkryan (Yerevan) <i>Zeugnisse deutscher Reisender über armenische Traditionen, Bräuche, Lebensweisen und die Rolle der Frau (2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1. Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts)</i>	Levon Chookaszian (Yerevan) <i>Notes about Toros Roslin's Origin and Biography</i>
	Victoria Khurshudyan (Paris), Marat Yavrumyan (Yerevan) <i>Grammatical Annotation Harmonisation Attempt for the Armenian Linguistic Data</i>	Emilio Bonfiglio (Tübingen) <i>Representations of Armenia(s) and the Armenians in Late Antiquity: Theory and Praxis in the Writings of John Chrysostom</i>	Petra Košťálova (Prague) <i>Ukht to Saint Karapet: Holy Pilgrimage in Yerkir in Testimony of Armenian Traveler from 17th Century Poland</i>	Edda Vardanyan (Yerevan) <i>The Skevra Gospel (1198) and the Coronation of Levon I.</i>
	Mohammad Malek Mohammadi (Teheran / Frankfurt a. M.) <i>2019-2021թթ. Ֆրանկֆուրտի Գյոթեի անվան համալսարանում իրականացված «Հայ-իրանական լեզվական առնչությունները միջին հայերենի ժամանակաշրջանում» ծրագրի վերաբերյալ</i>	Anna Arevshatyan (Yerevan) <i>The Treatise Brief Extracts from Arabic Books on Musical Art Ascribed to Hamam Arewelc'i</i>	Bálint Kovács (Budapest / Halle) <i>Armenian Perceptions of the Eastern Regions of Europe</i>	Lilit Yernjakyan (Yerevan) <i>The Relationships between Armenian Religious Songs and Iranian Classical Melodies</i>

	Antranig Dakessian (Beirut) Ակնարկ հայկական պղնձեայ թասերուն <i>(Overview of Copper Cups in the Armenian Diaspora)</i>	Anahit Avagyan (Yerevan / Eichstätt) Հայոց «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուների թարգմանությունը և խմբագրությունները <i>(Translation and Redactions of the Armenian “Vitae Patrum” collections)</i>		Lilit Mikayelyan (Yerevan) <i>On the Issue of Symbolic Meaning and Iconographic Sources of the Animal Heads and Protomes in the Decoration of Armenian and South Caucasian Monuments of the 5th-14th Centuries</i>
	Ruben Atoyan, Armen Khechoyan (Minsk) <i>Cartographic Projects of the “Aniv” Foundation (2012-2020)</i>	Ala Kharatyan (Yerevan) <i>Der politisch-historische Kontext der Prophezeiung von Theoclitus Polydes und die armenische Übersetzung der Prophezeiung</i>		

DAY 2

Friday, 3 September 2021

PARALLEL SESSIONS				
14.00 – 15.40 CET	Session 9 <i>Linguistics</i> <i>Linguistique</i> Լեզուաբանություն	Session 10 <i>Soviet and Post-Soviet Era</i> <i>L'ère soviétique et post-soviétique</i> Արդի Խորհրդային և յետխորհրդային շրջանի պատմություն	Session 11 <i>Numismatics and Architecture</i> <i>Numismatique et architecture</i> Դրամագիտություն և հնագիտություն	Session 12 <i>Medieval Literature</i> <i>Littérature médiévale</i> Միջնադարեան գրականություն
	Chair: Jost Gippert (Frankfurt a. M. / Hamburg)	Chair: Hakob Matevosyan (Leipzig)	Chair: Michael Stone (Jerusalem)	Chair: Irene Tinti (Pisa)
	Robin Meyer (Lausanne) <i>Past and Present of the Armenian Future</i>	Rubina Perroomian (Los Angeles) <i>Stalin's Reign of Terror in Armenia. Genocide? Survivors' Memoirs as Testimony</i>	Roy Arakelian (Paris) <i>Nouvelles hypothèses de classification du monnayage de Tigrane II le Grand</i>	Theo Maarten van Lint (Oxford) <i>Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni's Two Letters Written on the Request of Amir Ibrahim (M9 & M26): On Faith and On Philosophy</i>
	Maria Lucia Aliffi (Palermo) <i>The Determinant in Classical Armenian</i>	Jakub Osiecki (Krakow) <i>The Armenian Church Property Seized in Soviet Russia after October Revolution. The Case of the Armenian Chalice Veil from Surb Karapet Monastery (Muş) found in Poland</i>	Anahide Kéfélian (Oxford) <i>Roman Coin Circulation in Ancient Armenia</i>	Federico Alpi (Bologna) <i>The Cauldron of the Titans: Quotations from Clement of Alexandria in the Letters of Grigor Magistros Pahlawowni (990-1058)</i>

	Lera Ivanova (Prague) <i>A Synchronic Approach to the Old Armenian Case System</i>	Sirarpi Movsisyan (Leipzig) <i>Armenians in the GDR: Imagined, Postponed and Unrealized Returns</i>	Patrick Donabédian (Aix-en-Provence) <i>Le Tayk' /Tao au Xe-XIe siècle: un laboratoire régional d'innovation architecturale</i>	Caroline Macé (Göttingen) <i>Dionysius Areopagita's Autobiography in Armenian</i>
	Benedek Zsigmond (Budapest) <i>Expression of Plural in Transylvanian Armenian Declension Systems</i>	Zoltan GERALY (Budapest) <i>Armenian Heritage and its Representation in Current North Caucasian Historical Narratives</i>	Zaruhi Hakobyan (Yerevan) <i>Some Elements of the Compositional Arrangement of Early Medieval Armenian Churches from the Perspective of the Eastern Liturgical Tradition</i>	Alessandro Orengo (Pisa) <i>Quelques remarques sur la V kayowt' iwn srboyn Šowšankan</i>

15.40-16.00 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

16.00 – 17.00 Chair: Patrick Donabédian (Aix-en-Provence)	PLENARY SESSION KEYNOTE LECTURE 2 Christina Maranci (Boston): <i>New Evidence for Wall Paintings in Armenian Churches</i>
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17.00-17.30 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

17.30 – 19.30 CET Chair: Valentina Calzolari President of the AIEA (Genève)	PLENARY SESSION AIEA GENERAL ASSEMBLY (AIEA members only)
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DAY 3

Saturday, 4 September 2021

14.00 – 15.00 CET Chair: Theo Maarten van Lint (Oxford)	PLENARY SESSION KEYNOTE LECTURE 3 Vahe Tachjian (Berlin) <i>Homeland, Memory, Heritage: Observations on the Ottoman Armenian History</i>
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15.00-15.30 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

PARALLEL SESSIONS				
15.30 – 17.10 CET	Session 13 <i>Folklore / Politics / Role of Woman</i> <i>Folklore / Politique / Rôle de la femme</i> Բանահիւսութիւն / Քաղաքագիտութիւն / Կնոջ դերը	Session 14 <i>History of Law</i> <i>Histoire juridique</i> Իրաւունքի պատմութիւն	Session 15 <i>Identities and Diaspora</i> <i>Identités et diaspora</i> Ինքնութիւն և սփիւռք	Session 16 <i>Printing Culture / Cultural Strategies</i> <i>Culture de l'impression / Stratégies culturelles</i> Տպագրական մշակույթ / Մշակութային ռազմավարութիւն
	Chair: Zara Pogossian (Florence)	Chair: Hubert Kaufhold (München)	Chair: Bálint Kovács (Budapest / Halle)	Chair: Meliné Pehlivanian (Berlin)

Armen Petrosyan (Yerevan) Հին հայոց որոշ աստղային անվանումների շուրջ <i>(On Some Ancient Celestial Notions in Armenia)</i>	Tim Greenwood (St. Andrews) <i>Water Rights (and Wrongs) in Medieval Armenia</i>	Hervé Georgelin (Athens) <i>Individual and Group in Zavèn Bibérian's Fictional and Memorial Work</i>	Cesare Santus (Louvain-la-Neuve) <i>New Documents on the Armenian Presence and Printing Activity in Early Modern Rome: the Family and the Professional Network of Marcantonio Abagaro (Sult'anšah T'oxat'ec'i)</i>
Anne Elisabeth Redgate (New Castle) <i>Routes to Heaven: Penance and Politics in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Armenia</i>	Alexandr Osipian (Berlin) <i>Armenian law courts in early modern Poland-Lithuania: facilitating international trade</i>	Hakob Matevosyan (Leipzig) <i>Armenian Diasporic Field of Hungary: A Cultural Sociology</i>	Ani Yenokyan (Yerevan) <i>What Did the Armenians Read in the 16th-18th Centuries? The Role of Illustrations in Book Production and Trade</i>
David Zakarian (Oxford) <i>A Glimpse into the Lives of Medieval Noblewomen: A Study of the Colophon of the Sasun Gospel (AD 1169)</i>	Jürgen Heyde (Halle) <i>Law and Ethnicity. The Armenian Statute of 1519 and the Armenian Community of Lviv</i>	Karen Jallatyan (Michigan / Budapest) <i>Becoming Diaspora with Vahé Oshagan's Poetry</i>	Nazenie Garibian (Yerevan) <i>The Invention of the Armenian Alphabet: a Strategic Measure Against the Mazdean Threat</i>
Nane Khachatryan (Halle) <i>Bedingungen und Prozess der Parteienbildung in Armenien während des ersten Jahrzehnts nach dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion</i>	Anoush Sargsyan (Yerevan) <i>Beyond the Legends Surrounding the Name of Nersēs Šnorhali: Case of the table "List on the Consanguinity Degrees"</i>	Heiko Conrad (Berlin) <i>Armenia maritima and the Role of the Sea in the Armenian Identity</i>	Kinga Kali (Budapest) <i>Cultural Strategies of Hungarian-Armenians: Armenism and Neoarmenism</i>

17.10-17.30 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

PARALLEL SESSIONS				
17.30 – 19.10 CET	Session 17 <i>Medieval Armenia in Context</i> <i>L'Arménie médiévale dans son contexte</i> Միջնադարեան Հայաստանը համատեքստում	Session 18 <i>Medieval Philosophy and Aesthetics</i> <i>Philosophie et esthétique</i> Փիլիսոփայություն / Գեղագիտություն	Session 19 <i>Hagiography / Hymnography</i> <i>Hagiographie / Hymnographie</i> Հայրաբանություն Հիմներգություն	Session 20 <i>Intercultural Relations</i> <i>Relations interculturelles</i> Միջմշակութային հարաբերություններ
	Chair: Edda Vardanyan (Paris)	Chair: Emilio Bonfiglio (Tübingen)	Chair: Anna Arevshatyan (Yerevan)	Chair: Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev (Marseille)
	Zara Pogossian (Florence) <i>Introduction: ERC Project ArmEn and a Connected History of Medieval Armenia</i>	S. Peter Cowe (Los Angeles) <i>An Armenian Progymnasmaton on Alexander as a Guide to the Philosophical Life</i>	Valentina Calzolari (Genève) <i>Le corpus des textes arméniens sur Étienne le protomartyr: un premier bilan</i>	Stella Vardanyan (Yerevan) <i>Ancient Armenian Recipe for Preparing Ointment and Incense from the Book of Xenophones “Anabasis”</i>
	Sergio La Porta (Fresno) <i>Transgressing borders and transforming identity in 12th-c. Arrān</i>	Benedetta Contin (Vienna) <i>“The Best Theologian is the One Who Knows Aristotle’s Categories”: Patristic Philosophy in Armenian Church History of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries</i>	Sara Scarpellini (Genève) <i>Pierre et Paul en Arménie: le cas des Actes apocryphes du Pseudo-Marcellus</i>	Maxime Yevadian (Lyon) <i>Inscriptions d’architectes arméniens en Europe?</i>

	Alison Vacca (Knoxville / Tennessee) <i>Resituating the Mamikonean Rebellion of 132 AH / 749-50</i>	Gabriel Kepeklian (Louvain-la-Neuve) <i>Heptamychos, un reflet présocratique chez Irénée de Lyon révélé par la version arménienne de l'Adversus haereses</i>	Mher Navoyan (Yerevan) Հայ հիփսերգության ձևավորման հարցերն ըստ Մանրուսման գրքերի <i>(The Questions of the Formation of the Armenian Hymnography According to the Medieval Musicological Manuals "Manrusum")</i>	Alex MacFarlane (Michigan) <i>Writing Armenian in Georgian Script: Cultural Production in the 19th-Century South Caucasus</i>
	Hasmik Hovhannisyan (Yerevan) <i>Reconsidering Numismatic Sources for the Study of Medieval Armenia</i>	Gohar Grigoryan Savary (Fribourg) <i>Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i and the Aesthetics of Reception of Royal Images</i>	Haig Utidjian (Prague) <i>On the Armenian Hymnal Codex W986 and Beyond</i>	

19.10-19.30 BREAK and Possibility to Virtual Meetup

19.30 CET	CLOSING PLENARY SESSION Feedback and Closing Remarks by President of the AIEA Valentina Calzolari
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Organising Team

Prof. Dr. Armenuhi Drost-Abgaryan (Halle)

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in Cooperation with

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Prof. Dr. Valentina Calzolari (Geneva), AIEA President

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Prof. Dr. Nazenie Garibian (Yerevan)

Prof. Dr. Hacik Gazer (Nurnberg / Erlangen)

Prof. Dr. Jost Gippert (Frankfurt a. M. / Hamburg)

Prof. Dr. Alessandro Orengo (Pisa)

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Sponsored by DFG (German Research Foundation) and Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe / GWZO (Leipzig)

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ABSTRACTS

MARIA LUCIA ALIFFI

Il Determinante in Armeno Classico

Il presente lavoro si prefigge di studiare il Sintagma del Determinante in Armeno Classico, sia in testi tradotti sia in testi originali. Considerata la posizione post-nominale dell'articolo determinativo (Con movimento del nome alla sinistra del Determinante), si dovrebbe esaminare se ci sono altri elementi che siano da considerarsi Determinanti in senso stretto oppure che vadano a posizionarsi all'interno del Sintagma del Determinante. Il pensiero va a mi e ai possessivi.

FEDERICO ALPI

The Cauldron of the Titans: Quotations from Clement of Alexandria in the Letters of Grigor Magistros Pahlawowni (990-1058)

The fusion of Hellenistic erudition with the Irano-Armenian heritage is particularly evident in the *Letters* of Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros (ca 990-1058). Furthermore, as Gohar Muradyan has made clear in an important article¹, the Hellenistic erudition manifested by Grigor is often related to material drawn from the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria, a work of which no Armenian translation is known to have existed and that Grigor may therefore have read directly in Greek. In the *Letters*, many passages of the *Protrepticus* are quoted *verbatim*, while others are just the object of passing allusions; finally, some episodes are completely reworked and re-interpreted by Grigor Magistros. Interestingly, the Armenian prince occasionally reveals the sources of his quotations, but he never mentions Clement of Alexandria (nor the *Protrepticus* as a work).

In what way does the Armenian author employ this Clementine material? What is his literary purpose in this and how does he integrate the quotations or the general allusions to the *Protrepticus* into his work? This is an important point in order to define the boundaries of the possible quotations and the level of alteration to which they may have been exposed: it would be incautious to build any hypothesis concerning them before tackling this issue.

¹ G. Muradyan, 'Greek Authors and Subject Matters in the Letters of Grigor Magistros', *Revue des études arméniennes* (n.s.), 35 (2013), p. 29–77. See also, on the same issue, G. Mowradyan, 'Grigor Magistrosi matenagrowtyownə', *Banber Matenadarani*, 20 (2014), p. 5–44; G. Muradyan, 'Medieval Greek-Armenian Literary Relations', in Z.M. Torlone, D.L. Munteanu & D. Dutsch (eds.), *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, Chichester, West Sussex England; Malden, MA 2017, p. 516–525.

In my contribution, I will attempt to trace, analyse and categorise all the quotations of the *Protrepticus* contained in Grigor's *Letters*, trying to reconstruct the way in which the Armenian author made use of Clementine material. Hopefully, this will not only contribute to our understanding of how Classical Greek mythology and the *Protrepticus* were received in Armenia in the 10th-11th century², but will also provide some clues on the type of text that Grigor used.

MIKAYEL ARAKELYAN

Armenian Handwritten Heritage in Russia: New Project for the Cataloguing of Armenian Manuscripts of the 9th-19th Centuries

The presented research project is undertaken under the aegis of the Four Rivers Fund (FRF) in Moscow.

Thousands of medieval Armenian manuscripts are kept in various state libraries, museums, archives, monastic and private collections in Europe, the Middle East and the USA. A whole layer of the 9th–19th-centuries originals has been discovered by me in dozens of collections of Russia. Altogether I have found around 270 manuscripts. Among them, 109 religious significance items are only deposited in the 16 collections of Moscow (Gospels, Hymnals, Breviaries, Missals, etc.), and the rest (158 mss) are scattered over 17 different collections located in the eight cities of Russia. A group of these handwritten monuments are directly linked to the history of the New Nakhichevan Diocese and its parishes.

This proposed project aims to study both the decorated and none illuminated Armenian manuscripts embracing 10th-centuries history to create new series of professional catalogues bearing the common title '*Armenian Handwritten Heritage in Russia*'. This scholarly work is dedicated not only to the detailing descriptive catalogue for each manuscript but also to the history of the manuscripts' collections. Such catalogues are based on the scrupulous study of the manuscripts mostly written and adorned by the scribes and miniaturists in significant scriptoria of Great Armenia and the Diaspora (the Crimea, Galicia, Podolia, Bessarabia, Shirvan, New Julfa, Tabriz, Constantinople, Tiflis, Jerusalem, Astrakhan, Kizlar, Kazan, Moscow, New Nakhijevan, and Saint Petersburg).

Thanks to the colophons and late inscriptions, it was revealed many aspects relating to the attribution of each object:

- the localization (Astrakhan, Kazan, Kafa, Saint Petersburg, etc.);
- names of masters, donators and owners; c) the creation and dedicatory dates of manuscripts;
- the stylistic features. The study of archival documents is also shed light on the provenance of artefacts (Armenian churches of sought Russia, museums and private collections).

The presentation of the FRF Research project will allow the scholars interested in the Armenian manuscript heritage to learn of fine artefacts and acquaint themselves with the results of a comprehensive study that uncovered unknown historical episodes.

² Of course, the *Protrepticus* is not the only means by which Grigor ventured into the vast repertoire of Greek literature: he also refers to episodes reported by other Greek authors and works; in many other cases, his knowledge of ancient Greek literature is mediated by Armenian authors or by Armenian translations, such as Dawit' Anyat' or the Armenian versions of the *Alexander Romance* and of Pseudo-Nonnus's *Commentary*. On the latter, see Muradyan, 'Greek Authors', p. 33–40 and 63–65

ROY ARAKELIAN

Études sur le monnayage de Tigrane II, essai de périodisation

La question du monnayage de Tigrane II et de son classement constitue un des enjeux majeurs de la numismatique artaxiade. Ce monnayage représente plus de la moitié de tous les types monétaires émis par l'ensemble des souverains de cette dynastie, sur les deux siècles (189 av. env. -16 ap. J.-C.) de son existence. Le manque de critères apparents du fait de la grande diversité des styles, des monogrammes, des légendes, des formes de tiare et la carence de sources littéraires ou des légendes stéréotypées rend toute hypothèse difficile, si ce n'est impossible, à vérifier. Ainsi, les catalogues existants tout comme les études spécifiques proposent des classements différents et parfois contradictoires (voir bibliographie).

Après nos précédentes études sur plusieurs points problématiques de la numismatique artaxiade, nous présenterons dans cette communication, une nouvelle périodisation du monnayage de Tigrane II envisagée sur la base du dernier catalogue paru en 2016 (ACCP).

Nous pensons que ce monnayage doit se diviser en quatre périodes, et non en trois, comme cela est généralement le cas. Chaque période peut être caractérisée et des blocs homogènes de types monétaires peuvent être assignés à chacun.

(1) La première période est celle des débuts du règne de Tigrane II après son retour d'un long exil. Les monnaies, émises entre 95 et 90-88 av. J.-C., suivent les caractéristiques du règne précédant et se divisent en deux séries parallèles. La première est une série au nom de Tigrane Ier divinisé par son fils ; la seconde correspond aux premières monnaies émises à son nom.

(2) Ensuite, et après avoir épousé Cléopâtre, la fille de Mithridates VI le roi du Pont, Tigrane II va s'inspirer de la doctrine monétaire pontique pour lancer de grandes émissions de monnaies datées destinées à payer les mercenaires enrôlés pour ses grandes guerres de conquête peut-être contre la Sophène (94 av. J.-C.), puis certainement contre la Cappadoce (93-92 av. J.-C.), enfin et surtout pour ses campagnes contre le monde parthe et la Syrie entre 88 et 83 av. J.-C. À cette époque les monnaies sont datées, parfois au mois près et le monnayage d'argent commence à être émis.

(3) Puis après la conquête de la Syrie séleucide, des éléments de la doctrine monétaire séleucide sont adoptés. Les monnaies ne sont plus datées, mais de nombreux monogrammes séleucides apparaissent sur les divers types monétaires. La gravure des flans atteint alors son apogée au niveau artistiques.

(4) Enfin, dès 71 av. J.-C. une quatrième période s'esquisse, avec plusieurs caractéristiques destinées à ne pas déclencher un conflit avec Rome ; conflit qui débuta tout de même en septembre 69 av. J.-C. avec l'agression de Lucullus. À cette époque, l'ornementation de la tiare change radicalement. Puis après la soumission de Tigrane II à Pompée, tout porte à croire que l'apparition des lettres "ΔΗΜΟ" que nous lisons comme une abréviation de δῆμος, le peuple, le corps civique, d'Artaxata, ce qui indique que Pompée a octroyé à la ville des droits civiques nouveaux sans doute dans le but d'affaiblir un peu plus le roi vieillissant.

Cette division en blocs homogènes est la première tentative de compréhension globale du monnayage de ce souverain. Plusieurs points clés de la démonstration seront développés lors de notre présentation.

ANNA AREVSHATYAN

The Treatise *Brief Extracts from Arabic Books on Musical Art* Ascribed to Hamam Arewelc'i

In Armenian medieval literature the name of the 9th century scholar Hamam Arewelc'i (†898) is associated with his exegetical writings, including The Commentaries of Grammar by Dionysius of Thrace, and the apocryphal hymn-šarakan of repentance. But it is almost unknown what is attributed to him the musical-aesthetic treatise *Brief Extracts from Arabic Books on Musical Art*. The text of treatise was published by Mekhitarists in “Bazmavep” (1875, N 4), but has been left out of the view of medievalist-musicologists, while it deserves strict attention.

The text is remarkable from the point of view of the study of theories and teachings inherent in the eras of Antiquity and Hellenism and widely commented throughout the Middle Ages. Among them are the doctrine of Plato about the soul, the cosmological theory about the categories of number and quantity underlying musical art, the doctrines of sound and the musical ethos. The writing in question touches also on the theory of music's therapeutic influence. Finally, the treatise speaks of the properties of the Octoëchos and its connections with natural elements reflecting the doctrine of echoi and widely commented on in the Middle Ages, which gave rise to a number of commentaries in the works of Armenian thinkers.

Comparison of medieval Armenian sources of musical-theoretical and musical-aesthetic content with similar Arabic-language works of Middle Eastern and Central Asian thinkers of the Middle Ages, such as al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Sufi religious and philosophical treatises *The Epistles of the Brothers of Purity* and *Kabus-name*, testifies to remarkable parallels and borrowings, which definitely influenced and expanded the range of problems that were in the field of vision of Armenian thinkers and enriched the musical and aesthetic thought of medieval Armenia.

RUBEN ATOYAN – ARMEN KHECHOYAN

Cartographic Projects of the “Aniv” Fondation (2012–2020)

The Armenian historical and cultural heritage objects representation in any cartographic form is one of the most important aspects of national mapmaking. The center for Armenological Studies «ANIV» in 2012 initiated the creation of several cartographic projects. Over the past period, the following cartographic works have been performed: 1. “Mountain-Karabakh Republic” (2013); 2. “Larnaca” (2013); 3. “The Map of the Armenian Colonies in the Lands of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth” (2015); 4. “Armenians in the battles for Belarus, 1941-1944” (2019). 5. “Armenians in the Crimea” (2021).

A large panoramic map of Mountain-Karabakh Republic (Artsakh) is published in two languages – Armenian and Russian. The preparation for the publication of the English version has been completed also. The map contains more than 1000 objects of history, culture, architecture and archeology.

Larnaca is a resort town in Cyprus, known for an active Armenian community. There are several Armenian objects in the center of the town – a monument to the Genocide of 1915, a church, a school, cultural center, etc. This is the first map for tourists where all the Armenian memorable places are shown.

“The Map of the Armenian Colonies in the Lands of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth” a large panoramic map also, published in three languages – Armenian, Russian and Polish. The preparation of the English version has been completed. The map was published thanks to the assistance Foundation of Culture and Heritage of Polish Armenians with Polish Ministry of Culture. The publication is supplemented with artistic 3-D images of the cities of Warsaw, Krakow, Lviv, Kamianets, Zamosc and Yazlovets, which not only decorate the map, but also contain rich information about the Armenian Diaspora.

The map “Armenians in the battles for Belarus, 1941-1944” was published as an addition to the book with the same name. It was the result of six years of work.

The map “Armenians in the Crimea” prepared in three languages –Armenian, Russian and English, but not published yet. Armenian temples, places of compact residence of Armenians, historical and cultural objects, famous Armenians born in the Crimea are represented on the map. All maps of Armenian historical and cultural heritage used common techniques and methods, which contain scientific approach to historical aspects, geographical base, showing elements, technique of art performance, symbol systems.

Currently, work has begun in two directions: the first is – Armenians in Romania and Moldova, the second – Armenians in the South Russia. The work began with the map “Armenians of the Don” and the reconstruction of the city image of Nor Nakhichevan in 1913. The work has already begun on collecting historical information and compiling a geographical basis.

ԱՆԱՀԻՏ ԱՎԱԳՅԱՆ

Հայոց «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուների թարգմանությունը և խմբագրությունները

Հայոց «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուներում ընդգրկված միավորների թարգմանությունը ավանդաբար վերագրվում է դասական թարգմանությունների շրջանին՝ կատարված ասորերենից կամ հունարենից: Այս վաղ թվագրումը կարող է վերաբերվել Հայրերի որոշ «վարուց և քաղավարութեանց»: «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուների էական մասը կազմող «Բանք և պատմութիւնք սուրբ հարանց»-ը (Apophthegmata Patrum) թարգմանվել են ավելի ուշ շրջանում և ունեցել են առնվազն երկու խմբագրություն՝ և առանձին տեքստերի և ամբողջական ժողովածուի վերակազմումով: Այսպիսով «խմբագրություն» (որ նեղ մասնագիտական ուսումնասիրություններում անվանվել է recensio) այստեղ նշանակում է նաև «կրկին թարգմանություն» (համտ Վենետիկի 1855 թ երկհատորյակի խորագիրը), և՛ միավորների նոր հերթականությամբ վերակազմավորում, ընդարձակում, նաև լրացում ոչ թարգմանական միավորներով:

Մաշտոցյան Մատենադարանում, Վենետիկ և Վիեննայի Մխիթարյան, Երուսաղեմի Սբ. Հակոբյանց վանքի գրադարաններում պահվում են տասնյակ ձեռագրեր, որոնք պարունակում են «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուների միավորների ամենատարբեր համադրումներ՝ անվերջ ուսումնասիրության նյութ տրամադրելով հայագետներին, նաև ուղղակի հետաքրքրվողներին: Այս համադրումները երբեմն արտացոլում են բնագիր լեզուների (հիմնականում՝ հունարեն, բայց նաև ասորերեն և լատիներեն) նույնատիպ ժողովածուների կառուցվածքը:

Զեկուցման մեջ ներկայացվելու է «Հարանց վարք» ժողովածուների երկու խմբագրությունների կառուցվածքային վերլուծությունը, անդրադարձ է կատարվելու մի քանի միավորների լեզվական քննությանը՝ բնագիր լեզուների համեմատությամբ:

EMILIO BONFIGLIO

Representations of Armenia(s) and the Armenians in Late Antiquity: Theory and Praxis in the Writings of John Chrysostom

Studies on Armenian late antique and early medieval history have often drawn scholars' attention on a series of material obstacles that are to be faced when dealing with the Armenian written and material sources of these periods. Among such hindrances, are the loss of archival records and lack of coins and seals for the earliest periods, inadequate or wanting archaeological excavations, as well as the partiality and hermeneutical complexity of the Armenian primary sources [for instance: Garsoïan, N. G., 'Évolution et crise dans l'historiographie récente de l'Arménie médiévale', *Revue du monde arménien* modern et contemporain 6 (2001), 7–27]. As for the Classical (Greek and Latin) written sources, scholars have primarily based their research on historiographical literature, paying far less attention to other kinds of sources as, for instance, Patristics.

Taking into consideration recent trends in scholarship that have re-evaluated the factual value of homiletics and other patristic texts for the study of the social and cultural history of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages [for instance: Mayer, W., 'Homiletics', in S. Ashbrook Harvey and D. G. Hunter (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford, 2008), 565–583], this paper investigates the evidence contained in the writings attributed to John Chrysostom (c. 349–407) in reference to Armenia(s) and the Armenians. Chosen as a case study, the corpus Chrysostomicum proves invaluable in showing a different kind of information on late antique Armenia that is possible to retrieve from overlooked Greek patristic literature. Taking advantage from the exceptional career and (forced) mobility of John Chrysostom, this study gives an overview of the ways Armenia(s) and the Armenians were perceived and represented in late antiquity from the standpoints of Antioch and Constantinople, as well as from that of Armenia (Secunda) itself, where John lived and preached during the last three years of his life.

The findings of this study show that, far from exotic or extraordinary, notions of things Armenian were well ingrained in the mental map of the urban populations of the eastern Roman Empire, proving that patristic sources should also be utilised next to other well-known Classical historiographical sources in order to correct, complement, or implement the currently available historical evidence on late antique and early medieval Armenia.

ԱԶԱՏ ԲՈԶՈՅԱՆ

1178 թ Հռոմկլայի ժողովը և մեզ հասած վավերագրերը

Սկսած 1150-ական թթ., շուրջ մեկ և կես դար Հռոմկլան կարևոր դեր է կատարել, իբրև ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոսի նստավայր: Այստեղ են տեղի ունեցել Հայոց եկեղեցու համար բազմաթիվ կարևոր իրադարձություններ, ընդօրինակվել են համահայկական նշանակություն ունեցող ձեռագրեր: Այստեղից են հայրապետները դեկավարել Ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոսարանի ենթակայության տակ գտնվող նվիրապետական ողջ համակարգը: Այս ամրոցում տեղի ունեցած եկեղեցաքաղաքական իրադարձություններից ամենանշանավորը հայ-բյուզանդական եկեղեցական բանակցությունների վերջին ակորդն հանդիսացող Հռոմկլայի ժողովն է, որը կարևոր նշանակություն է ունեցել Հայոց եկեղեցու և ազգաբնակչության կյանքում: Ժողովն հրավիրել է Ներսես Դ Շնորհալի (1165-1173) կաթողիկոսի հաջորդ, Գրիգոր Դ Տղա կաթողիկոսը (1173-1193):

Ժողովի հրավիրման նախապատրաստական աշխատանքներն ամենայն հավանականությամբ սկսվել են 1177 թ. հունվար ամսից հետո, քանի որ կայսեր և պատրիարքի նամակները Հռոմկլա կարող էին հասնել ամենաշուտն այդ ժամանակ: Ժողովի հրավիրման ժամանակը ճշտող հիմնական տեղեկությունը Գրիգոր Դ Տղայի Կ. Պոլսի Միքայել Գ պատրիարքին ուղղված երկրորդ նամակի վերնագրի հետևյալ հատվածն է. «...պատասխանի թղթոյն Միքայելի պատրիարքին՝ որ նախ քան զայս փոխեցաւ յաշխարհէ ի Քրիստոս»: Ելնելով այս իրողությունից, Հռոմկլայի եկեղեցական ժողովը կարելի է թվագրել 1178 թ. ապրիլի 9-ից հետո ընկած մոտակա շաբաթվա ժամանակահատվածով, քանի որ ըստ Ներսէս Լամբրոնացու կազմած «Պատճառ խնդրոյ միաբանութեան» ժողովածոյի. «կատարեալ զփրկագործ աւուրս չարչարանաց Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի ի միասին, եւ յետ այսորիկ պարապեցին ի քննութիւն գրեցելոց թղթոցս ի թագաւորէն Հոռոմոց եւ յեկեղեցւոյն»:

Այս ժողովից մեզ հասած վավերագրերը կարելի է բաժանել երկու խմբի՝ պաշտոնական և ոչ պաշտոնական: Պաշտոնական վավերագրերը երկուսն են. Գրիգոր Դ Տղա կաթողիկոսի անունից պատասխաններ են գրվել Մանուէլ Ա Կոմսենոս կայսրին և Միքայել Գ Անքիալոս պատրիարքին: Վավերագրերից երկրորդի տակ ստորագրել են 33 ժողովականներ: Ոչ պաշտոնական, սակայն ժողովի ընթացքում շրջանառության մեջ դրված վավերագրերն են Ներսէս Լամբրոնացու հեղինակած «Ատենաբանութիւն»ը, «Պատարագի մեկնութիւն»ը և առանց հեղինակի շրջանառության մեջ դրված «Գլխադրութիւնք Հոռոմոց զորս պահանջեն առ ի մէնջ ի պէտս խաղաղութեան, ընդ որս եւ լուծմունք առնթեր եղեալ», ինչպես նաև «Խնդիրք Հայոց ի Հոռոմոց» երկերը:

VALENTINA CALZOLARI

Le corpus des textes arméniens sur Étienne le protomartyr: un premier bilan

Cette communication offrira une vue d'ensemble du corpus des écrits arméniens sur Étienne le protomartyr: Passions; écrits relatifs à la découverte et aux translations des reliques: traductions arméniennes de Panégyriques grecs et syriaques en l'honneur d'Étienne, attribués respectivement à Athanase d'Alexandrie, Grégoire le Thaumaturge, Grégoire de Nysse, Proclus de Constantinople (grec) et Éphrem/Jacques de Sarugh (syriaque). Une attention particulière sera accordée à une Passion arménienne inédite. L'importance de la figure du protomartyr dans la littérature écrite directement en arménien sera également soulignée (Elišē, Guerre de Vardane et ses compagnons; Histoire du pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni).

LEVON CHOOKASZIAN

Notes About T'oros Roslin's Origin and Biography

There are very few facts conserved about the great Armenian painter T'oros Roslin's biography. The scholars do not even know where his surname takes its origin. T'oros Roslin mentioned his brother Anton in the colophon of the Gospel of 1256 and also that he had sisters and brothers, but nothing much about them is known. The reminder about his children shows that he was a priest. As an educated and talented artist and monk, he was respected and sponsored by the Catholicos Kostandine Bardzrberdts'i. The facts and notes represented here show, that the biography of the great Armenian painter has many dark pages, but nevertheless, it is possible to illuminate different details, that improve our knowledge about T'oros Roslin.

HEIKO CONRAD

Armenia maritima and the role of the sea in the Armenian identity

This paper deals with the role of the sea for Armenians at a concrete and symbolic level.

In the first section of the paper produces a brief overview of notable Armenian diaspora communities that emerged in the vicinity of the sea. As Armenians moved there, they inevitably started to engage in maritime trade and acquired new cultural ties in accordance with their new geographical setting.

In the second part, the symbolic meaning of this diaspora connected with the sea will be considered more thoroughly. This section is partially inspired by Sergio La Porta's reflection on the maritime significance for Armenia. Often, when speaking of historical Armenia, one encounters the argument that it would be better to speak not of Armenia, but of the Armenian Highlands. That in order not to come into conflict with changing borders and historical diversity. But it is precisely from this point of view that one should speak of Armenia. Because if we consider Armenia only as highlands – which highlands are we talking about? The Pontic Mountains or the highlands of the South Caucasus are not the same. Not to mention the Taurus. Thus, to frame Armenia as merely the Armenian highland would be less adequate than to speak of the Armenian lands (Hayoc' ašxarhk').

On the subject of the sea: as is known, historical Armenia corresponds to a landlocked region - with no connection to the sea. However, besides the temporal access to the sea in Armenian Cilicia, a number of important diaspora communities arose in Bulgaria, Romania, Egypt, India to name only a few important examples. How did they get there? In many cases, they got there by sea. Not that the sea has become the life source of the whole nation; Armenians have indeed never become a famous seafaring nation. But the sea often constituted the crucial pathway to the new habitat. Through the Black Sea to Crimea, through the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt or France, through the Arabian Sea to India.

Thus, the sea draws attention to phenomena that actually characterize Armenians as a people and a nation alike: Ability to adapt to foreign cultures, to make new connections and to be mobile when necessity forces them to do so. From this point of view, the sea belongs to Armenia as much as the mountainous country, at least. Here the talk argues that, at least symbolically, the sea can be seen as a dynamic and mobile element of Armenian identity, while the mountainous land refers to its static and geographically fixed element. Most Armenians in their own self-understanding evoke a rigid and fixed idea of their own history, geography and national identity symbolized in the immutable nature of the mountainous landscape. Mt. Ararat serves here as its most significant symbol.

But if we take the Noah story at its word, which is so often referred to, then water, which first leads to the mountain, also belongs to it. To the landing on the Ararat belongs at the same time the odyssey through the stormy sea and also that what has caused the odyssey in the first place, namely the disaster. Both belong together and cannot be separated from each other. Mt. Ararat alone forms only one part of the myth, while the ferocious sea likewise belongs to it. This duality proves to be very beneficial to a more encompassing understanding of reality. For it is the sea as a pathway which leads to the (new) homeland. And so, the presentation aims to explore the relationship of Armenians vis-à-vis the sea, seeking to reveal the ambivalence of Armenian identity with its static and dynamic elements that have persisted until our days.

BENEDETTA CONTIN

“The Best Theologian is the One Who Knows Aristotle’s Categories”: Patristic Philosophy in Armenian Church history of the seventh and eighth centuries

This contribution aims to show the literary strategy adopted by the Armenian non-Chalcedonian Church, when incorporating argumentative patterns and methods from Aristotle and his commentators into theological reasoning. I will draw attention to and compare three texts: two dogmatical letters by Xosorvik the Translator—and namely the letter Addressed to those who affirm that God the Word received humanity from the Virgin as lacking in shape and being without beginning by nature, and the letter About the questions whether the Lord’s body must be considered as consubstantial to God the Word, or whether the body must be confessed to be God the Word and one nature or not—, and the Confession of Christ the Incarnated Word against those who confess Christ to be One in two natures by Yovhan Ōjneč’i. I will also analyze a little-heralded writing ascribed to Catholicos Yovhan and published by Fr. Nersēs Akinian in 1911, which appears to attest a pro-Chalcedonian account of the doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ.

S. PETER COWE

An Armenian Progymnasmaton on Alexander as a Guide to the Philosophical Life

Although late antique Alexandria was more famous for its schools of philosophy and medicine, it also boasted an important tradition in grammar and rhetoric, which is reflected in the Armenian translations of the textbooks of Dionysius Thrax and Theon of Alexandria, as well as in Movsēs Xorenac’i’s reference to having been sent to the city to perfect his skills in the latter discipline. Though their major focus remained the investigation and explication of Homeric epic, as Cribiore and others have signaled, the school curriculum also featured the Ps. Callisthenes’ Alexander Romance, and this paper argues that this is the context out of which the Armenian version of the work derives. Significantly, that version largely reflects the Greek α tradition of the writing that emphasizes the hero’s multiple associations with the city that bears his name. Consequently, it is contended that far from being an odd anomaly in Armenian literary history, as it is often presented as being, the Armenian Alexander Romance forms an indissociable component of the process of recreating the structure of Hellenic paideia in Armenia. This is corroborated by the existence of a series of Armenian progymnasmata, or school rhetorical exercises, devoted to the theme of Alexander. The particular example at the core of the present project holds a crucial place in the development of the trivium in Armenia in uniting the spheres of rhetoric and logic, as represented by the Aristotelian corpus.

Neoplatonism was the last great manifestation of Classical Greek philosophy to enter into dialogue with Christianity and left a significant imprint on the thought world of some of the best minds of Christian theology (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, etc.). Moreover, in Alexandria it continued to flourish into the 7th century thanks to a *modus vivendi* it had achieved with the local Christian community, as a result of which the last three directors of the school (Elias, David (i. e. Dawit’ Anyač’), Stephanus) formally belonged to that religious tradition, though the latter exercised relatively little impact on the philosophical positions they adopted. This last point is important as it also characterized the approach of the Armenian translators of the corpus, who may have been disciples of David. It is therefore plausible that they comprise a lay intellectual community who wished to continue his vision of advancing the study of philosophy by building distinctively on the insights of Plotinus, Olympiodorus, etc. rather than integrating those within a Christian framework. Thus, in contrast with the Greek ϵ tradition of the Alexander Romance where the protagonist emerges as an exponent of Judaism or Nizami’s Eskandar-

Nāma, where he is portrayed as incorporating characteristics of Islam, the Armenian progymnasmaton under discussion idealizes the kosmokratōr as Aristotle's perfect student who engages in a protreptic to the study of philosophy in the classical manner, highlighting the role of the *De virtutibus* and Ps. Aristotelian *De mundo*, which, as transmitted in the Armenian tradition, are dedicated by the author to Alexander.

SETA B. DADOYAN

In Quest of Historical Geoglyphs: Islam in Armenian Literary Culture. Texts, Contexts, Dynamics

The mapping of the Armenian political, social and cultural development in its interactions in the Near Eastern world – its natural context – has not been done and remains as one of the primary tasks of Armenian Studies.

The reasons vary, one of the oldest goes back to Ch'amch'ian's "universal" (tiezerakan) history in the late 18th century, the first in modern times. To the end of the 19th century most scholars in all the fields adopted his pre-modern nationalist perspectives. In the next century, prior to and following the First Republic, there were very significant advances in Armenian Studies, both in Armenia and elsewhere. Absolutely valuable are also the interest and contribution of non-native scholars. However, while strictly nationalist perspectives and corresponding paradigms persisted among most native scholars in the East and the West, narrowly philological approaches and methods characterized the research of the non-natives.

One of my major concerns is that in the absence of a truly holistic, critical and interdisciplinary revolution in the discipline, all accounts may remain not only insulated but partial and misleading. Therefore, there is an urgent need to continue the process from studies of separate cases, or what may be called "glyphs", into capturing historical panoramas or "geoglyphs" (large earth-drawings), in which these "glyphs" are parts and factors in their shaping and evolution. Just like geoglyphs, which were virtually unknown prior to aerial photography and satellites – or a radical technological change/shift – the narratives and subsequent literary traditions of the Armenians in a broad and tumultuous region, took definite forms through interactions in the region and during long periods. Like geoglyphs too, these patterns and their movements remained undetected when looked at horizontally, and in isolated and primarily Armenian frameworks. The total picture can only be seen "from above", so to speak, at a phenomenological or critical distance, by a holistic philosophy of history and interdisciplinary tools.

These changes have not happened and their need not felt yet. The traditional paradigms of Armenian historiography, also the more modern "strictly objective" methods seem to have bypassed, and indeed often missed actual processes on the ground in the Near East. The fact that by the end of the 7th century alongside the Byzantine, the contexts of all things Armenian were also heavily Islamic, is a development which seriously alters the paths of historiography. Before the end of the 12th century most Armenians were under direct or indirect Islamic rule, Arab, Seljuk, Mongol, Tartar, Turkish and Persian, or at best in proximity, such as the case of Armenian Cilicia (1080-1375). By the late Middle Ages not only the context of all things Armenian was Islamic, Armenia's three neighbors were and still are Muslim and many communities in the Diaspora still live in these countries as their Christian citizens.

It must have been hard to avoid the central significance of the study of the Armenian experience in the Worlds of Islam from the 7th century to the present, but it has happened. Furthermore, one of my foundational propositions and from the beginning, is that there are things in Armenian and Near Eastern intellectual and social cultures that must be specifically categorized and studied as primarily "things Islamic-Armenian." Taken as distinct themes, they generate their own peripheries for a unique discipline of Islamic-Armenian Studies, which is essentially interdisciplinary, holistic, and critical. In many

respects this discipline, that I seek to initiate, is an alternative that may break the impasse created by mainstream and often nationalist narratives of things Armenian.

I strongly suggest that the formation of broad and dynamic historical geoglyphs of Armenian political-social and cultural development in its interactions with the worlds of Islam is a task that has seriously been marginalized at the expense of the disciplines of Armenian, Near Eastern and Interfaith Studies. The Armenian experience in the medieval Near East as well as the modern Middle East was and still is too diverse and complicated. Constructs based on the idea of an ancient, heroic, persistent and struggling people are too narrow. In order to avoid dangerous essentialism, Armenian histories should reflect this condition and seek paradigm shifts. However, there seems to be a politics of Armenian historical writing, and an underlying grid that have been obstructive. At present being a scholar in this discipline means being part of a certain politics of “national” truths or a critic of them, being a contributor to the dominant culture industry, or its adversary and reformer. The latter describes my career, and the arguments in my studies reflect this polarity.

Islam in Armenian Literary Culture. Texts, Contexts, Dynamics is a quest into historical geoglyphs that reflect the Armenian Experience in the Islamic Near East. It is a crowning of sorts of an existentially challenging and intellectually complicated process that started three decades ago. With no road map, I proceeded by a firm intuition about the dimensions of the terrain to be explored and the Copernican revolution it could make in the way things Armenian and Near Eastern were seen and explained traditionally. The blueprint of this opus took shape 23 years ago, in 1998 and precisely at Halle, also in early September. I read a paper titled “Islam and the Armenian Universe: Historicity and Historic Models” at the 19th Congress of the UEA (Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants) at Martin Luther University. To that time, I had several studies and two books: *The Islamic Sources of Yovhannēs Erznkats’i* (1991) and *the Fatimid Armenians* (1997). After extensive research and several studies in the same path, I published a Trilogy on the Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World (2011-2013), also another bilingual book on *The Armenian Condition in Hindsight and Foresight* (2015). Six years ago, and after entries in CMR (*Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographic History*) I felt enabled to make a venture as ambitious as to embark upon a quest of a historical geoglyph in which the literary record of Armenians’ perceptions of and responses to Islam through/because of political-social-cultural changes could be seen in a dynamic whole.

The primary objective of this opus is to develop a closely textual, comprehensive and sequential structure, which could contain the basic material as well as historical contexts and factors. The first task was to trace and make available — often in my translation — all the accounts of the known, less known and hitherto unknown texts about the Prophet, Islam and the Muslims from the 7th century to the present. The next and harder task was to trace the sequence, interrelations, and dynamics of perceptions of Islam and responses to Muslim rules. This meant mapping a geoglyphic panorama with its own peripheries, a great variety of sources, with specific tools and from unique vantage points.

The arrangement of the themes and sub-themes in five main parts was a challenge. The structure is meant to make a fundamental argument, that there exists a dynamic and a coherent expanse of things that are Islamic-Armenian. Thematically and chronologically, the sequence of the chapters had to reflect and sustain the consecutive and interrelated arguments and lead the reader on a smooth path. The “Armenian Mahmet”, the “Armenian Pax Islamica” and the “Armenian Ghurans” were the basic themes that made a conceptual also logical tripod to carry the great number of textual citations and the arguments they generated.

My main argument in Part One is that the medieval accounts of the Prophet’s life generated a composite figure that I call the “Armenian Mahmet.” Even though only loosely and often inaccurately related to the historical person, with no reference to the classic Arab texts on the Prophet, also the Qur’ān and the Ḥadīth, this “Mahmet” – spelled differently – was considered a true and sufficient account of Islam as well. Therefore, in Part One and the next I had to make available all the accounts and narratives of the “Armenian Mahmet” in the histories and chronicles and from the 7th century to the 14th.

One of the main arguments in Part Two is that the two centuries from the last decades of the 10th century to the end of the 12th, constituted a hitherto unknown distinct phase in Armenian as well as Near Eastern history. It was what I call an “Armenian Intermezzo.” Byzantine and Seljuk policies caused massive migrations into the west and south, and the Armenian habitat or oikumenē expanded into the heart of the Islamic world. There were Apostolic, Chalcedonian, heterodox, and Muslim Armenians everywhere from the Caspian to the Black Seas, from the Euphrates and the Tigris to al-Shām and Egypt. In the Near Eastern towns and cities, Armenians lived with the Muslims and in cosmopolitan urban environments close interactions, conversions and intermarriages were common.

Another argument emanated from the texts spread over fourteen centuries concerning the manner in which the Armenians perceived their status under Muslim rule. This is what I call the “Armenian Pax Islamica”, the title of Part Three. Cited in full in this study, and mostly in my translation, from 652 to 1811, all the alleged covenants, agreements, pacts, compacts and treaties, named differently, have a peculiar legitimacy as literary documents with historical dimensions. They were assumed to be authentic versions and reconfirmations, which originated from an initial covenant/oath legislated by the Prophet himself, as granted, hence their historical, political and moral significance. Their authenticity seems to be secondary to this aspect. In these texts, and in particular in the few studies made in the 20th century and the next, the figure of “Mahmet” metamorphosed into a “a true Prophet”, a fair oath-giver and guarantor of faith and safety, as Sebēos had presented him fourteen centuries ago.

What I call the “Armenian Ghurans”, the theme of Part Four, in turn reflected dispositions toward “the laws of Mahmet” or Islam. I argue that the primacy of the “Armenian Mahmet” was a major reason for a delay of a millennium in translating the Qur’ān. The first was in 1680, but from Latin. While previously the biographies were polemical tools, the Armenian Ghurans that were made to the first decades of the 20th century, in turn became occasions/ platforms for polemical side-scripts and attached texts. From the first translation in 1680 to the last in 2014/5 (from Turkish), eleven full Ghuran texts were available, translated from Latin, Arabic, French, Persian and Turkish, four of these were copies. They appeared in three clusters: the first group of five Ghurans in the 17th- 18th centuries; the second group of three Ghurans in 1910-1912; a group of two partial translations in 1991-1995, and a third group of three full Ghurans in 2003-2014/5.

Chronologically, also logically, Part Five “Islam, the Prophet and the Qur’ān in Late Modern and Contemporary Literature”, traces the beginnings and development of what may be described as the beginnings of “Arabology/Islamology” in Armenian literary culture.

The subject of Islam in Armenian literary culture is an argument by the sheer force of the material it makes available and the theses it expounds. However, a truly contemporary and critical discipline of Islamic-Armenian studies is yet to break its way through the pillars of mainstream Armenian studies, into the open ocean of Near Eastern and interfaith studies.

ԱՆԴՐԱՆԻՎ ՏԱԳԷՍԵԱՆ

Ակնարկ Հայկական Պղնձեայ Թասերուն

Հայկական պղինձի ձեռարկեստի համապարփակ պատմություն գոյություն չունի: Չէ կատարուած հայկական պղնձեայ իրերու տեսակաւորում: Չկայ հայ պղնձագործներու կնիքներու համապարփակ ցանկ: Չկան հայկական պղինձի արտադրութեանց թուայնացուած համադրեալ շտեմարաններ: Հաւանաբար մասնակի, կցկտուր տեղեկութիւններ կարելի է հաւաքել հայրենակցական միութիւններու հատորներէն:

Այսօր, Մփիւոքի մէջ, Սուրիոյ պատերազմական վիճակին հետեւանքով Հալէպի շուկաներու ոչնչացմամբ անհետացած պէտք է նկատել Մփիւոքի հայկական պղինձի արհեստագործական աշխատավայրերու վերջին մոհեկանները:

Կը Ժայ դիմել հաւաքածոներու, մէկտեղել որոշ տեսակի պղնձեայ արտադրութիւն եւ համադրելով անոնց տուեալները յառաջացնել համապատասխան թերի պատումը հայկական պղինձի տուեալ տեսակին:

Այս առումով, այս ուսումնասիրութեամբ կ'անդրադառնանք հայկական պղնձեայ թասերուն, որոնք օգտագործուած են հանրային բաղնիքներու մէջ եւ ծառայած իգական սեռին:

Ուսումնասիրութիւնը կը ներկայացնէ չափագրութիւնը այս թասերուն, անոնց տարբերակները, նախշերը, եւ անոնց վրայ եղած արձանագրութիւններուն հիմամբ կը ջանայ ճշտել անոնց կենցաղավարման ժանակը, արտադրավայրերը, իւրայատկութիւններ եւ այլ մանրամասնութիւններ:

PATRICK DONABÉDIAN

Le Tayk'/Tao au Xe-XIe siècle : un laboratoire régional d'innovation architecturale

L'architecture qui s'est développée dans la province de Tayk'/Tao au Xe-XIe siècle, à cheval entre l'extrémité ouest de l'Arménie et sud-ouest de la Géorgie, à la frontière nord-est de Byzance, est un phénomène exceptionnel, premièrement par la qualité et la nouveauté de ses créations, deuxièmement par le rayonnement régional de plusieurs de ses solutions. Ceci s'observe dans tous les domaines de la création architecturale, tant techniques, planimétriques et des compositions spatio-volumétriques, que pour ce qui est des dispositifs décoratifs et des motifs ornementaux. La communication s'intéressera aux modèles que la province a fournis aux deux grandes écoles voisines, l'arménienne et, plus encore, la géorgienne.

Dans le domaine technique, c'est probablement à l'église funéraire à deux niveaux de Č'ordvank'/Otxta Eklesia (fin Xe s.), qu'apparaît pour la première fois un principe assez fréquent dans la sphère funéraire en Arménie métropolitaine et cilicienne, celui d'un appareil grossier au niveau inférieur, en contraste avec le traitement plus régulier du niveau supérieur. Dans le même cadre technique, le recours à des tuiles vernissées développé ici a pu stimuler cet usage en Géorgie, alors que, à l'époque, la tuile a pratiquement disparu en Arménie (sauf en Arc'ax).

Dans le domaine des compositions, l'agrandissement et l'allongement vers l'ouest des compositions cruciformes à coupole de la période préarabe, y compris des compositions triconques inspirées des cathédrales préarabes de Duin et T'alın, ont eu des retombées importantes en Géorgie. C'est sans doute au Tayk'/Tao qu'est né le principe de la grande et large cathédrale de la Géorgie médiévale. Pour ce qui est de la volumétrie également, l'élévation des proportions contribue probablement au développement de cette tendance en Géorgie.

Concernant le dôme en ombrelle, la province, en incluant dans le Tayk'/Tao le district septentrional de Kłarĵk'/Klarĵeti, a, semble-t-il, vers la fin du IXe ou le début du Xe s., partagé avec l'Arménie (ou l'a suivi de peu) la création de ce remarquable dispositif, qui allait connaître un grand essor en Arménie, devenant emblématique de son architecture, mais resta quasi ignoré en Géorgie.

C'est probablement au Tayk'/Tao qu'apparaît, dans les galeries latérales, un type de porche-baldaquin à plan carré, couvert par une calotte à moulures rayonnantes, porche qui peut être prolongé à l'est par une chapelle. Ce dispositif, quasi inconnu en Arménie, a connu un large essor en Géorgie.

C'est ici qu'est développée une forme de colonnade-arcature aveugle souvent employée en Géorgie et inconnue en Arménie. Elle est appliquée aux extrémités des bras de la croix et s'adapte à l'inclinaison des toits à pignon par l'augmentation progressive de sa hauteur. Un autre trait des arcatures

aveugles de la province de Tayk'/Tao, possible élément de parenté avec des églises byzantines contemporaines d'Asie Mineure, se rencontre ensuite souvent en Géorgie : le fort décalage entre la surface supérieure des façades, assez saillante au-dessus de l'arcature, et au contraire, le net retrait des surfaces sous l'arcature, qui ressemblent alors à des niches plates. S'agissant toujours des colonnades-arcatures aveugles, la plus grande église de la province, Ōšk, est chronologiquement en tête du groupe des trois principales cathédrales de la région : Ōšk (973), Ani (1001) et Kutaisi (1003), pour l'emploi, réservé à ces trois monuments, de la colonnette à fût unique.

Dans le vigoureux développement du décor sculpté, à côté d'un remarquable essor du décor figuré, parallèle à celui qui a lieu alors en Géorgie, on relève aussi l'élaboration de formules ornementales caractéristiques, reprises ailleurs. C'est le cas du rang de palmettes rectangulaires pendantes à sillons concentriques, apparu assez timidement en Arménie et très prisé en Géorgie.

A travers ces exemples, la communication s'efforcera de mettre en relief la place éminente qu'occupe la province de Tayk'/Tao dans l'histoire de l'architecture de la région.

LAVINIA FERRETTI – ARMENUHI MAGARDITCHIAN

Garni: une inscription grecque convertie en xac'k'a

The main goal of our presentation is to newly assess the history of the Garni Greek inscription. In order to do so, two methodological perspectives were taken: on the one hand, we combine philological and archaeological approaches; on the other, we consider not only the moment in which the Greek text was carved, but the whole life of this block of stone down to the present. The material and linguistic analysis, which makes much greater use of parallel texts and sculptures than heretofore, allows us to structure the life of the inscribed stone into six phases, from its original carving, to its Medieval reuse, through to its contemporary exhibition. These phases, dated through the archaeological concepts of relative and absolute chronology, allow us to reconsider this masonry block in all of its successive historical contexts. Although many questions still remain open, the combination of new data and new perspectives gives us a better understanding of this unique piece.

NAZENIE GARIBIAN

The Invention of the Armenian Alphabet: a Strategic Measure Against the Imposed Mazdeisation

The creation of the Armenian alphabet at the beginning of the 5th century, which allowed the translation of the Bible and Christian literary works, provided the instruments for developing the national written language and laid the foundations for building the new Christian identity. The numerous studies dedicated to this subject have proposed various hypotheses concerning the historical circumstances, political motivations and religious necessities of this endeavour. Others have focused on the linguistic and phonetic particularities of the characters, while trying to contextualise and connect them to other neighbouring scripts.

The present paper offers a further reflection, aimed at highlighting the immediate reasons for the invention of the Armenian alphabet. It should be considered as one of the measures in a broad strategic project undertaken by the Armenian secular and religious authorities to combat forced Mazdeization and to save the confessional and cultural unity of the nation.

In this respect, we assume that the idea to have a written translation of the Bible into Armenian, for which a special script was needed, came up as a direct response to the new alphabet created in Sassanian Iran, most probably by the last decades of the 4th century, in order to render the Avestan language and to write down the Mazdean holy teaching. Unlike the Pahlavi one, this “religion’s script” (din dabireh or din dabiri) clearly possessed a special sign for every vowel distinguished in the oral tradition, no doubt inspired by the Greek model.

HERVÉ GEORGIN

Individual and Group in Zaven Bibérian’s Fictional and Memorial Work

Zaven Bibérian (1921-1984) is a major author in Western Armenian, but who was able to write on a similar level in Turkish and French. He was a member of the late blossoming of Armenian letters known as Istanbul-Armenian literature. His masterpiece, *The Twilight of the Ants*,³ was made famous among learned Diaspora Armenians by Marc Nichanian’s bookreview in *Haratch*.⁴

Bibérian was no easy person to cope with neither on a private, on a community-based nor on a political level. His personality and his cultural origin made him a curious, critical, and rebellious mind from his early childhood. Neither his loving family, the residual conservative Armenian community of Istanbul, nor the Kemalist Republic of Turkey were ideal places for this young man, who longed for knowledge, pleasurable life, and universal justice.

Zaven’s works bear witness the difficulty of individuation processes in the writer’s world. Bibérian’s talent puts on stage odd characters who defy the limits put upon themselves by their surroundings. This paper aims at bringing into light the various situations Bibérian’s characters and own self deem unsatisfactory, how the writer stages their dilemmas and challenges and question the effects of the author’s writing on his readership. Emphasis should be put on self-critical aspects of Bibérian’s *unzeitgemäß* literary corpus, that can account for its delayed reception.

³ Զավեն ԴԻԴԵՐԻԱՆ [Zaven BIBÉRIAN], Մրջիններուն Վերջալոյսը [*The Sunset Of the Ants*], İstanbul, Aras Yayıncılık, 2007 (new, integral edition of the text, first published as a book in 1984).

⁴ Մարկ ՆԻՇԱՆԻԱՆ [Marc NICHANIAN] « Զավեն Դիպեռեանի մրջինները » [« The Ants of Zaven Biberian »] in Յառաջ [*Haratch*], Փարիզ, Կիրակի Յունուար 3, 1998, 63րդ տարի, թիվ 16.653.

ZOLTÁN GERÁLY

Armenian heritage and its representation in current North Caucasian historical narratives

During the history of the North Caucasus, Armenians played role shaping the regions cultural environment, historical scene and religion. Since the 4th century, spreading the christian religion in Dagestan, through the colonization process of the Russian Empire during the 18th - 19th century, until the last decades Armenians were presented in several North Caucasian states.

Meanwhile their cultural heritage is still existing in the region, its usage and evaluation has been changing over the last decades. The collapse of the Soviet Union, and the wars in Chechnya reshaped the environment of the historical narratives, and through the evaluation of the historical and cultural heritage of the Armenians in the North Caucasus.

In order to understand these changes, we must look through the built heritage - and its current shape, its usage, and interpretation. As well we take under investigation the museological scene, representing the local historical narratives, including or excluding the existing, or existed Armenian connected historical places, figures and events.

In the end, we will have a clear view about the above-mentioned processes, how the heritage sites and events got transformed during the changes of the regimes of the 1990' and 2000', bringing changes also to the historical narratives.

JOST GIPPERT

New Light on the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai

The paper will present some new findings concerning the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests of Mt Sinai that have been the result of a thorough re-investigation on the basis of new multispectral images provided by the Sinai Palimpsests project. Issues to be dealt with are the establishment of the Biblical texts, their relation to the neighbouring traditions, and the structure of the underlying manuscripts.

TIM GREENWOOD

Water Rights (and Wrongs) in Medieval Armenia

The control, use and management of water in ancient and medieval Armenia has been studied by archaeologists and hydrographers, notably in relation to irrigation systems, cisterns and water pipes in urban contexts and fortifications. This paper approaches the topic from the perspective of legal ownership, focusing on the evidence between 600 and 1100. It argues that water resources and the rights attaching to them were recognised as distinct from land and settlements and could be conveyed separately. It argues that this separation can be traced back to late Antiquity and reflects Sasanian jurisprudence. The distinction is preserved in the earliest surviving charters and is illustrated most clearly in an agreement from 932/3 CE attesting the sale and purchase of a named water course. In addition, there is a small group of eight inscriptions which refer specifically to water resources. The earliest is from T'alín and is

dated AE 232 (783/4 CE). Two inscriptions – at Aruč (867/8) and Tekor (1036/7) – record the settlement of disputes over water resources which were shared between different communities. These reveal several key insights, not least the mechanisms for local dispute resolution and the importance of retaining permanent records of the settlement. These findings could usefully be integrated into future archaeological and hydrological projects.

GOHAR GRIGORYAN SAVARY

Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac’i and the Aesthetics of Reception of Royal Images

Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac’i is one of the key authors whose works offer us precious glimpses into the spiritual culture and aesthetic thinking of 13th-century Armenia. This paper will present a translation of select chapters from Erznkac’i’s sermons and homilies, in which he uses artistic images for comparative and exegetical purposes. Although the author does not specify his sources – and, in fact, draws comparisons to painted images in figurative language aimed at enhancing and better explaining the principal themes of his speeches – one can detect in these 13th-century writings many elements of aesthetic thinking with an origin in the Greek milieu. The selected excerpts will show that Erznkac’i’s interpretations come close to the Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of mimesis – although in a derivative way, drawing upon these concepts as they were known and adapted by the Church Fathers. Closely following earlier Christian authors, Erznkac’i often uses examples involving artistic portraiture as a means of explaining one of the principal tenets of medieval Christian piety – the imitation of God – whereby the believer, being created in God’s image and likeness (Gen. 1:26), could achieve the fulfilment of the divine image by conducting himself in imitation of God. This principle was of particular relevance to kings, since they were supposed to imitate not only the divine image but also the *divine royal image* – that is, the image of the Heavenly King – for they were considered to be the earthly counterparts of Christ. This analogy – omnipresent in many medieval Christian societies – shaped also Cilician Armenian political theology, to which Erznkac’i himself greatly contributed. The politics of Cilician royal portraiture reflected this theology in many ways. Therefore, the translated excerpts from Erznkac’i’s sermons, emphasizing the aesthetics and reception of rulers’ images, might be evocative in helping to disclose the philosophical and theological grounds of artistic practices in medieval Armenia.

ZARUHI HAKOBYAN

Some Elements of the Architectural Composition of the Early Medieval Armenian Churches from the Perspective of the Eastern Liturgical Tradition

The investigations on Armenian art and architecture of the recent decades brought to light that during the 5th to the 7th centuries, or during the pre-Arab time, the eastern part of the Armenian churches had a slightly different compositional structure than it is familiar to us (I mean high altars), which due to its features and liturgical planning are closer to the early Christian and early Byzantine traditions. This similarity was apparent in the presence of a low altar apse and a synthronon along its wall, solea and a chancel-barrier in front of the apse, as well as a different structure and practical functions of pastophoria, opened from both sides directly into the apse. Later on, all these architectural details went out of use, and apparently, it happened because of the confessional changes and separation of the Armenian Church from the Orthodox Churches of the East.

Despite the assertions of a number of scholars that the Armenian National Church has already established its local traditions in the 7th century, seem to be revised, as according to the church furnishing of that time the echoes of the early Ecumenical tradition are still exist. The revision of the altar side, that mean its elevation took place after the 7th century, and as a result the both *solea* and chancel-barrier lost their meaning. However, the early traditions have been continued in the Armenian-Chalcedonian churches.

With the aforementioned features of architectural furnishing and compositional structure of early Armenian churches the number of church entrances, or the so-called additional entrances, are related too. The latter are in the northeastern and southeastern sections of the temple, and sometimes, which seems completely amazing, in the eastern facades. One could closely associate all this with the early Christian architectural and liturgical tradition of the Oriental Church and testify to the close connection of Armenia with the common Christian cultural tradition.

KHACHIK HARUTUNYAN

Armenian inscriptions of the Holy Sepulchre

Over the centuries the Holy Sepulchre was and continues to be up to our days one of the main sanctuaries in all over the Christian world. Among other Christian peoples, the Armenians as well have visited this Sanctuary, renewed their vow with God, obtained new holy places, extended or lost them, celebrated holy masses there, and copied manuscripts. Indeed, in the colophons of some Armenian manuscripts it is possible to see the Holy Sepulchre as a place of copying. With the hope to leave their names in the book of life and to be mentioned in future (this phenomenon is well-known and widespread in the colophons of the Armenian manuscripts) Armenian pilgrims engraved numerous graffiti in the different sites in the complex formed by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In most cases we find the names of the pilgrims with the toponymic surnames (e.g. Barjak'ašec'i, Ĵulayec'i, etc.) and the dates which provide us with additional information in identifying those people by using other sources such as Armenian colophons, chronicles etc.

In this report, the sites of the Holy Sepulchre with the Armenian inscriptions will be presented, some examples of them, whose study contains interesting information.

JÜRGEN HEYDE

Law and ethnicity. The Armenian statute of 1519 and the Armenian community of Lviv

The "Armenian Statute" presented by the Armenian community of Lviv and approved by King Zygmunt of Poland in 1519 was based on earlier Armenian codifications, of which the Datastanagirk of Mxitar Goš (1184) is most frequently mentioned. Its text encompassed civil as well as religious laws that were however severely altered to match local conditions. Apart from legal aspects it contained also passages referring to Armenian history. Together they served as markers for drawing cultural boundaries against the non-Armenian environment.

The history of the Statute had its origin in the attempts of the Armenian Elders of Lviv to counter the marginalization of Armenians in the town and the decline of Armenian communal structures with a new ethnoreligious narrative of community.

In the first part the paper explains the background of the conflict concerning the Armenian community in Lviv at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, before it analyses selected parts of the statute as constituents of an Armenian ethnic narrative. The concluding part asks about the potential for an ethnoreligious redefinition of the Armenian community as a countermodel to the policy of hegemonic integration pursued by the Lviv (catholic) magistrate, which had led to the marginalization of the Armenians.

ANDY HILKENS

The contribution of John bar Andreas (d. 1155/6) to Syro-Armenian polemics in the twelfth century

In this paper I address the involvement of John bar Andreas, in interfaith dialogue between the Syriac Orthodox and the Armenian Orthodox in the first half of the twelfth century. John bar Andreas, who was the Syriac Orthodox bishop of Manbij, later of Kharshana and finally of Mardin, was a controversial figure, being in constant disagreement with everyone around him: the Armenians, the Franks and their (Chalcedonian) administrative representatives as well as members of his own community, including the new patriarch. Even though his involvement in Syro-Armenian polemics has been ignored, his position is crucial for several reasons. First, the fact that he is the best attested bilingual Syriac-Armenian Syriac Orthodox Christian, having grown up under Armenian rule, and because he produced the only preserved Syriac translation of an Armenian text, being a polemical letter written by Kevork of Lori to the Syriac Orthodox patriarch John bar Shushan. Second, because Bar Andreas represents the continuation of Syro-Armenian interfaith dialogue from the 1070s to the mid-twelfth century, and third because of his connection to that other great Syriac Orthodox bishop who was involved in interfaith dialogue, his friend Dionysius bar Salibi (d. 1171), and because of the possibility that Bar Andreas' anti-Armenian treatise, which is also preserved but has never been studied, directly influenced Dionysius' anti-Armenian work.

CORNELIA HORN

Ephraem the Syrian's Poetry and the Status Quaestionis of Research on Translations of His Works into Armenian

Ephraem the Syrian, the 'Harp of the Spirit,' as he is famously called in his native Syriac-speaking tradition, was a highly productive theological poet and Scriptural interpreter. His fame readily extended far beyond the borders of the Syriac-speaking world. This presentation contributes to the study of the transmission and reception of his works beyond confessional and religious borderlines. Here it is of special relevance to examine the translation of his writings into Armenian, given that Armenian Christian literature preserves in some of its translations also Ephraem's authentic voice. This study then seeks to assess the status quaestionis of research on the translation of Ephraem's works into Armenian. A particular focus of the presentation is on the transmission of Ephraem's poetry into Armenian.

HASMIK HOVHANNISYAN

Reconsidering Numismatic Sources for the Study of Medieval Armenia

Byzantine coin-finds are abundant in Armenia, but they have not received due attention from scholars. In fact, their circulation in Armenia has never been studied in its own right. Data revealed by the numismatic examination serves as a reliable source for a comprehensive study of Armenian history and, in general, for a more extensive research of the cultural heritage of the region. A multi-layered study of these coins, combined with archaeological material and written sources, sheds new light on some episodes of the political and economic history of Armenia and neighboring countries in 10th-13th centuries. This paper will present some of the results of my ongoing research on the numismatic material found in Armenia, analyzing certain issues in the study of 11th-12th century history from a different perspective and contributing to a new understanding of the history of this period

LERA IVANOVA

A Synchronic Approach to the Old Armenian Case System

Famously, Old Armenian preserved all seven cases reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, not counting the vocative for obvious syntactic reasons. In the domain of comparative linguistics, the names of the Armenian cases are thus maintained the same as their predecessors, which arguably implies relative maintainance of their key syntactic and semantic functions from the protolanguage: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, lokative, ablative, and instrumental.

The many peculiarities of the Old Armenian inflection however question the appropriateness and usefulness of the traditional outline of the case system. The existing linguistic literature on Old Armenian lacks an updated rigorous and diverse analysis of the case system of the language not only from the diachronic point of view, but also from the synchronic one.

In this paper, we will see how several more or less modern approaches to cases and their comparison shed a different light on some of the previously unexplained Old Armenian phenomena. The infamous genitivus absolutus, the loss of grammatical gender, and the outcome of extensive syncretism will not be omitted from the discussion.

Among others, we will apply Fillmore's Case Grammar, and use the concept of case hierarchy on the Armenian system in the said stages of its development. This research accompanies the author's current doctoral project Diachrony of Case in Old Armenian, being aware of the potential of the synchronic linguistics to offer solutions where the diachronic approach reaches its limitations, and vice versa.

KAREN JALLATYAN

Becoming Diaspora with Vahé Oshagan's Poetry

This presentation draws from my ongoing research on Vahé Oshagan (1922-2000), the prominent and prolific poet, writer and public intellectual writing in Western Armenian, to (1) propose a neo-materialist performative reading of this poetry, and then to (2) develop a general theory of Armenian diasporic becoming by drawing from assemblage theory. At stake will be theorizing the difference and the link between Armenian diasporic becoming and the Armenian nation-state as well as the status of diasporic individuals and communities across cultures and languages. Vahé Oshagan's half-a-century-long literary and intellectual career, his itinerant life-style and the strong modernizing tendencies which he brings to Western Armenian literature can be highly generative in understanding and inhabiting the Armenian diaspora.

KINGA KALI

Cultural Strategies of Hungarian-Armenians: Armenism and Neo-Armenism

My conference paper targets the comparative analysis of the cultural ideology and movement of the Hungarian-Armenians that I refer to as neo-Armenism, which was brought to life mainly by the institution of minority self-government in Hungary in 1993, and put into practice in the following years, and of its antecedent, the ideology and movement of Armenism in the late 19th century.

The Armenian minority in Hungary has two main historical strata: the first diaspora consists of the descendants and families of Armenian merchants, cattle breeders who moved in large numbers in the 18th century mainly from the Armenian centres in Transylvania, the four Transylvanian towns with an Armenian church: Gyergyószentmiklós (Gheorgheni), Szamosújvár (Gherla), Erzsébetváros (Dumbrăveni), Csíkszép (Frumoasa).

The second diaspora (the so-called Eastern Armenians) was the result of the genocide in Turkey in 1915-17 and the historical events that led up to it: the refugees fleeing from the brutal measures of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and then of the Young Turks, and later the survivors of the genocide were scattered around the world, with some settling in Hungary (and in Transylvania). They were joined later by the families emigrating in the years 1988-91 who sought refuge in Hungary from the events in Armenia and the Caucasus (the situation in Karabakh, civil wars in the Caucasus region, earthquake, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, economic decline).

Under the provisions of the 1993 Act on Minorities in Hungary, these two groups belonging to very different historical diasporas united into an Armenian minority. However, the nominal group formed this way never became homogeneous: essential differences, such as possession of the Armenian language, belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church or the Armenian Catholic Church, or having been affected by the genocide draw the borderlines between the two strata – manifest in many cases by a conflict of interest between the groups.

The loss of language resulting from integration and the neglect of traditions had the consequence that the Hungarian-Armenians (like the Hungarian-Armenians of Transylvania) now regard themselves principally as Hungarians. Their Armenian identity is situative, it comes to the fore only in certain situations, it depends on the environment and is relative. While at the beginning of the 20th century their identity could still be described as plural (culturally Armenian, politically Hungarian), it can now be said to be rather positional: the Armenian identity is brought to the surface by remembrance, it is focused mainly on the major church feasts and commemoration linked to Armenian identity: it depends on the situation.

Under the given conditions the Eastern Armenian group settled in Hungary, the members of the second diaspora reject the example of assimilation with a defensive gesture, and identify the group of Hungarian-Armenians as the host society rather than as an Armenian diaspora belonging to them in some way: they increasingly openly reject them as part of the Armenian diaspora despite the nominal community that was created under the provisions of the Minorities Act.

While the group of Eastern Armenians is reproducing from outside with new arrivals from Armenia and Karabakh, the group of Hungarian-Armenians of Hungary and Transylvania cannot expect reproduction from outside. It strives to ensure this from inside, strengthening the Armenian awareness of potential members, even reaching across national borders. After the adoption of the Minorities Act it became a pressing need for them to reformulate their Armenian identity – in a way the Hungarian-Armenians of Hungary and Transylvania are pursuing the same cultural ideology as the Armenism movement in the late 19th century that emerged in Szamosújvár in the 1880s-1890s, grouped around the journal *Arménia* founded by Kristóf Szongott. Under today's conditions the ideology of neo-Armenism is being continued mainly by the Transylvanian Armenian Roots Cultural Association established in Budapest in February 1997, with its activity and its paper, the Transylvanian Armenian Roots Booklets published monthly in Hungarian.

ANAHIDE KÉFÉLIAN

Roman Coin Circulation in Ancient Armenia

The numismatic study of the Greater Armenian Kingdom has been partially studied by some scholars in the past. However, the knowledge about the monetary circulation in Ancient Armenia remains scarce and incomplete. Since the last studies, new specimens were brought to light, more especially coinages excavated from archaeological sites and new Armenian coins. These new discoveries provide a different insight of the matter. In addition, a wider study considering the various coinages circulating simultaneously is still missing. This is the reason why a new complete study of monetary circulation in Ancient Armenia needs to be undertaken.

The Roman Coin Circulation in Ancient Armenia (ROCCAA) project is the first step towards a wider study of monetary circulation in the extended region. The project is a 2-year Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship hosted at Oxford University. It aims to study monetary circulation of Roman coinage in Ancient Armenia.

Strikes of Armenian coinage decreased sharply at the end of the 1st century BC even though new finds have revealed that Armenians carried on striking coinage. As a result of the lack of monetary liquidity and the small number of strikes, Parthian, Roman, and then Sassanian coinages spread over the Armenian Kingdom. The project aims to analyse the introduction, development, and impact of Roman coinage on the competing Parthian and Sassanian coinage from the 1st century BC to the fall of the Armenian Kingdom in the beginning of the 5th century AD. Starting the global study by studying monetary circulation of Roman coinage seems the most relevant case. Indeed, unlike the knowledge of Armenian, Parthian, and Sassanian coinages the knowledge of Roman imperial and provincial coinages has significantly improved in the last 30 years.

This talk provides an overview of the ongoing ROCCAA project by analysing its purpose, methodology, and input.

GABRIEL KEPEKLIAN

Heptamychos, Un reflet présocratique chez Irénée de Lyon révélé par la version arménienne de l'Adversus haereses

C'est à la fin du II^e siècle qu'Irénée écrit les cinq livres de son grand traité Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως plus connu sous son nom latin *Adversus haereses*. L'original grec est perdu, mais une traduction latine de la fin du IV^e siècle existe et les deux derniers livres ont été retrouvés dans une traduction arménienne du VI^e ou VII^e siècle. Le triangle linguistique (grec, latin, arménien) révèle, par ses différences, des surprises que le lecteur attentif peut découvrir. En voici une.

Au chapitre 20 du livre V, l'adjectif երփնսսեաւն, suivi du substantif աշտաւսսկ, fait d'abord penser au chandelier à sept branches (Exode 25, 37). C'est ainsi qu'il est habituellement traduit. Toutefois, si on s'y arrête pour une enquête approfondie, on pourra s'intéresser à sa composition երփ + նսսեաւն et remarquer que ce mot apparaît une seconde fois au chapitre 9 du traité Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κερύγματος, en latin *Demonstratio*. On observera encore que les manuscrits latins reproduisent l'adjectif grec ἐπτάμυξος à côté du mot *lucerna*. Pourquoi le traducteur latin n'a-t-il pas traduit l'adjectif comme le fait le traducteur arménien deux siècles plus tard ? Réciproquement, pourquoi le traducteur arménien l'a-t-il traduit ? Et երփնսսեաւն traduit-il bien ἐπτάμυξος ?

Derrière ces questions légitimes se cache une réponse bien différente de celle qu'on pourrait attendre.

La consultation du TLG pour ἐπτάμυξος ne donne que sept occurrences, ce qui est très peu. Toutes accompagnent le substantif λυχνία à l'exception d'une seule où l'adjectif est seul. Si enfin, nous revenons au terme hébreu initial מְנוֹרָה (menorah), il est régulièrement compris comme le chandelier à sept branches, mais il est plutôt traduit ἐπτάφωτος λυχνία. Cette enquête semble conclure que le traducteur arménien a été à même de traduire, contrairement à son homologue latin.

Et si c'était exactement le contraire ?

NANE KHACHATRYAN

Bedingungen und Prozess der Parteienbildung in Armenien während des ersten Jahrzehnts nach dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion

Nach dem Sturz des kommunistischen Regimes und der Abschaffung des Einparteiensystems wurden in Armenien Bedingungen für die Errichtung und Betätigung von Parteien geschaffen. Die Bildung neuer politischer Parteien hat bereits Ende der 80er und Anfang der 90er Jahre begonnen. Der Kontext der postkommunistischen Parteientwicklung in Armenien unterschied sich jedoch von früheren Fällen der Demokratisierungswellen. Die ersten Phasen der postsowjetischen Transformation in Armenien fanden im Allgemeinen in der enorm instabilen politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Situation statt. Der Aufbau neuer politischer Institutionen und die Etablierung von Parteien waren erforderlich, um die Interessen und Bestrebungen der Gesellschaft zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Während der ersten Parlamentswahlen wurden eine Vielzahl von Parteien gegründet, denen aber entsprechende organisatorische Ressourcen und gesellschaftliche Verankerung fehlten. Im Beitrag werden die Einflussfaktoren diskutiert, die sich auf die Entwicklung der Parteienbildung auswirkten und die Etablierung eines stabilen Parteiensystems – auch nach drei Jahrzehnten der Unabhängigkeitserklärung Armeniens – verhinderten.

ALA KHARATYAN

Der politisch-historische Kontext der Prophezeiung von Theoclitus Polydes und die armenische Übersetzung der Prophezeiung

Das Thema bezieht sich auf die Untersuchung eines Textes, der eine wichtige Rolle in der europäischen Geschichte spielte, die “Prophezeiung von Hieronymus Agatangeghos”, insbesondere die Untersuchung einer Reihe von darin verschlüsselten politischen und historischen Geschehnissen. In der europäischen Kultur und dem politischen Kontext verbreitete sich diese Prophezeiung seit dem zweiten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts. In einer Reihe armenischer Manuskripte stößt man schon seit 1816 auf die armenischen Übersetzungen dieser Prophezeiung. Im Vorwort der Prophezeiung steht, dass der Autor des Textes Hieronymus Agatangeghos sei, der Text im Jahre 1279 in Sizilien geschrieben, im Jahre 1555 ins Italienische und danach von Polintos aus dem Italienischen ins Griechische übersetzt worden sei. Aufgrund der erwähnten Tatsachen wurde erschlossen, dass die Prophezeiung selbst aus dem 13. Jahrhundert stammt. Die Prophezeiung wurde aber erst 1806-1816 ins Armenische übersetzt und war den Forschern bis zu jüngster Zeit unbekannt, weil sie bis heute nur in handschriftlicher Form erhalten geblieben ist. Aber später schreiben die griechischen Quellen, dass die Prophezeiung in Deutschland, in Sachsen, im Jahre 1750 von einem berühmten griechischen kirchlichen Gelehrten, Theoklites Polyides, verfasst worden sei. Diese Tatsache brachte ernsthafte Veränderungen in die Methodologie und Konzeption der Untersuchung dieser Prophezeiung, weil der Text aus einer anderen politischen Epoche und dem anderen Kontext stammt. Über das Datum der ersten gedruckten Ausgabe des Textes bestehen auch Meinungsverschiedenheiten. Laut N. G. Politis wurde die erste Ausgabe 1751 in Leipzig veröffentlicht, und es gibt auch Vermutungen, dass die Erstausgabe von Rigas Velestinlis in Wien 1790-1791 veröffentlicht wurde. Eine weitere Ausgabe erschien 1824 in Mesolonghi, von der keine Kopie erhalten geblieben ist. Aus dieser Sicht kann die armenische Übersetzung die Rolle eines Originaltextes spielen, was hilft zu verstehen, welche Ergänzungen am Text später vorgenommen wurden. Die Prophezeiung von Hieronymus wurde im Jahre 1830 aktiv, weil darin prophezeit wurde, dass das Byzantinische Reich nicht später und nicht früher als 1840 wiederentsteht. Die politische Bedeutung des Textes des Propheten wurde verhältnismäßig mehr untersucht als der Inhalt des Originaltextes. Dies ist auf die Weissagungen zurückzuführen, die in den Prophezeiungen gemacht wurden und die das griechische Volk inspirierten und es zum nationalen Befreiungskampf gegen das osmanische Joch anregten. Im 19. Jahrhundert fertigten diejenigen, die sich auf den griechischen Aufstand vorbereiteten, Flugblätter aus dem Text ab und verteilten sie an die griechische Öffentlichkeit, was sehr inspirierend war, damit der Aufstand gärt. Der Text, in dem der Autor durch verschiedene Metaphern politische Aussagen kodiert hat, hat große politische Rolle gespielt und zwar für die Personen, die den griechischen Aufstand vorpflanzten.

VICTORIA KHURSHUDYAN – MARAT YAVRUMYAN

Grammatical Annotation Harmonisation Attempt for the Armenian Linguistic Data

Several important natural language processing projects integrating linguistic annotation have been designed for different Armenian varieties starting from the 1990ies, e.g. Eastern Armenian National Corpus (www.eanc.net), Armenian UD Treebank Project (<https://universaldependencies.org/hy/>), Classical Armenian Bible with Parallel King James Version by Arak 29 foundation (<https://arak29.org/bible/book/index.htm>), GREgORI project on Classical Armenian (<https://www.gregoriproject.com/armenian/>), Calfa project (www.calfa.fr) etc. (for more details on the existing resources with linguistic annotation see Vidal-Gorène et al. 2020).

The annotations used for the Armenian linguistic data varies on:
 the linguistic level: morphological annotation (POS tagging, full morphological features), syntactic annotation, semantic and lexical annotation etc.;
 the categorization of linguistic phenomena;
 the tagging system used for different features in each type of annotation;
 morpheme glossing split differences;
 the tokenization principles (presence/absence of a space, internal and external punctuation marks processing);
 the target language varieties, e. g. Classical Armenian, Modern Eastern Armenian, dialects etc. The linguistic differences between diachronic and synchronic varieties can be marked by:
 the absence/ the presence of certain lexemes and/or wordforms,
 different possibilities of discrepancies between the lexeme and its paradigmatic forms,
 wordform shifts in the morphological system (e. g. the shift of the present indicative wordforms of Classical Armenian into subjunctive present ones in Modern Armenian).
 semantic shifts and differences,
 orthographic differences (classical and reformed orthographies),
 transcription/transliteration rules for oral linguistic data, e. g. dialects [Arkhangelskiy & Georgieva 2018, Waldenfels et al. 2014] etc.

It is impossible to have a completely common harmonized annotation system for all the projects due to the differences of the objectives of the projects, their linguistic preferences, the contextual conditions in which they were designed etc. Two parallel pathways can be conceivable: first, to analyze the existing systems and to propose conversion options between them; and second, to attempt to put forward common principles and annotation solutions for the Armenian language data that could be adopted by the users' community with the possibility to convert into several annotation systems if necessary.

The current paper will focus on the comparison and to analysis of the existing annotation systems. The main points tackled will concern the POS-tagging as well as the system of morphological features applied for Classical Armenian and MEA. More particularly we will compare the existing annotation systems as used in Eastern Armenian National Corpus [Khurshudyan et al. 2009, 2021] and the UD Treebank project [Yavrumyan & Danielyan 2020] for MEA and in Arak (<https://arak29.org/bible/book/index.htm>), Calfa [Vidal-Gorène et al. 2021] and GREgORI (<https://www.gregoriproject.com/armenian/>) projects for Classical Armenian.

PETRA KOŠT'ÁLOVÁ

Ukht à Saint-Karapet: Pèlerinage à Moush en témoignage du voyageur arménien de XVIIe siècle, Siméon de Pologne

La tradition d'ukht ou pèlerinage sacré en arménien – phénomène multiforme qui apparaissant non seulement dans l'Église apostolique – est de longue date ; elle a émergé déjà au cours des toutes premières siècles après l'adoption du christianisme, s'est développée tout au long du Moyen Âge, finalement atteint son apogée de popularité, suivie d'une stagnation (voire son limite) aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Les récits de voyage de Siméon Lehotsi montrent un certain déclin du pèlerinage arménien vers des sites traditionnels comme Rome et Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, causé probablement d'une part par l'instabilité politique dans la région d'Anatolie et du Levant et par l'absence d'autorité centrale (chute du royaume de Cilicie en 1375, transfert du catholicos à la

Grande Arménie 1441, les catholicos « emprisonnés » à Ispahan etc.). Néanmoins, le statut de pèlerin aux lieux sacrés comme Jérusalem ou des sanctuaires plus locaux comme saint Karapet près de la ville de Moush ou Césarée est restée inchangée.

Msho sultan ou saint Karapet à Moush, en turc appelé Çengeli kilise (à cause de ses cloches), était considéré comme le sanctuaire le plus important de l'est de l'Anatolie et du sud du Caucase (après Etchmiadzin et Jérusalem). Le pèlerinage à Msho sultan représentait une partie très importante de la vie pour nombre de personnes, qui sentaient ukht comme une sorte de désir privé et comme un devoir religieux sacré, influencée par la contrainte sociale de toute la communauté religieuse. Le pèlerinage lui-même pourrait être comparé à l'expérience spécifique de l'exil, à la fois intérieure (spirituelle) et extérieure (territoriale), reflétant la phase de liminalité ou « l'autre existence » temporelle. Le pèlerinage donc aidait à accomplir (comme devoir sacré) l'autodéfinition individuelle et la redéfinition des pèlerins, acquérant une grande réputation et prestige de mahtes/mahdes; l'ukht à saint Karapet représentait aussi une vocation divine pour les achougs, gusans et toutes sortes des acrobates. Les récits de voyage de Siméon fournissent des informations détaillées sur le monastère lui-même et sur ses environs au milieu des révoltes djelâlis et des guerres entre des Perses et Ottomans, quelques années après l'exode forcé des Arméniens de Joulfâ vers Ispahan. Siméon Lehatsi décrit surb Karapet en tant que le lieu de rencontre pas seulement pour les pèlerins, mais aussi pour les marchands du monde entier – les khodjas de Ispahan, de Constantinople, d'Amid, d'Alep ou de Lvov, ainsi créant de ce monastère un véritable lieu de mémoire.

BÁLINT KOVÁCS

Armenian Perceptions of the Eastern Regions of Europe

There are numerous spatial concepts of Eastern Europe, as they move within different frameworks concerning political, cultural and historical contexts. In his well know publication on Eastern Europe⁵, Larry Wolff argues that in the 18th century, Europe came to be perceived as divided into “Western Europe” and “Eastern Europe”. According to Larry Wolff, we try to understand the Armenian perceptions on the Eastern regions of Europe, based on selected Armenian sources. Through the texts of HovhannesTer-Davt'yan Ĵowlayec'i, Łukas Vanandec'i, Mik'ayêl Č'amč'ean, Minas Bžškyanc', Christophorus Lukácsi, and Kristóf Szongott, we can attempt to understand how the Armenians saw the Eastern regions of Europe from the 17th till the 19th century. Was it for them „Eastern“, „Western“, or something different altogether?

SERGIO LA PORTA

Transgressing borders and transforming identity in 12th-c. Arrān

This paper presents the martyrology of a young Christian man in Arrān who is accused of raping his Muslim neighbor. The accusation of the act breaks apart the relative harmony between the Christian and Muslims populations of the city leading to the youth's execution. While seemingly intended to

⁵ Wolff, Larry: *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994.

reinforce communal boundaries between Christians and Muslims, this paper will argue that the martyrology holds forth the possibility of creating a new communal identity through the transgression of those very boundaries.

CAROLINE MACÉ

Dionysius Areopagita's Autobiography in Armenian

The so-called “autobiography” of Dionysius Areopagita (CPG 6633, BHO 255) was translated from Georgian into Armenian at the end of the ninth century, as Paul Peeters already showed in 1921. The Armenian translation was edited by Nersēs Akinean in 1914 and again by Ilia Abuladze in 1944. Whereas Akinean mostly based his edition on a late Viennese copy of the thirteenth-century *Liber Causarum* (M1879), Abuladze relied on an alphabetically ordered *čadr̄əntir* dated to 1227 (M6196). The preliminary results of a new examination of the (larger) manuscript tradition of both the Georgian and the Armenian versions of the autobiography will be presented here. It is very intriguing that in both the Georgian and the Armenian traditions, the autobiography is sometimes transmitted together with a letter to Timothy, equally attributed to Dionysius, about Paul's martyrdom and therefore sometimes appears at the date of 28 December (day of Peter and Paul) in a liturgical context. Different from what happens in the Georgian tradition, the Armenian autobiography found its way into the *Corpus Dionysiicum*, and was included, as the only work in a complete form, in the *Liber Causarum*.

ՄՈՀԱՄՄԱԴ ՄԱԼԵՔՄՈՀԱՄՄԱԴԻ

2019-2021թթ. Ֆրանկֆուրտի Գյոթեի անվան համալսարանում իրականացված «Հայ-իրանական լեզվական առնչությունները միջին հայերենի ժամանակաշրջանում» ծրագրի վերաբերյալ

Մույն ելույթում ամփոփվում է Յ. Վ. Գյոթեի համալսարանում իրականացված հետազոտական ծրագրի որոշ կարևոր ասպեկտներ, որոնք վերաբերում են միջին հայերենի ստուգաբանական ուսումնասիրություններին և փոխառյալ բառապաշարին՝ կենտրոնանալով տվյալ շրջանի հայ-իրանական, արաբական և թուրքական լեզվական առնչություններ վրա:

MARI MAMYAN

The Armenian Infancy Gospel: Manuscript Tradition

Despite its apocryphal designation, the AGI had been very popular and influential throughout the Middle Ages. The growing popularity of this Gospel, well attested throughout the Armenian-populated regions (both in the territory of Greater and Lesser Armenia, in Armenian Cilicia, as well as in the Armenian Diaspora, particularly, in Jerusalem, Isfahan and Constantinople), brought about numerous manuscripts with various, sometimes even disparate recensions and forms of this text. The manuscript tradition of the AGI that ranges from the 13th to 19th century is the best evidence that reveals basic

issues concerning the reception, use and transmission of this text during the medieval ages up to the premodern times. On the one hand, the scrutinized examination of the manuscripts pertaining the AGI provides useful information on how this apocryphon survived, for what purposes and in which text surroundings it had been copied and what the collections of various texts suggest about the probable function and use of the AGI. On the other hand, the manuscript evidence helps to shed some light on the essential questions related to the text and title evolution of the AGI that had been developed while being revised and reworked by various editors and scribes.

CHRISTINA MARANCI

New Evidence for Wall Paintings in Armenian Churches

This talk introduces new evidence for the wall painting in Armenian Churches. Image editing software, and the uniform adjustment of properties such as Brightness/Contrast, enable one to detect details of the painted programs that are invisible to the naked eye. This talk will review prior discoveries, as at Ani Cathedral, and then introduce some new discoveries at churches including the Church of Saint Gregory “Abulamrenc” at Ani, the Monastery of Horomos, and it will demonstrate what more can be learned about published programs such as Ałt’amar and the church of Saint Gregory of Tigran Honenc’ at Ani.

ALEX MACFARLANE

Writing Armenian in Georgian Script: Cultural Production in the 19th-Century Caucasus

In the 18th to early 20th centuries, a print anthology of marvellous and moralising tales circulated in Armenian, primarily in Constantinople but also in Tiflis (Tbilisi) and Kolkata. This represented a continuation of these stories’ widespread circulation in Armenian manuscripts before – and during – these centuries, with the print anthology producing a more stable table of contents. Exceptionally, in the 19th century, a manuscript reproduces these stories in the Armenian language, using Georgian mkhedruli script.

This paper approaches the Armenian mkhedruli anthology manuscript first from a literary perspective, situating it amid the transmission of these stories between manuscripts and printed books in the early modern Caucasus. It then investigates the social place of the manuscript, interrogating what it reveals about language use and cultural production.

HAKOB MATEVOSYAN

Armenian Diasporic Field of Hungary: A Cultural Sociology

An Armenian of Hungary, whether of birth or descent, is discursively positioned within multi-level and multi-dimensional diaspora space and ascribed complex identity references. These may include questions of inclusion and exclusion for determining ‘true’ Armenian identities and cultural differentiations

with regard to either *historical continuity* or *disruptions of ethnicity*, *prioritization of culture over ethnic attributes*, as well as *migration routes and roots*. These discursive positions and ascriptions are suggested by the Armenians of Hungary, who also utilize them in constructing and negotiating their versions of Armenian identities in Hungary. Therefore, I observed Hungary as a site of contestations for diasporic Armenian-nesses, as well as changing power relations among the Armenians of Hungary as diaspora subjects.

This paper addresses such questions and argues that in terms of intra-diaspora relationships, the ways of authentication of Armenian descent and Armenian identities within and beyond ethnicity are central to this research. Drawing on my empirical research among the Armenians of Hungary, the centre of which was 33 interviews with Armenian informants, I analyze intra-group relationships in regard to construction, negotiation, and positioning Armenian diasporic identities in Hungary. I also explore how power relations between different diaspora segments are exercised and experienced in regard to contestations of old and new Armenian diasporas in Hungary. Deriving from that, I examine the ways the novice migration waves impact the previous local diasporic orders to fashion new cultural frames and claims to monopolize the authentic representation of the Armenians of Hungary. In the context of the position of ethnic and national minorities in Hungary, in general, and the Minority Act LXXVII of 1993, in particular, I explore the social and legal position of the Armenian diasporic groups of Hungary. My thesis explores the debates around authentic Armenian-nesses and the ways Armenians of Hungary position within them. Finally, I also explore the classificatory systems, exclusion, and inclusion strategies that various actors utilize to authenticate Armenian identities or Armenian descent.

To address the research questions and build up the theoretical foundation of this study, theoretically inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's influential theory of social fields (Bourdieu, 1971; 1982; 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I conceptualized *diasporic field*. The application of Bourdieusian theoretical tools to the studies of diasporas is useful to signify the intra-group relationships and build an analysis of competing relationships within diaspora, as well as cultural identities of diaspora actors with regard to cultural differentiation. The methodological approach of this study was put into practice in the field research in Hungary. I conducted in-depth interviews with 33 Armenians of Hungary and participant observations in various cultural and social events.

ROBIN MEYER

Past and Present of the Armenian Future

The history of Armenian and its future tense can be roughly subdivided into three stages: classical, middle, and modern. In the middle and modern period, dialects develop apart even as regards basic morphology; the below refers to the Eastern dialect and its precursors.

Classical Armenian does not exhibit a separate future tense; future events are most commonly expressed by means of modal forms (cf. JENSEN 1959:118).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) a. ber-em
carry.PRS.IND-1.SG
'I carry' | b. ber-ic'-em
carry-PRS.
SBJV-1.SG
'I will carry' |
|--|--|

In Middle Armenian, the historic subjunctive is lost as part of the process of replacing the synthetic present with an analytical, originally progressive form; the historic present indicative takes on subjunctive functions.

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|------------|----|----------------|
| (2) a. | ku | ber-em | b. | ber-em |
| | PROG.PRS.IND | carry-1.SG | | carry-PRS. |
| | 'I carry' | | | SBJV.1.SG |
| | | | | 'I will carry' |

Later in this period, a future develops by hypoanalysis and univerbation of the present indicative, whilst a new periphrastic form develops (cf. KARST 1901:299-309).

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------|-----------------|----|----------------|
| (3) a. | ber-um | em | b. | k-ber-em |
| | carry-PROG | be.1.SG.PRS.IND | | FUT-carry-1. |
| | 'I carry' | | | SG.IND |
| | | | | 'I will carry' |

In Modern Eastern Armenian, the former future form (kberem) is now considered a conditional (DUM- TRAGUT 2009:251-56); other, analytical future forms have arisen as part of the increasing aspectual differentiation of the language (for the present purpose, this means mainly dynamic vs stative/resultative vs processual, e. g. ber-elü vs ber-ac vs ber-elis), but not all are currently equally productive. At the same time, both subjunctive and conditional are still used with future reference; the conditional still occurs standardly as what might be considered an aspectually underspecified future (4), the subjunctive only in specific syntactic contexts, e. g. exhortations or as a desiderative (5).

- | | | | |
|---|------------|----------------------|--|
| vałə | namak | k-gr-em. | |
| tomorrow | letter.ACC | FUT- write- 1.SG.IND | 'Tomorrow, I will write a letter.' (DUM-TRAGUT 2009:253) |
| ber-em | ews | mek hetak'rk'ir | ōrinak |
| carry-PRS.SBJV.1.SG yet | one | interesting example. | ACC |
| 'I will / want to / Let me give you yet another interesting example.' (DUM-TRAGUT 2009:239) | | | |

The Middle Armenian future is therefore likely to have developed by hypoanalysis of an aspectual expression. Expressions of futurity in Modern Eastern Armenian, in turn, are developing as a result of increasing use and importance of aspectually precise forms in the other, non-future systems. A corpus study of these expressions based on the Eastern Armenian National Corpus will provide the evidentiary background for this change-in-progress.

LILIT MIKAYELYAN

On the issue of symbolic meaning and iconographic sources of the animal heads and protomes in the decoration of Armenian and South Caucasian monuments of the 5th-14th centuries

In the decoration of Armenian medieval monuments, the bas-reliefs of animal heads and protomes are of particular interest, the earliest examples of which date back to the 6th-7th centuries (bases of stelae from Berdashen, mausoleum in Barekamavan). The iconography of early medieval samples was borrowed from Greco-Roman architecture – bukranon friezes made of bull or ram's heads or skulls with garlands and ribbons in between, which adorned the temple cornices, sarcophagi and altars. This ornamental motif goes back to the archaic tradition of attaching the heads of sacrificial animals, as well as hunting trophies to the walls of shrines and other buildings. The main sacrificial animals were bull and ram, and it is their heads that are most often found on the antique Bukranion, as well as on the early Christian monuments of Armenia and the South Caucasus (baptistry of Bolnisi Sion, spolia in the façade of the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, the end of the 5th century).

Since the 10th century images of animal heads and protomes have been becoming more widespread and various in their artistic interpretation. In addition to traditional sacrificial animals, we see the images of feline predators. One of the striking examples of such images is the “bas-relief belt” of the Holy Cross Church (915-921) on Aghtamar Island, as well as the animal heads on the royal gallery inside the church (now lost). On the eastern façade of Aghtamar, the protomes of the ram, mouflon and leopard are represented in rare iconography with drooping legs. Such execution has very archaic origins displaying interesting parallels with the reliefs of bulls' heads and skins carved on the ancient Armenian stelae of the 2nd millennium BC – vishaps, which depicted the act of initial sacrifice related to the cult of water. Thus, the bas-relief heads and protomes on the façades of the Aghtamar palatine church were archetypal images, denoting the sacredness of the space, symbolizing the holiness and power of the king Gagik Artsruni, and also having an apotropaic function.

The artistic traditions of depicting the heads and protomes of revered animals were highly developed in the culture of Urartu, Achaemenid and Sasanid Iran, in the Hellenistic art of Armenia and the South Caucasus. In the period of the High Middle Ages, in the entire Eastern Christian ecumene, there was a certain general artistic tendency of appealing to the archaic traditions and the images of animals. Their symbolism was reinterpreted according to Christian ideology, but the iconographic patterns remained notably sustainable. The heads of bulls, rams, lionesses began to decorate the capitals of church buildings (Sanahin), were carved on the sides of portals (Khoranashat), on the fortress walls (Ani), on the church drums (Geghard). The symbolism of these images is fairly polysemantic: if the ram's and also bull's heads were associated with the idea of Christ's sacrifice and salvation, then the heads and protomes of felines reflected the ideas of power and might of the rulers, and also served as apotropaei.

SIRARPI MOVSISYAN

Discourses of Return and Contested Homelands: Armenians in Germany

In this paper, I reconstruct the narratives of return among the Armenian diasporic groups in Eastern and Western Germanies. To address return as a central marker of their identities and belongings, I begin with the conceptualization of diasporic return. Then, based on my empirical research, the center of which are 42 in-depth interviews with Armenians from Halle and Cologne, I discuss various narratives of return in this paper. I demonstrate

that the perceptions of return and the places of return are highly contested within the Armenians in Germany due to the heterogeneous structure of these groups – several countries of dispersion with cultural differences and economic conditions.

Based on the empirical findings, I suggest imagined, postponed, prepared, and unrealized returns as new categories of diasporic return. For the Armenians from Eastern Germany, most of whom are from Armenia (and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia), the narratives of unrealized, postponed, and prepared return are fundamental. In contrast, for the Armenians in Western Germany, who migrated from Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, imagined return is typical, supposing ethnic return to Armenia as a piece of their ancestral homeland. Furthermore, discourses of return vary among diasporic generations with regard to the objectives of their return and distinct perceptions of the relationships between lifetime and homeland. Return to Armenia is often pictured as a place for “pensioners.” Meanwhile, short-term visits and spending holidays in Armenia are the main practices of return for the Armenians in Eastern and Western Germanies. A significant factor for return (including short-term return visits) is the social relationships in the places of their return.

ՄՇԵՐ ՆԱՎՈՅԱՆ

ՀԱՅ ՀԻՄՆԵՐԳՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՁԵՎԱՎՈՐՄԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԵՐՆ ԸՍՏ ՄԱՆՐՈՒՍՄԱՆ ԳՐՔԵՐԻ

Հայ հիմներգության ձևավորման հարցերի դիտարկման կարևոր հարթություն է դիտվում նաև Հայ եկեղեցու երաժշտաձևական ժողովածուների հետազոտությունների դաշտը: Այդ արվեստի վաղագույն փուլի՝ IV-V դարերի իրողություններ արտացոլող ժողովածուներից Ժամագիրքը շահեկանորեն ընդգծվում է ծիսական կարգերի համալիր ընդգրկմամբ, ուստի և, երգատեսակների բազմազանության անհամեմատ մեծ հարստությամբ, երգային միավորների նախնական շերտերի առավել պահպանվածությամբ, երգային բնույթի այլ ժողովածուների հետագա ձևավորման և զարգացման վրա ունեցած մեծ ազդեցությամբ:

Հայ միջնադարյան ավանդույթում և նոր ժամանակների ուսումնասիրություններում Ժամագրքի խազագիր օրինակները հիշատակվում են Խազգիրք կամ Մանրուսում անվանումներով: Այսինքն՝ Ժամագիրք, Խազգիրք, Մանրուսում շարքը կամ զուգադիր են դիտվում, կամ ուղղակի նույնացվում են:

Միջնադարյան մեկ փաստաթղթի և դարձյալ նոր շրջանի մի շարք հետազոտությունների հիմամբ հնարավոր է վերանայել նաև Կցորդարան-Կցուրդք ժողովածուի ինչ լինելը (Ն. Թահմիզյանի կողմից այն դիտվել է որպես Շարակնոցի նախնական արտահայտություն), այս շարքում այն դիտարկել որպես համարժեք իմաստի եզր, նույն ժողովածուի համաժամանակյա կիրառություն ունեցող անվանումներից մեկը կամ նշված ժողովածուի պատմական զարգացման արտահայտություններից մեկը:

Մանրուսման ձևավորման պատմական այս աղբյուրները, ինքնըստինքյան, վկայում են այդ ժողովածուի երաժշտաբանաստեղծական բովանդակության վաղագույն ակունքների մասին:

Մյուս կողմից, չնայած այն բանին, որ Մանրուսման բուռն զարգացման ժամանակափուլ է դիտվում XII դարը, դրանում արտացոլված մի շարք երգային միավորներ թե՛ իրենց մասին առկա պատմական վկայության, թե՛ իրենց ժանրային բնութագրերի շնորհիվ կարող են վկայել հայ հիմներգության ձևավորման փուլի մասին: Ընդգծելի են սաղմոսերգական և հիմներգական արտահայտությունների դեռևս անտարանջատ արտահայտությունները, որոնցում մի շարք երգատեսակների բնութագրերը դեռևս սաղմոսային վիճակում են: Ժանրային այդ «խյուսը», կամ հիմներգական միավորների դեռևս նոր նշմարելի նախնական կորիզներ պարունակող «Ժանրային միգամածությունը»

հիմներգության ձևավորման վաղագույն փուլի լավագույն վկայությունն է: Մանրուսման հետագա զարգացման պատմությունից որոշակի կոնկրետությամբ հնարավոր է խոսել VII-VIII դարերի սահմանն արտացոլող արտահայտությունների մասին: Բացի այդ, Մանրուսման գրքերը պարունակում են, հավանաբար, վաղ միջնադարից հիշատակվող հնացած երգատեսակներ, որոնց ծիսական ֆունկցիոնալությունը բարձր միջնադարի Ժամագրքերով այլևս չի հաստատվում: Վերջապես, այդ ժողովածուի հզոր վերելքն արտացոլող ժամանակաշրջանը XII դարը խազգրքերում դրսևորվել է Ս. Ներսես Շնորհալու ժառանգությունից քաղված օրինակներով: Մանրուսումն արտացոլում է հայ հիմներգության զարգացման ողջ ընթացքը:

ALESSANDRO ORENGO

Quelques remarques sur la V kayowtciwn srboyn Šowšankan

Dans notre communication nous nous proposons de présenter quelques remarques (à niveau textuel, linguistique, mais aussi concernant la société reflétée dans le texte) sur le «Martyre de Sainte Chouchanik».

JAKUB OSIECKI

The Armenian Church Property Seized in Soviet Russia after October Revolution. The Case of the Armenian Chalice Veil from Surb Karapet Monastery (Muş) found in Poland

The Jagiellonian University Museum possess an Armenian liturgical veil made from thin cotton. The veil shows an image of light ray-crowned Agnus Dei typical for Armenian chalice veils, Salvor Mundi image of enthroned Christ and images of St Stephen and St John the Baptist widely worshipped in the Armenian Church. According to the inscription written on veil it was a gift from townsfolk, probably from Chars (Moush province) to St John the Baptist Monastery in Moush (Մշո Սուրբ Կարապետ վանք). For centuries, for Armenians the monastery used to be one of the most frequently visited pilgrimage sites, before it was destroyed during I World War and the genocide in 1915. Luckily part of the inventory was transported during the war by the Armenian clergy to Ejmiatsin and later to Moscow. However, after the October Revolution (1917) most of the Armenian Church treasures stored in Moscow were sold on the black market (mostly in Germany) and have never returned to their rightful owners. Using the example of the chalice veil form Jagiellonian University Museum and based on archival research I would like to describe what might to happen with rest of liturgical objects, books etc., which belonged to Armenian Church but were seized by the Russian Bolsheviks.

ALEXANDR OSIPIAN

Armenian law courts in early modern Poland-Lithuania: facilitating international trade

This paper examines the uses of justice by Armenian merchants – Polish, Ottoman and Persian subjects – doing their trade in Poland-Lithuania. It explores the issue of how these merchants experienced and used various legal infrastructures in Poland-Lithuania and influenced the legal practices of Armenian law courts there.

Foreign settlers – Armenians, Germans, Jews, Karaites, and Vlachs – were granted legal autonomy by the Polish kings in the late Middle Ages and by the powerful noblemen in their private towns in 16th-17th centuries. Legal system of Armenian communities combined occidental (German and Polish) and Armenian features. These communities emerged in Polish kingdom in fourteenth century and adopted a model of self-government known as “German Law” (Magdeburger Recht) – with judge (advocatus, Vogt, wójt) who presided at the law court ordinarily consisting of 6 to 12 jurymen (seniores, scabini). At the same time, Armenian courts in Poland operated in accordance with the Codex of Armenian Law (Datastanagirk) composed in the twelfth-century Armenia. Its Latin translation – “Statuta iuris armenici” – was confirmed with some changes by the Polish king in 1519.

In the seventeenth century, most of the civil cases between the local (Armeni domestici) and foreign (Armeni forensi) – mainly Persian and Ottoman – Armenian merchants were considered in the city court which operated in accordance with “German Law.” On the other hand, the foreign Armenians used another possible option – the Armenian consistory court in Lviv/Lemberg which was composed of Armenian clergymen and laymen, and presided by Armenian archbishop. Therefore, the Armenian consistory court, having no jurisdiction over the business cases of the foreign Armenians, was actually turned into their legal representative and appropriated the legal functions – translation and apostil or legal confirmation of the documents – it was never granted by the Polish kings. Thus, the Armenian consistory court acted as additional but unauthorized judicial mediator between foreign Armenians and the city jury of Lemberg. The Armenian church court not only provided foreign Armenians with the authorized translation of the letters of attorney and letters of support, but also with legal support necessary to apply to the city jury. Actually, it could be considered as preliminary or introductory judicial instance which considered the claims of the foreign plaintiffs and established an authenticity of the submitted documents.

The Ottoman sultans granted the extraterritorial jurisdiction to the Polish Armenian caravans in the Ottoman domains. Armenian caravanbashi – a headman of caravan – represented caravan in the negotiations with local authorities. He also executed functions of the judge during the trip.

RICCARDO PANE

Die Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom Barmherzigen Samariter bei Gregor von Narek”

Im vierzehnten ban präsentiert Gregor von Narek eine komplexe allegorische Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom barmherzigen Samariter. Der Bericht analysiert Gregors Interpretation im Licht der traditionellen Exegese (z.B. Origenes, Chrysostomus, Severianus, Ephrem, Step’anos Siwnec’i), der ikonographischen Zeugnisse (Miniaturmalerei) und eines unveröffentlichten Textes von Chrysostomus (Hs. W791, ff. 325v-330v), und hebt die originelle Auslegung von Narek hervor.

RUBINA PEROOMIAN

Stalin's Reign of Terror in Armenia, Genocide? Survivors' Memoirs as Testimony

Even before World War II ended, the world was aware of Hitler's atrocities and the Allied Powers, the Big Three, stressed importantly in Yalta that "Nazi war criminals were to be found and put on trial." The word "genocide" was being coined to define these atrocities later in the UN. However, due to political exigencies, the world paid no attention to the genocide rampant in Stalin's Soviet Union. This paper will discuss Stalin's rule of terror, powered by NKVD (the predecessor of KGB), the GULAG, the site of the gradual extinction of millions of prisoners, unfoundedly accused of being traitors, spies of foreign countries, and "enemies of the people."

The focus will shift on the magnitude and overzealous implementation of Stalinist purges and persecutions in Soviet Armenia—referred to as the new April 24 (1915)—based on documents released after the collapse of Soviet Union and memoirs written by survivors of the notorious GULAG. These powerful writings remained unknown to the world. The true image of the GULAG was exposed through the works of Solzhenitsyn and then other memoirs and published documents (Applebaum's Gulag, A History). This paper aims to introduce the unknown, the Soviet Armenian literature of the Gulag.

Despite all the evidence exposing Stalin's heinous crimes, the leaders of post-Soviet republics are not ready to deal with the past and render justice to victims, not even a monument in their memory. Is KGB still in power? Ironically, the only monument a witness recounts was that of a young prisoner who was made to stand on the frozen hill outside the camp. They drenched him with cold water which froze immediately turning him into an ice sculpture.

(In a personal note, my father was a Gulag survivor, abducted as an anti-Soviet activist in then Soviet occupied Iranian Azerbaijan and sentenced to ten years of exile with hard labor in the permafrost Norilsk labor camp.)

ԱՐՄԵՆ ՊԵՏՐՈՍՅԱՆ

ՀԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՈՐՈՇ ԱՍՏՂԱՅԻՆ ԱՆՎԱՆՈՒՄՆԵՐԻ ՇՈՒՐՁ

Զեկուցման մեջ քննվում են որոշ աստղախմբերի և աստղերի՝ առասպելաբանական անվանումները (Հայկ-Օրիոն, Հարդագողի ճանապարհ-Ծիր կաթին ևն): Դա ցույց է տալիս, որ այդ հերոսները ծագում են աստվածային նախատիպերից (հնում երկնային օբյեկտները կոչվել են դիցաբանական անուններով): Այս թեզիսում ներկայացվում է այդ անվանումներից մեկը:

Մի միջնադարյան տեքստում ասվում է. «Նուագ է Արայն քան զԱրուսեակն գեղեցիկ»: Արուսյակը երկնքի ամենապայծառ աստղի՝ Վեներա մոլորակի անուններից մեկն է (հայերեն կոչվել է նաև Աստղիկ, Լուսաստղ, Լուսաբեր և մի շարք այլ ձևերով): Հին աշխարհում, բաբելոնյան ազդեցությամբ, սկսած մ. թ. ա. առաջին հազարամյակի կեսերից, մոլորակները կոչվել են մեծ աստվածների անուններով: Եվ Արուսյակը ողջ հին աշխարհում կոչվել է մեծ դիցուհու անունով՝ Բաղդերեն Իշտար, պարսկերեն Անահիտա, հունարեն Ափրոդիտե, լատիներեն Վենուս (Վեներա): Հայոց Աստղիկը նույնպես մեծ դիցուհի էր՝ նույնացված հունական Ափրոդիտեի հետ: Համեմատությունը Աստղիկ/Արուսյակի՝ երկնքի ամենապայծառ աստղի և մոլորակի հետ, ցույց է տալիս, որ Արան ևս պիտի լիներ մոլորակի անուն, այսինքն՝ դիցանուն:

Հին աշխարհում ամենուրեք կարմիր Մարս մոլորակը կոչվել է ռազմի աստծու անվամբ՝ Բաղդերեն Ներգալ, պարսկերեն Բահրամ, հունարեն Արես, լատիներեն Մարս: Հունական առասպելաբանության մեջ Ափրոդիտեն Արեսի ռազմի աստծու սիրուհին էր: Այս պատկերացումը եղել

է նաև մեզանում Աստղիկը համարվել է ամպրոպի և ռազմի աստված Վահագնի սիրուհին (Ագաթանգեղոս 809): Հատկանշական է, որ Արա անունը ստուգաբանորեն հաճախ համադրվում է հունական Արեսի հետ (Ա Մատիկյան, Հ Աճառյան): Հնարավոր է, որ Արայի աստղը եղել է Մարս մոլորակը, իսկ Արան՝ Արեսի համապատասխանությունը: Բայց, անկախ այն բանից, թե որ մոլորակն է կոչվել Արա, այդ անունը պետք է որ հայոց հին աստվածներից մեկի անունը կամ մականունը լիներ:

ZARA POGOSSIAN

Introduction: ERC Project ArmEn and a Connected History of Medieval Armenia

This talk will provide general information on the ERC project ArmEn and its scope, as well as its main focus, which is to situate medieval Armenian history in the broader historical processes that characterised the Eurasian complex. The following papers will provide snapshots on how specific subjects can help us write a connected history of medieval Armenia, including not only convergences and exchanges, but also the emergence of conflicts and their containment.

ANNE E. REDGATE

Routes to Heaven: Penance and Politics in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Armenia

The west façade of the Church of Surb Khatch (Holy Cross), which was built by King Gagik Artsruni on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van between 915 and 921, features, famously, a sculpted scene that includes a portrait of Gagik himself. Gagik is splendidly attired, wears a crown, and is nimbed. He holds a model of the church and is presenting it to Christ. Gagik's attire and posture proclaim his political power, glory and authority. Yet the scene is described by an almost-contemporary Artsruni historian as showing him 'depicted as if begging forgiveness for his sins'. He was doing penance 'in accordance with the canons', as another, contemporary, Armenian historian claims that he did, for his alliance with the Arabs that had led to his coronation.

Gagik's case is the most spectacular, but not the only case of an Armenian potentate in the ninth and tenth centuries committing a sin for political advantage. This paper will explore the respects in which the norms and necessities of politics were spiritually problematic, the extent to which Armenian kings and aristocrats were troubled by such political sins, and the means whereby they attempted to compensate for them, to secure a route to Heaven for themselves.

CESARE SANTUS

New Documents on the Armenian Presence and Printing activity in Early Modern Rome: the family and the professional network of Marcantonio Abagaro (Sult'anšah T'oxat'ec'i)

Despite the long-standing attention of scholarship towards the beginnings of the Armenian press, the biographical details of the first printers remain largely mysterious. Until the rediscovery in the last decades of the nineteenth century of the obscure figure of Yakob Melapart, scholars had long believed that Abgar *dpir* of Tokhat was the first to have published two complete books in the Armenian language: a “jumble” calendar and the Psalms of David, printed in Venice in 1565-1566, which included an engraved portrait of Abgar together with his adolescent son Sult'anšah. While Abgar left Italy shortly after, continuing his publishing activity in Constantinople for some years, Sult'anšah remained in Rome, where in 1584 he began to collaborate with another poorly known Armenian printer, Yovhannēs Terznc'i, giving to the press (with different fonts) the Armenian versions of the new calendar and of the profession of Catholic faith prepared under Pope Gregory XIII. More than a century of studies have not helped much to illuminate the life of these two men. My current research intends to provide new details on the biography and activities of Sult'anšah and Terznc'i, thanks to sources hitherto not considered by the Armenian and non-Armenian historiography. Based on documents recently discovered in the pontifical and Roman archives (which will be published in a forthcoming article), this intervention seeks to shed new light on three key issues: 1) the career of Sult'anšah T'oxat'ec'i (or Marco Antonio Abagaro, as he was known in Italian sources) and his involvement in the network of Roman printing workshops thanks to his hitherto unknown wife; 2) the demonstration that Marco Antonio Abagaro was a different person from his younger relative and successor at the helm of the Armenian Hospice, Bartolomeo Abagaro; 3) the fate of the Armenian types cut by Abgar *dpir* in 1565.

ԱՆՈՒՇ ՍԱՐԳՍՅԱՆ

Ներսես Շնորհալու անվան շուրջ պատվող լեզենդներից անդին. Ցուցակ մը աստիճանաց վասն խնամության ազգականության աղյուսակի օրինակով

Հայ մատենագրության մեջ անգնահատելի ավանդ ունի հայ եկեղեցու սրբերի շարքը դասված կաթողիկոս Ներսես Շնորհալին: Նրա, որպես հեղինակի, համբավը ավելի մեծ տարածում է գտել հետագայի հեղինակների կողմից, որոնք Շնորհալուն են վերագրել նույնիսկ իր հետ առնչություն չունեցող գործեր: Մեր ուսումնասիրությունը նպատակ ունի քողագրծել այդպիսի մի վերագրում, որը մեզ է ներկայանում 15-րդ դարի տոմարագետ ու մատենագիր Հակոբ Ղրիմեցու Յաղագս ազգականության երկով: Վերջինս գրվել է Մեծովա վանքի առաջնորդ Թովմա Մեծովեցու խնդրանքով (1416) և հետագայում մտել է Կառնագիրք Հայոցի մեջ:

Մխեմատիկ աղյուսակներով ու մեկնաբանություններով ուղեկցվող այս երկում հոր և մոր կողմի ազգականների միջոցով որոշվում է արյունակցության աստիճանը, որից հետո թուլատրելի են ամուսնությունները: Ըստ Ղրիմեցու մեկնաբանության ամուսնությունը թուլատրելի է համարվում երկկողմանի չորս սերունդ հեռու «ազգականների» միջև: Երկում դիտարկվում է նաև հոգևոր ու միակողմանի ազգականների միջև ամուսնության սահմանը: Գործի վերջում պատկերված են վեցաստիճան եռանկյունաձև և բոլորակաձև նույնաբովանդակ ազգակցական աղյուսակներ: Դրանցից բոլորակաձևը խորագիր և կից բացատրություն ունի: Ըստ Ղրիմեցու՝ այդ բոլորակի հեղինակը Ներսես կաթողիկոսն է: Շնորհալի եւ պարագայ իւր աշխատության մեջ նույն կարծիքն է հայտնում նաև Ղևոնդ Ալիշանը աղյուսակը կոչելով Ցուցակ մը աստիճանաց վասն խնամության անունով:

Մեր զեկույցում աղբյուրագիտական քննության միջոցով ցույց կտանք աղյուսակի իրական ծագումն ու անցած ճանապարհը: Այնուհետև մի կողմից փաստարկելով Շնորհալու Թուղթ Ընդհանրականն ու նրա անվան շուրջ պտտվող լեգենդները, մյուս կողմից՝ Ղրիմեցու գործունեության միջավայրն ու ժամանակը, Ղրիմեցի-Շնորհալի կապը կդիտարկենք հիշողության խզման համատեքստում:

SARA SCARPELLINI

Peter and Paul in the Armenian World: the case of the apocryphal Acts of Pseudo-Marcellus

The Early Christian apocryphal literature devoted to the apostles and their missions is a vital source for studying the origins of Christian thought. That is especially true in the Armenian world, where, after the Bible was translated in the 5th century CE, many Greek and Syriac apocryphal texts and saints' lives were also translated and/or adapted, in order to create an indigenous corpus. We can still find traces of this important heritage (which would help form a Christian Armenian identity) in contemporary Armenian historiography, art, and poetry.

My contribution aims at presenting a relevant case study, namely, the Armenian translation of the Greek *Acts of Peter and Paul*. The critical edition of this text, along with a historical and literary commentary, is the main goal of my on-going doctoral research.

The apocryphon describes the last events in the lives of both apostles, from their meeting in Rome to their martyrdom. The origins of the text are ancient and complex, but the Armenian translation depends on the longer Greek version (BHG 1490) and was probably made after the 7th/8th centuries CE. It was so well known and appreciated in the Armenian world that its diffusion affected the circulation of other apocryphal texts (so much so that we even find interpolations from these Acts in the *Martyrdom of Paul*).

The presentation will focus on the importance of the connections between these Armenian Acts and their original Greek source, within the general framework of hagiographical and apocryphal traditions, both in the West and in the Christian Orient.

ARSEN K. SHAHINYAN

The Fate of the Church Authority in the Lands of Byzantine Armenia Occupied by the Arab Muslims

The research is an attempt to restore the fate of the church authority in the lands of Greater Armenia and Armenia Minor, which on the eve of the conquests of the Arab Muslims, being as parts of the Byzantine Empire, had been subordinated either to the Patriarchates in Constantinople and Antioch, or Catholicosate in Dvin, and after the Arab-Byzantine wars of the second half 7th c. they went to the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750). According to our calculations, in the early 8th c. with the possible intervention of the Islamic authorities there were formed in the lands of the former Byzantine Armenia at least three major dioceses of the Syrian Jacobite Church, which, like the Armenian Church, firmly adhered to the anti-Chalcedonite position and came under the supreme authority of the Arabs. Three more such church units were formed at the end of the same century. Two of the six dioceses of the Syrian Jacobite church, were occupied the former canonical territories of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, two — the Patriarchate of Antioch and two more — the Catholicosate of Dvin.

GAYANE SHAKHKYAN

Die Berichte deutscher Reisender zu armenischen Bräuchen, dem Alltag und der Rolle der Frau in der Gesellschaft Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich über die Bräuche, den Alltag und die Rolle armenischer Frauen in den Berichten, Briefen, Autobiographien und Beschreibungen deutscher Reisender sprechen. Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts sind zahlreiche Deutsche sowie andere ausländische Reisende und Wissenschaftler nach Armenien und in die Nachbarländer (Südkaucasus) gekommen. Diese haben eine große Zahl wissenschaftlicher Werke über Armenien und die Armenier – nicht nur in Armenien, sondern auch in anderen Ländern – verfasst. Besonders interessant waren für die Autoren der Alltag und die Traditionen der Armenier. Sie verglichen deren Eigenschaften mit den Charakteristika der anderen, besonders muslimischen Völker, die im Südkaucasus wohnten. Die Autoren bestätigen, dass die wichtigste Rolle stets der armenischen Frau zukam. Dank ihr konnten Armenier, die unter der Herrschaft anderer Länder lebten, an der armenischen Sprache, den Traditionen und besonders der Religion festhalten, manchmal auch im Geheimen.

THOMAS SINCLAIR

Manuscript illumination in Vaspurakan, 15th and 16th centuries: character and quality

The subject arises in the context of a study of administration in the L. Van region which compares the period between the Mongols and the Ottomans and the first century of Ottoman rule. We have plenty of information on administration, in particular the region's Kurdish princes and their Turkish overlords (Kara Koyunlu, Ottomans). We are reasonably well informed about the cities and the form they took. On the Armenian population we can find clues in the colophons and Thomas of Mecop'. But its level of culture has to be investigated by looking at the artefacts themselves.

The approach here taken to manuscript illumination is to examine one aspect of them, the initial letters in animal form and the margin complexes. By drawing them freehand one can reconstruct, to an extent at least, how the artist composes his picture or margin decoration; we emphasise that this process of composition could only be undertaken if a tradition were not already in place. We do this in two stages: one in outline without colour, and another including colour.

In a manuscript copied in Van in 1454 we argue that in a bird incarnating the letter yetch one would have to paint the wings first, then put in the shading which suggests the feathers. We note the steady line needed for the bird's neck. Finally, the bird's body and tail would be painted.

On another page, a decorative complex in the right-hand margin consists of four elements. The illustrator probably began with the second from below, which would supply a position for the interlace in the lowest component. He would then work up to the element second from top and then to the topmost.

The examination of these features tends to suggest a strong tradition in which the artist is able to compose an elegant figure or complex despite having no latitude for mistakes whatever. A manuscript of 1600 executed at Varag suggests a weakening of such powers.

MICHAEL E. STONE

The Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions from the Holy Land and Sinai

Many Holy Land events of ancient and more modern times are documented by the records left by Armenians themselves and others about the Armenians over the centuries. One most palpable set of records are the inscriptions written in Armenian that may be found all over the Land of Israel and the Holy Places. These inscriptions and graffiti call out to be gathered, deciphered and studied. The decision to set about publishing a Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions in Israel and the Sinai is a natural outcome of many years' work and of the state of publication of the material. The uneven nature of the published information, the lack of photographs or images, and the unreliability of certain of the publications already made, make it necessary to gather and publish these Armenian inscriptions all together, in a consistent and accurate manner, and with photographs. The ca. 500 Armenian inscriptions in the Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project Database are to be supplemented with over 200 additional inscriptions since photographed and studied. This need is accentuated by the scattered nature of previous publications, and the Armenian inscriptions are best presented together. The newly prepared corpus will facilitate access to these epigraphic resources and will enable scholars to start to mine the riches contained in the inscriptions for palaeography, for prosopography, and for the history of the Armenians in the Holy Land.

VAHE TACHJIAN

Homeland, Memory, Heritage: Observations on the Ottoman Armenian History

When we examine the social life and history of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, is it possible to talk about a multitude of Armenian homelands – in and out of historical Armenia – each with its own Armenian heritage worthy of separate and collective study? Is it possible to talk about a heterogeneous mass of homelands, combined with their local cultures and history, and that constitutes the integral core of the Ottoman Armenian heritage?

The presentation will discuss such themes, as well as their opposite views from a historical and a cultural heritage preservation perspective.

YANA TCHEKHANOVETS

Armenian archaeology of the Holy Land: new discoveries

In spite of being one of the world's most studied places, the Holy Land continues to produce new archaeological material, which can substantially change our previous understanding of the city and its ancient residents. The new archaeological finds, obtained in the last ten years and related to the ancient Armenian community of the Holy Land, will be presented here. Most were discovered in Jerusalem, often accidentally, in salvage excavations, or during the restoration of the historical monuments. Interesting "forgotten" Armenian finds were recuperated during the systematic study of the archival materials.

ՎԱՀԱՆ ՏԵՐ-ՂԵԻՈՆԴՅԱՆ

Մատենադարանի մատենաշարերը. Երեկ, այսօր, վաղը

Զեկուցման մեջ փորձ է արվում հակիրճ ներկայացնելու Մատենադարանի մատենաշարային հիմնական հրատարակությունները 1940-1950-ական թվականներից մինչև այսօր: Դրանց շարքում հայագիտության ոլորտում կարևոր նշանակություն ունեն հատկապես «Մատենագիրք Հայոց», «Մայր ցուցակ հայերեն ձեռագրաց», «Նյութեր հայ ժողովրդի պատմության» և նրա մեջ մտնող «Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ», «Տնտեսական պատմության վավերագրեր» և այլ մատենաշարեր: Այս շարքերի մեջ է մտնում նաև իրանագիտական բնույթի «Մատենադարանի պարսկերեն վավերագրերը», ինչպես նաև «Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին» արժեքավոր աղբյուրագիտական մատենաշարը, որի հատորների մեծ մասը հրատարակել է ԳԱԱ Պատմության ինստիտուտը, բայց առաջիկա համարները լույս կտեսնեն Մատենադարանի աշխատակիցների հեղինակությամբ: Զեկուցման մեջ անդրադարձ կլինի վերջին 4-5 տարիներին Մատենադարանում ընթացող աշխատանքներին վաղուց ընդհատված, կամ ընդմիջված մատենաշարերի վերակենդանացման ուղղությամբ և այդ ասպարեզում նախատեսվող առաջիկա ծրագրերին:

IRENE TINTI

Word by Word? Translation and Adaptation in a Hellenising Corpus

The paper will present the aims, methodology, and preliminary results of an ongoing research project based at the University of Pisa (Italy) and devoted to the Armenian Platonic corpus, which includes translations of the Timaeus, Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, and Laws, as well as the pseudo-Platonic Minos.

On the basis of previous research conducted by the proponent, the five translated dialogues will be considered as products of Grigor Magistros Pahlawowni's intellectual circle, from the 11th century, and analysed as such. The paper will show that the five extant Platonic versions are far from literal translations from the Greek – despite their undeniably Hellenising character – and focus on the changes introduced into the texts to adapt them to their new context and/or their intended Armenian-speaking audience.

In the absence of a critical or even a reliable diplomatic edition, all textual data will be based on the dialogues as attested in the known extant witnesses – notably the only complete manuscript (V1123: 17th century?), as well as earlier ones including short Platonic fragments – save for the necessary emendations.

HAIG UTIDJIAN

On the Armenian hymnal codex W986 and beyond

Manuscript 986 at the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna is the most lavishly illuminated Armenian hymnal manuscript known to me anywhere – with no fewer than fifty-six folios now extant with full-page imagery (discounting lost or deliberately removed folios), in addition to headpieces, marginal illustrations and ornaments. W986 also evinces details of clerical and secular costumes, as well as stylised architectural and topographical details deserving of fuller

examination. Yet information on the codex is tantalisingly scarce. Fr. Hamazasp Oskean was able to propose the (in our view) conservative terminus ante quem of 1675, and it is thus reasonable to consider the codex to be roughly contemporaneous to the editio princeps of the Armenian Hymnal (Amsterdam, 1664-1665).

I shall seek to place the codex in the context of other hymnal manuscripts and publications, considering its contents from a variety of angles – including the selection and ordering of canons, musical notation, as well as the illustrations. Indeed, an obvious area of overlap between illustration, music and sung text naturally arises in the genre. This leads us to consider characteristics peculiar to hymnals – such as ramifications arising out of their diminutive size, opportunities accorded by the existence of multi-canon feasts and for the depiction of non-Scriptural events and saints, and connections between illustrations and particular phrases of text within the hymns with which images are juxtaposed (occasionally expressing apocryphal traditions).

The visual style of W986 appears seamlessly to combine European and Armenian elements, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the melodies chanted from the codex in the course of its three-century career will have themselves exhibited comparable interactions with neighbouring traditions. However, whereas interactions and influences in manuscript painting are generally well understood, comparable phenomena in the realm of sacred music remain unacknowledged. The reasons for this include, inter alia, fundamental differences in the respective mechanisms of transmission – these being far more elusive in music, due to the fundamentally fleeting and intangible nature of musical performance and perception, as well as difficulties associated with notation.

EMMANUEL VAN ELVERDINGHE

Networks of Manuscript Production and Circulation in Medieval Armenia: A First Appraisal

As is well known, manuscript books had a crucial role in the elaboration and transmission of Armenian culture, thought, and art. This paper aims to open up new research avenues by switching the traditional focus from major production centres, scribes, and artists to the circulation of manuscripts. The study of manuscript mobility, be it deliberate (via personal or institutional networks and traveling artisans) or accidental (through sale or plunder and recovery), has great potential for deepening our understanding of the cultural dynamics at work in medieval Armenian societies.

THEO MAARTEN VAN LINT

Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni's Two Letters Written on the Request of Amir Ibrahim (M9 & M26): On Faith and On Philosophy

The child of an Armenian mother and of a Muslim father, Amir Ibrahim consults the erudite layman Grigor Pahlawuni (d. 1059) about faith and philosophy, asking for a letter on each of the subjects. Grigor Magistros complies, writing a long letter on faith in reasonably transparent Classical Armenian, and a shorter, but much more challenging one, on philosophy. The letters form part of one and the same argument, approached from different angles, namely a refutation of the perceived misconceptions of Islam about Christianity, and the establishment of Christ the Logos as the reason and aim of faith and philosophy. The letters are read against the background of Islamic views on Christianity prevalent in the 10th and early 11th centuries and of Grigor

Magistros' attempts to teach a Christian paideia. Attention will be drawn to the sources used by Grigor Pahlawuni, and to the rhetoric deployed to make his argument. The relationship between the two men is also touched upon. The presentation forms part of a project to study Grigor Magistros' Pahlawuni's paideia through a translation with commentary of his letters and a study of his other works.

ALISON VACCA

Resituating the Mamikonean Rebellion of 132 AH / 749-50

Over the course of the eighth century, Armenians rebelled against caliphal rule three times. Narratives of the Battles of Vardanakert in 83 AH / 703 CE and Bagrewand in 158 AH / 775 CE offer an important backbone to the history of Lewond, our only extant Armenian history from the eighth century. Arabic sources from the ninth and tenth centuries also add significant detail to expand on the study of both battles, providing a very different perspective to compare to Lewond. In contrast, the Mamikonean rebellion in 132 AH / 749-50 CE is harder to place into context. Lewond records comparatively little and the Arabic sources are silent, preoccupied with the sea shifts of the 'Abbasid Revolution even as the third fitna continued to upset the last years of Umayyad rule. Acknowledging the difficulty in assessing the Mamikonean rebellion in particular, this paper takes two approaches. First, it starts the account of the rebellion in Lewond's history by examining the ways in which the rebellion aligns or diverts from other examples of eighth-century violence in Lewond's text. Since it is the only account of the rebellion, we must first understand how it appears in the context of Lewond's history. Second, this paper branches out to place the Mamikonean rebellion into the context of the simultaneous rebellions in Albania and Siunik', the role of Jaziran military in quelling uprisings, and the expansion of Roman power under Constantine V. Such analysis allows us to reframe the Mamikonean rebellion as an integral part in broader patterns across in the greater Caucasian, Anatolian, and Mesopotamian regions. It also prompts us to return to Lewond's text to appreciate his own narrative choices in his description of the stakes of rebellion for the Mamikonean'.

EDDA VARDANYAN

The Skevra Gospel (1198) and the coronation of Levon I

The Gospel of Skevra (also known as the Lemberg or Lvov Gospel) is one of the key works of Cilician manuscript production of the late 12th century. More than once, the date of creation of this Gospel as well as the high quality of its execution have led scholars to speculate that it might be related to the coronation of Levon, the first Cilician king. However, due to a lack of historical data, this hypothesis has not been confirmed. In this paper, I believe that the iconographic program of this manuscript contains an obvious allusion to the coronation of the king, as it symbolically reflects the solemnities of the feast of the Epiphany, celebrated by the Armenian Church on 6 January, the day chosen for the coronation of Levon I.

STELLA VARDANYAN

Ancient Armenian Recipe for Preparing Ointment and Incense from the Book of Xenophones “Anabasis”

An ancient Armenian recipe for the preparation of ointment and incense from the book «Anabasis» by the ancient Greek scientist Xenophon (V-IV centuries BC) was studied, which included four ingredients: lard, sesame oil, bitter almonds and gum of turpentine tree. The medicinal and cosmetic properties of the above-mentioned components were investigated. The question of their use in medieval Armenian medicine is considered, according to the encyclopedia of medicines of medieval Armenia - the book of the outstanding physician of the XV century Amirdovlat Amasiatsi “Useless for the Ignorants” (1478-1482).

A comparative analysis of these data testifies to the continuity of experience between the two periods of development of Armenian medicine - ancient and medieval, separated by a whole millennium. During the study, new data was obtained on the therapeutic spectrum of the components of the above-mentioned medicinal prescription, according to the book “Useless for the Ignorants”. It was found that their fragrant oils and gums were used to treat a number of infectious and allergic diseases of the skin, nervous system, respiratory system, gastrointestinal tract and urogenital system, as well as cosmetic products for skin, hair, oral cavity and teeth. According to modern medicine, this therapeutic spectrum was determined by the presence of essential oils, a number of vitamins (B, D, E) and unsaturated fatty acids with antitoxic, anti-inflammatory, anti-sclerotic and hormonal properties. In addition, the aroma inherent in them in ancient times was used for the preparation of incenses, which were used not only in cosmetics, but also for the treatment of a number of neuropsychiatric diseases.

Historical issues related to the ill-fated campaign of the Greek army in Asia Minor and its participation in the internal conflict between the sons of the Persian king Darius II - Artaxerxes and Cyrus the Younger with the subsequent retreat to their homeland through the territory of several Asia Minor countries, including Armenia, were also studied.

Of the seven books of “Anabasis” in two of them (IV and V), its author Xenophon, disciple and biographer of the great philosopher Socrates, a direct participant in the campaign, strategist and physician of the Greek army, described northwestern Armenia, through which passed army. A brilliant representative of Hellenic science and a junior contemporary of the father of medicine of the great Hippocrates, he noted the natural wealth of Armenia, and also described the customs of the Armenians, their food and medicines, some of which are found in the writings of Hippocrates, as evidence of the country’s cultural level and development of medicine.

Also investigated are the reasons that prompted Xenophon to deal with issues of Armenian pharmacology and medicine. The fact is that the Greek army, so exhausted in bloody battles with the “kardukhs”, the ancestors of the Kurds, from hot Mesopotamia entered the mountainous Armenia during the January frosts, burdened by a huge number of wounded and frost-bitten people who needed humanitarian assistance. It was found that the Armenians provided such assistance with food and medicines, one of which prescriptions Xenophon left a copy in “Anabasis”, becoming the first scientist of the antique era, who noted the achievements of pharmacology and medicine in ancient Armenia.

CHAHAN VIDAL-GORÈNE

Text recognition of Armenian printed and handwritten documents (OCR-HTR)

Automatic text recognition is a classic problem for Digital Humanities nowadays, hence several digitalization projects include this step. OCR (Optical Character Recognition) and HTR (Handwritten Text Recognition) provide increased valorization of documents by enabling greater accessibility through keywords search, automatic analysis, name-entity recognition, etc.

The great disparity is apparent among the languages involved in these technologies, that are primarily designed for Latin scripts, for which the most advanced models achieve high-performance results for well targeted data.

Our presentation intends to propose a state-of-the-art of available models for Armenian, for printed as well as handwritten documents, and the challenges raised by text recognition for Armenian studies. We will focus in particular on the models developed by Calfa for handwritten archives and ancient Armenian manuscripts. The versatility and adaptability of these models will be discussed as well as their possible integration to other Digital Humanities projects. To this end, the feedback of three ongoing projects will be used: the catalogue of Armenian manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice, the analysis of newspapers of the Fundamental Scientific Library of Armenia, and the processing of Armenian manuscripts of the BULAC.

The presentation will also feature an introduction to the Calfa Vision platform which offers free assisted annotation for handwritten documents in several oriental languages, notably Armenian.

ANI YENOKYAN

What did the Armenians read in the 16th-18th centuries? The role of illustrations in book production and trade

The purpose of my report is to present the Armenian book trade during its formation, by studying the Armenian press from 1512 to 1800. The moveable type printing invention had irrevocably changed the course of book history. During the time, book production made the book an industrial product, a factor in democratization, secularization and subjectivity.

In the Armenian reality, especially among the Armenian population, who settled in urban centers in different countries, this scientific and technological novelty gets a wide reaction, especially in the 17-18 centuries. We can trace this integration process through Armenian publications and “paratexts,” left to us by publishers, patrons and book owners. Such paratexts (text that exists in parallel to, or alongside, the main text within a book) are Title pages, principal copied colophons, colophons written later, index of the names and etc.

The most requested book of all, of course, was the Bible. This religious dominance in book trade reflected the central role of religion in early modern Armenian society. Based on preliminary research, it was found that although spiritual literature remained dominant until the late 1700s, secular literature had already begun to take decisive steps.

This study addresses the following issues in the history of Armenian printing:

- A study of the 16th to 18th centuries, an important period in the formation of Armenian socio-cultural identity, based on a book product
- Specifying the most popular and more printed books of secular and spiritual content
- The formation of the printing market and the increase in the number of readers involving children and women
- The importance of printed illustrations as an attractive tool for “advertising,” book and vital clues as to what the book contains. Therefore, the reuse of authorship and recognized woodcuts as well.

LILIT YERNJAKYAN

The Relationships between Armenian Religious Songs and Iranian Classical Melodies

In medieval East, international norms, regardless of the ethnic boundaries of musical art, were being developed and knowledge of theoretical roots and adherence to them was mandatory for professional musicians. The trend of canonizing musical art, in addition to sustaining the traditions of the past, facilitated the development of eastern musical genres based on normative thinking. This is evidenced by the “Khosrowani style” profoundly meaningful in Armenian church music, the roots of which date back to Sasanian period and connect with the processes of canonization of eastern modes that were undertaken by Khosrow Parviz (7th century) and had a revolutionary significance in art. Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali (12th century), expanding these modes in his works, affirmed the sustainability of cross-penetrations of various styles in musical art. Most ancient melodies close to “Khosrow style”, based on third mode (an analogue of Iranian chahargah) of Armenian medieval eight mode system with elements of melismatic phrasing and modulation such as “From the Virgin Stone” and “Virgin Mary”, have become typical models for creation of different monodies.

Comparing Iranian and Armenian versions of Chahargah, which is considered to be the “heart” of eastern makamat, as well as of Armenian sacred and ashugh songs, testifies that the issue of interrelations is not limited to the similarities in structural and modal-intonation elements. The relationship between Christian spiritual music and Islamic makam, incoherent and disjointed as it might seem at first, is anchored on more fundamental basis, the functional essence of which has subsisted during the natural developmental processes of peoples’ religious art.

Research in the field of canonized genres in Islamic and Christian traditions and the cultural realities lying in their roots, opens new perspectives in the study of archetype elements and spiritual substrates present in the traditions of Eastern music.

MAXIME K. YEVADIAN

Inscriptions d’architectes arméniens en Europe?

Les inscriptions nous renseignant sur les architectes et les projets architecturaux sont relativement rares en Arménie et ont été largement réunis dans l’ouvrage de référence de Sedrak Barxudaryan. Hors d’Arménie ce type d’informations deviennent extrêmement rares dans les lieux d’implantation de populations arméniennes comme la Terre sainte, l’Égypte, l’Italie ou l’Europe centrale. Audelà, les cercles arméniens. La question des liens entre l’architecture arménienne et les traditions architecturales occidentales est quant à elle étudiée depuis longtemps tout en étant un sujet particulièrement difficile.

Nous avons récemment examiné le cas particulier et étonnant de l'inscription dédicatoire de la rotonde d'Aix la Chapelle construite sous le règne de Charlemagne par un certain Odo / Eudes. Dans cette communication, nous allons examiner le cas de deux inscriptions en arménien sur des cathédrales latines médiévales. Leur existence même pose question puisque les inscriptions étaient interdites sur les murs des églises latines autrement qu'en latin. Lorsque l'on aura précisé qu'il ne s'agit pas de graffito mais d'inscriptions monumentales installées à des points clés de chacune des deux églises, leur caractère ostentatoire devient clair et le mystère qui les entoure encore plus épais.

Nous analyserons d'abord, l'inscription en arménien de la cathédrale de Sainte-Etienne de Chartres, publiée pour la première fois par Frédéric Macler en 1907⁶. Sur le septième pilier de la première colonnade nord, construite lors de la deuxième phase des travaux de la nef, se trouve une inscription située à 2,1 m du sol :

Transcription Traduction

Մարգիւ

Ծառայ Այ [Աստուած] Sarkis serviteur de Dieu

Puis nous étudierons l'inscription arménienne d'Hakop, situé à près de 4 mètres du niveau du sol, sur le proche de la cathédrale Saint-Martin de Lucques, et dont ornementation débutée en 1233. La façade de cette cathédrale est recouverte de marbre clair, avec des bandes de marbre rouge et vert. Entre les bandes, on voit dans la partie inférieure les blasons des familles proches de l'évêque et dont les membres faisaient partie de la fabrique paroissiale ayant financé les travaux. Dans la partie la plus haute de la façade, il y a un blason avec une croix principale et quatre secondaires, plus petites, qui suivent la grammaire ornementale arménienne⁷. Sous le blason, on peut lire, en lettres calligraphiées suivantes⁸ :

Relevé effectué sur site en 2011

ԶՅԱԿՈՐԿԱՐՑԻՆՅԻՇԵՅԷՔ

Transcription

զՅակոբ Կար[նե]ցի յիշեցէք

Traduction

Souvenez-vous d'Hakop de Karin [= Erzerum ?]

Après une présentation matérielle de ces deux inscriptions, une réflexion sera menée sur leur fonction et leur interprétation possible, ainsi que sur le rôle de chacun des deux personnages ayant gravés ces deux inscriptions.

⁶ Cette inscription a été signalée dès 1907 par Frédéric Macler, Macler, 1907, p. 27-32, d'après une copie qui lui fut envoyée.

⁷ Yevadian, 2006, p. 112.

⁸ Inscription éditée et discutée dans Guistiniani, 1984 et Bacci, 2004, p. 549-550 ainsi que 554.

Bacci, 2004, p. 554 suppose qu'elle aurait été gravée vers 1290 dans l'église de San Paolo degli Armeni puis scellée dans la façade au XVI^e siècle. Cette hypothèse est sans fondement, ni sources, ni évidence archéologique.

DAVID ZAKARIAN

A Glimpse into the Lives of Medieval Noblewomen: A Study of the Colophon of the Sasun Gospel (AD 1169)

The colophons of medieval Armenian manuscripts are very rich and largely untapped sources for the study of daily life of medieval people. They contain passionate and repeated pleas from scribes who urge their readers to remember in their virtuous prayers a number of people, both living and dead. They were intended to perpetuate the memory of people whom the scribes and the sponsors of the manuscripts held dear and to increase one's chances of salvation on the day of Doom. A large number of colophons commemorate women, most of whom are remembered owing to their belonging to the nearest circle of the scribe or the sponsor of the manuscript (mother, wife, sister, sister-in-law etc.). Moreover, there are numerous colophons that remember women who sponsored manuscripts or performed remarkable deeds that were considered worthy of remembrance.

The present paper explores in detail the extensive colophon of the Gospel of Sasun, MS Jerusalem 725, which was sponsored by Queen Melek'set' in 1169. She was the wife of the Lord of Sasun Vegen (Vigen) and the daughter of the great prince of Mokk' Hmayak. The colophon contains compelling details about the life of noble women in medieval Armenia, including a short biography of Princess Kata, Melek'set' and Vegen's daughter, to whom the manuscript is dedicated. The representation of women in this colophon reveals the values and the mores of the society in which the manuscript was created and read and allows us to access a space occupied by women which usually remained in obscurity in medieval sources.

BENEDEK ZSIGMOND

Expression of plural in Transylvanian Armenian declension systems

Transylvanian Armenian is a language used by Armenians living in Transylvania between the 17th and 20th centuries. There is a literary material of limited volume written in that language dating mainly from the 18–19th centuries. Transylvanian Armenian has been described as part of a larger group of dialects called “language of the third province” by Arsen Aydenian and “dialect of Ardyal” by Hrachya Acharyan. It encompasses by both authors variants of Ashkharhabar used in Poland, Moldova and Transylvania. Furthermore, Jan Hanusz contributed much to the description of the variant in Poland, while other authors, including Lukács Patrubány, were concerned only with the Transylvanian variant, as does this paper as well.

In this abstract, instead of using the Hübschmann–Meillet–Benveniste system of transcription, I prefer using a phonetic system closer to the actual pronunciation of Transylvanian Armenian. I will try to shed light on a few linguistic phenomena rather than present actual texts.

Transylvanian Armenian is an Early Ashkharhabar language with a few archaic features. Middle Armenian imperfective *gu* can still be found in most of its subvariants, while consequently replaced with *gi* in an attempt of standardization. Wide-spread use of *z-* to mark accusative is also indeed an archaism. Fusional plural-case suffixes are still relatively frequent, while agglutinative plural+case structures are dominant.

The most frequent way of expression of the plural is the well known *-er/-ner* pair of suffixes (pronounced here mostly as [jer] and [njer]). The use of them matches with the rule we can find elsewhere. It can be posited as a Proto-Ashkharhabar feature or, alternatively, a feature which spread through interaction with other Ashkharhabar variants.

The Middle Armenian plural in *-stan* can be still found in Transylvanian Armenian, however its use is reduced to nouns ending with an *-i* (eg. *giragi* → *giragəstan* ‘Sundays’). Another Middle Armenian plural, *-vi* is used almost exclusively with nouns expressing pairs of organs and in a combination with *-njer* (*ačvənjər* ‘eyes’, *cjervənjər* ‘hands’).

Interestingly, while the plural marker *-ni* does not occur at the end of a word (as a final morphem), it can be found in combinations of suffixes. Besides the already cited *-njer* and *-vənjər*, it is relatively frequently used in the form of *-nu*, going back to *ni+u*. Note that nouns ending with an *-i* receive always a Genitive-Dative suffix *-u*, like in Eastern Armenian. In Transylvanian Armenian, *-nu* is used to express both Plural Genitive-Dative and Plural Ablative.

An exotic subsystem of suffixes is represented by the endings *-dak’* and *-dac’* (going back to *-tak’* and *-tac’*), the first being used to express Plural Nominative and Accusative, while the latter expresses Plural Genitive and Dative. Here, in a synchronic analysis, *-k’* and *-c’* are fusional plural-case suffixes (still in frequent use as noted above), while the *-da-* element strengthens the plural marking. The reason for the need of a strengthening element was the fact that in the Middle Armenian era the fusional way was already fading, while the agglutinative way was still in the process of developing. In my opinion, the endings *-dak’* and *-dac’* are remnants of such an early period of transition, that is, the Middle Armenian period, since their use is reduced and optional in Transylvanian Armenian. The need for strengthening the plural marking can be observed in multiple plural mark sequences in both Middle Armenian and, to a lesser extent, in Transylvanian Armenian.

I conclude that fusional and agglutinative plural coexist in Transylvanian Armenian and both forms are vigorous. We see a plethora of agglutinative plural marks (and even mixed types such as *-dak’/-dac’*). However, the use of many of these plural markers are restricted to certain conditions and even then they can be optional. While productivity of the fusional way is fading, the agglutinative formation is abundant. One particular plural marker becomes dominant, namely, *-er/-ner*. I think that examining Transylvanian Armenian nominal morphology is relevant for both Armenian and general morphology: we can observe how a shift from an essentially fusional language to a mainly agglutinative one actually took place.

PARTICIPANTS

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ARMENOLOGY IN GERMANY AND HALLE

The study of Armenian culture took root in Germany during the epoch of Reformation, Pietism and Enlightenment. Thus, **Martin Luther** and **Thomas Münzer** indeed referred positively to the example of the Armenians who had elevated their native tongue to the liturgical language of worship and prayer as well as to a sacred language of the holy scriptures. Furthermore, the Armenian language became an integral part of the educational program of the Francke Foundations in Halle. Its archives contain information on the international contacts of August Herrmann Francke and the scholars at Halle to the cultural centers of the Armenian diaspora, e. g. in Amsterdam, where the first print edition of the Armenian Bible appeared in 1666.

The diplomat and orientalist **Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf** (1655-1712), cousin and disciple of Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704), the founder of Ethiopic studies, decidedly argued in a letter from Amsterdam in September 1700 to Francke that the Armenian church is highly important, indeed being second only to the Greek church.

Even **Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz** (1646-1716) had close ties to contemporary Armenologists. His comprehensive correspondence reveals that he held the contributions of the Armenians to the world culture in high esteem. In his letter to the famous French Armenologist M. V. de La Croze (1661-1739) he writes: „The Armenians deserve that we do the same for them, what Mister Ludolf did for the Ethiopians“. Concomitantly, he announces the publication of the *Thesaurus linguae Armenicae antiquae et hodiernae* by Johann Joachim Schröder (1711).

German Armenology was instigated by **Andreas Acoluthus** (1654-1704) from Breslau, one of the most important orientalists of his time. He carried out the first print with Armenian letters in Germany („*primum in Germania specimen characterum Armenicorum*“) and translated the „*Obadiah Armenus*“, which is part of the Old Testament (1680).

Earlier text samples of Armenian language and script are not only documented in the manuscript of the Lübeck chronicler **Detmar**, but also in German incunabula such as the printed travelogues of the Bavarian nobleman **Johannes Schiltberger** (the Armenian Lord's prayer in Latin transcription, 1473), in the works of the *canonicus* of Mainz, **Bernhard von Breidenbach** (first print of the Armenian alphabet, 1482) or in the writings of **Leonhard Thurneysser** zum Thurn (psalm texts, 1583). Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn was a natural scientist and the personal physician of the Brandenburg elector Johann Georg. Further examples can be also found in the works of Leonhard Rauwolf (1582).

The first systematic academic achievements in the field of Armenology date from the 19th century and were performed in the context of theological, Indo-European, Byzantine, Slavonic, Oriental and Sociological Studies while others were closely interwoven with questions of cultural history. The groundwork of the world-famous German School of Armenology was laid by the seminal Armenological works of **Heinrich Petermann** at the Berlin Academy of Sciences („*Grammatica Linguae armeniacae*“, 1836), **Max Lauer** in Halle (as translator of Armenian historiographical works from the 5th century) and the linguist **Heinrich Hübschmann**. Indeed, it was Hübschmann who for the first time determined the exact position of Armenian as a distinct branch within the framework of the Indo-European languages in 1877. Moreover, the church historian and patrologist Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) in Berlin

and his colleague **Friedrich Loofs** (1858-1928) in Halle, as well as **Friedrich Neumann** („Versuch einer Geschichte der armenischen Literatur“, Leipzig 1836), **Franz Nikolaus Finck** (Redakteur der „Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie“, Marburg 1903), the biblical scholar in Tübingen,

Paul Alexander Vetter (1840-1906), the Iranist and comparative linguist **Josef Markwart** (1864-1930) at the University of Berlin (1912-1930), **Heinrich Gelzer** in Jena (Artikel „Armenien“ in der protestantischen Realenzyklopädie, 1897), **Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt** („Armenien einst und jetzt“, 1910-1931), **Paul Rohrbach** (1869-1956) and **Josef Karst** (1871-1962) should be mentioned here.

The catastrophe of the two world wars largely interrupted the progress of Armenological studies in Germany. These studies, however, were resumed in the seventies and eighties, respectively. In eastern Germany they became greatly intensified after the peaceful revolution in 1989/90 („Wende“).

Since 2010, Armenology is part of the curriculum at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg which is unique in Germany. Originally, it was established in the context of a DAAD endowed professorship and since 2014 in the context of an supernumerary professorship. Hopefully, this development is sustainable, as many secrets of German-Armenian relations remain unveiled as yet – such as that of the Armenian Archbishop Grigor (the teacher of the local saint Englmär), who died in Passau/Niedernburg (1099) and is buried there, or that of the link between the German crusaders and the Cilician-Armenian royal houses.

On top of that, the MESROP Center for Armenian Studies, which is named after the inventor of the Armenian alphabet and Bible translator Mesrop Mashtots (360-440) is operative at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. It was founded in 1998 within the context of the cultural agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Armenia in order to support Armenological Studies in Germany.

Founding director of the MESROP Center was the theologian **Prof. Dr. Hermann Goltz** from Halle. Since 2010, **Prof. Dr. Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan** is director of this institute, who simultaneously serves as professor of Armenian studies at the Seminar Christlicher Orient und Byzanz at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.

Since 2021, a cooperation agreement exists between the MESROP Centre for Armenian Studies and the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO). The aim is to strengthen Armenian Studies in Central Germany in the long term. The collaboration between the two academic institutions focuses on a mutual exchange of experience between the two cooperation partners, the organisation of joint academic events as well as publications in the field of Armenology. For the future, a further institutional consolidation of the relevant research infrastructure in Central Germany is planned.

<https://mesrop.uni-halle.de/>

<https://www.leibniz-gwzo.de/de/forschung/wissenstransfer-und-vernetzung/wissen-zeigen/redaktion-armoe>

<https://www.leibniz-gwzo.de/de/forschung/wissenstransfer-und-vernetzung/wissen-zeigen/kooperation-mit-mesrop-arbeitsstelle-fuer>

10 FACTS ABOUT THE CITY OF HALLE AND THE MARTIN LUTHER UNIVERSITY HALLE-WITTENBERG

As the AIEA's XV General Conference and also 40th anniversary is taking place online this year, we unfortunately do not have the opportunity to visit the city and our university all together with you. For this reason, we have compiled some interesting facts about Halle and the university for you and invite you to explore some of the sites at least virtually.

Halle upon Saale (Saxony-Anhalt) is the only major German city that was not extensively destroyed by bombs during the Second World War. Therefore, much historical building fabric from different eras has been preserved. Virtual city tour: <https://rundgang.uni-halle.virtiv.de/>

- A special characteristic of the city of Halle are the two castles in the city area: The Burg Giebichenstein, sung by Joseph von Eichendorff, is the oldest of all castles on the river Saale. The origins of the old castle go back to the 9th century. The most famous prisoner was Landgrave Ludwig of Thuringia (1042-1123), who is said to have jumped out of a castle window into the Saale, earning him the nickname "Ludwig the Jumper". Today, the lower castle houses an art academy.

In addition to that, Halle also has the youngest castle on the Saale. The Moritzburg was built between 1484-1503 as the future residence of the archbishops of Magdeburg on a branch of the Saale, the Mühlgrabensaale. Today, the castle grounds are home to an art museum.

Virtual tours in the Moritzburg Art Museum: <https://www.kunstmuseum-moritzburg.de/en/kunst-erleben/digital-entdecken/virtual-tours/>

- Halle is the birth place of Georg Friedrich Handel. The melody of the clock strike of the Red Tower in the market square is the same as the Westminster strike, whose basic melodic motif is said to have been taken from the aria *I Know That My Redeemer Liveth from Handel's Messiah*.

Information on the Red Tower and virtual tour: <https://stadtmuseumhalle.de/standorte/roter-turm>

- Halle is home to the National Academy of Sciences Leopoldina, the oldest continuously existing natural science and medical academy in the world (founded in 1652).

Information booklet: https://www.leopoldina.org/uploads/tx_leopublication/2021_Leo-Infobroschuere_EN_web.pdf

- Halle is an important intellectual center of Germany, a center of the German Enlightenment, Pietism and the Reformation. Located here is the world-renowned educational institution of Pietism, the Francke Foundations (founded in 1658).

Information and online exhibitions: <https://www.francke-halle.de/en/exhibitions-online/>

- The oldest concrete representation of the sky known so far, the approx. 4000-year-old Nebra Sky Disk, can be found in Halle in one of the oldest museums of prehistory, built in the style of Milan's Castello Sforcesco.
Information and videos on the Nebra Sky Disk: <https://www.landmuseum-vorgeschichte.de/en/nebra-sky-disc.html>
Information on the Landesmuseum: <https://www.landmuseum-vorgeschichte.de/en.html>
- The Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg is more than 500 years old. The union of the two universities (Wittenberg and Halle) took place in 1817.
Website of the Martin Luther University: <https://www.uni-halle.de/?lang=en>
- Famous professors of the University of Halle-Wittenberg were Giordano Bruno, Martin Luther, August Hermann Francke, Friedrich Hoffmann, Christian Thomasius and others.
- The university's most famous (though fictional) student is Shakespeare's Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark.
- Armenology has traditions in Halle and Wittenberg from the very beginnings of the universities of Halle and Wittenberg. Since 1998, the Martin Luther University hosts the only scientific interdisciplinary center for Armenian Studies, and since 2010 the only (associate) chair for Armenian Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany.