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1. Agadjanian, Alexander. *Armenian post-secularity. Forms of Current Religious Life in the Republic.*

In this paper I will first make some general remarks about the nature of post-Soviet religious life in Armenia, seen within a contested and still to-be-tested theoretical framework of “post-secularity.” I will pick one of these forms for a more detailed analysis and show, on an example of a religious movement (the so called *Yekhpairakts’ut’yun*, “Brotherhood”), an attempt to create a pattern of “religious modernity” within an old and conservative tradition of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which retains, by default, an absolute monopoly for the sacred in the Republic of Armenia. Basing on this example, we can see the dynamic of the grass-roots responses of the Armenian society toward the meaning and functions of “religion” and “spirituality.”

2. Aleksidze Zaza. *Some Lessons from the Caucasian History.*

The lecture aims at demonstrating that there are several important lessons that we can learn from the Caucasian history.

Probably the main lesson is that two seemingly mutually exclusive trends – on the one hand the striving of the Christian Caucasian countries for unification and on the other the striving to preserve their uniqueness – were and are still able to play a positive role in the history of the Caucasus.

3. Atoyán, Ruben. *Location of Eden in Armenia in accordance with Middle Ages mapping.*

As we know maps of early middle ages were schematic and their content was based on Genesis. They were created as additions to monastery books. “Paradise at East” with images of Adam, Eva and Snake, surrounded with a high wall or a mountain range appears on first monastery maps from the 8th century. Monastery maps from middle ages did not show the concrete place of Eden on Earth but only indicate its spirit and symbolic meaning.

The most famous world map from early middle ages is *Beatus* Liebanensis map from 776. During next centuries *Beatus* map was remade with explanations and additions many times, and later was represented as one of the first maps of the Christian World. Afterwards the imagination of Paradise repeated on several middle ages maps, the most valuable maps are: the Ebstorf Map (about 1235) and the Hereford Map (1300). The Paradise rivers are represented on these maps also conditionally as coming from a single spring. By tradition in the center of maps was situated Jerusalem.

The geographical situation of Paradise usually was identified with spring places of the Paradise rivers: Euphrates, Hiddekel, Pishon and Gihon. If the springs of first two rivers are in the Armenian Highlands not far from each other, but Pishon and Gihon are more problematic, because there are no rivers with such names on up-to-date maps.

Allusions to a possible Armenian location for Paradise had already been made in the 16th century. Alessandro Scafi, who researched different versions of geographical representation of Paradise, a separate part of his book “*Mapping*

Paradise” (2006) entitled “*Return to the Sources: Paradise in Armenia*”. At the beginning of the part concerned Armenian Paradise the author noted: “Once scholarly attention had shifted northwards the more problematical Gihon and Pishon were sure to be identified amongst the local rivers. Others would have liked to return to the less complicated traditional idea of four rivers parting from a single source, but since no evidence had been found of such a source, they had to follow Luther's suggestion that it had been wiped out by the Flood”.

Some seventeenth-century researchers were more assertive in their identification of the Earthly Paradise in Armenia. Marmaduke Carver, a Yorkshire parson, devoted a short treatise to the question of paradise situation near Euphrates and Tigris springs. Carver, describing treasures of this landscape, noted, that relics of Eden and Paradise survived in the place names recorded by the ancient writers — Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy.

Nevertheless, Carver, who had not been neither geographer nor cartographer created a schematic map entitled “*Type or Chorographical Map of the Earthly Paradise, the Region of Eden, the Rivers and the Surrounding Places*”, which was based on Ptolemy map. The Greater Armenia map after Ptolemy was reconstructed by Leonard Holm in 1482. Although Ptolemy, like Strabo, had described both rivers as coming from separate springs, Carver preferred to lean on the authority of other antic authors, such as Sallust, Lucan, Boethius and Isidore, who had suggested a common source for the two rivers. Carver’s map illustrated his conclusion: “the single river of Paradise rose in Greater Armenia, watered the Garden, and then divided into four streams. The rivers had retained their original courses despite the Flood, and had kept their biblical names”.

The searching of Garden of Eden 60 years later after Carver continued a French abbot Augustin Calmet (1672–1757). His arguments for an Armenian Paradise differed from Carver’s. “Instead of worrying about an extant single stream, Calmet preferred the old and relatively straightforward notion of four existing rivers originally emanating from a single source subsequently obliterated by the Flood and other natural disasters (...) He insisted that as the Tigris and the Euphrates both rose in Armenia, there was no point looking for Paradise in Mesopotamia, and that there was nothing in either the Bible or the ancient authorities to confirm that Havilah was near the Persian Gulf”.

Augustin Calmet’s map of the Earthly Paradise (Paris, 1724–1726), was published as an inset for another map – a map of the Old World that showed the lands inhabited by the sons of Noah. Calmet transferred Eden from Mesopotamia to Armenia by abandoning Calvin's idea that the course of the rivers remained intact after the Flood. In his view, the Flood threw the single source of paradise into disarray, but the four rivers still rose not far from each other in Armenia. The map shows the original four rivers flowing out to the four cardinal points from the area around the lost single source: the Pishon northwards, the Tigris southwards, the Gihon eastwards, and the Euphrates westwards. The Flood had deprived paradise of its original beauty, but its site survived. In Calmet's time was already known, that the Tigris and the Euphrates sprang from different places within Armenia. The sources of the other two rivers of Paradise were situated by Calmet in Armenia also: the Pishon corresponded to the river Phasis, which flowed into the Black Sea, and Gihon to the river Araxes, which flowed into the Caspian Sea.

From Atanas Cirshery’s (1601–1680) creative work the most interesting is “Noah's Ark” which was published in Amsterdam in 1675. This book consists of three parts: “Before the Flood”, “The Flood” and “After the Flood”. The author gave several drawings for the third part, among which a plan of the Earthly Paradise is represented. Cirshery’s thematic image could not be involved for geographical studies. Nevertheless, it illustrated a middle age representation of Paradise in a graphical form. We can see the Garden of Eden as a quadratic square surrounded by high walls with four gates directed to different sides of World. Armed angels with swords of

unusual wave form guard the gates. The rivers flow from a picturesque spring in the center of Garden, the Tree of Life, Adam, Eva and Snake are drawn a little below.

The 16–17th centuries are characterized as rapid development of book and map publishing houses in several European countries. The cartographic manufactures arose in Germany, Netherlands and England. The first historical atlases were created at this period of cartography bloom. Historical maps were also published in atlases as a separate part, for example, we can see this method in Ortelius's atlas. Abraham Ortelius was one of the famous Holland mapmakers from Amsterdam. He prepared maps of the World, Europe and Asia, which were collected into the first atlas in 1570 entitled "*Teatrum Orbis Terrarum*" ("*A Theatre of World*"). From 1601 on, editions of Ortelius's *Teatrum* included some historical maps, among which was a map of the central part of the Old World – "*Geographia sacra*". The name Eden appears in Armenia, written across the upper Euphrates, but Paradise itself is not marked. In fact, the Gihon is identified with the Nile, an idea rejected by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Moreover Ortelius "managed to avoid taking a stand on the identity of the river Pishon giving the name to three rivers: the Danube, the Hydaspis in Mesopotamia and the Ganges".

On maps from the 17–18th centuries Eden is presented more correctly, often at the same place not far from Ararat mount.– a representative of a famous French cartographic family created its "*Carte du paradis terrestre selon Moysse*" in 1724. Pierre Moullart-Sanson adopted Calmet's views and located the Garden of Eden in Armenia within a circular ring of trees. Moullart-Sanson like Calmet's does not show the common source of the four rivers believed to have been destroyed by the Flood.

The most visual map with image of Eden is Emanuel Bowen's one. This English mapmaker had published its map in 1780. The Paradise is shown in the Historical Armenia. The map entitled: "*A Map of the Terrestrial Paradise according to the author's scheme*". After comparing Calmet's and Bowen's maps one can come to conclusion that Bowen made a copy from Calmet's map. Eden with mount Ararat is situated in the center of Armenia between Van and Urmia lakes, boundaries of Paradise are shown also. The Paradise rivers have two names: "Pishon now Phasis" flows into the Black Sea. Land of Havilah is marked to south of Armenia, this is the territory of modern Georgia. The river "Gihon now Araxes" rise from Eden and flows into the Caspian Sea. We can see Artaxata on the map – the ancient capital of Armenia is situated on the Araxes river. This map of Paradise was published many times in Bowen's World atlas from 1744 to 1780.

Different maps of Paradise were published in 17–18th centuries by Vugondy, Buash, Moxton and other cartographers. A French mapmaker Rober Vugondy (1688–1766) created his map of "*The Medieval World*" according to the best European traditions. He showed on the map countries of Middle East and South Caucasus, assigned Armenia, which was continued from Agvank to Cilicia and from the Cyrus river to the Mediterranean Sea. Ararat Summit, towns Echmiadzin, Yerevan, Nakhichevan, Erzurum and Malatia, the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers are noted inside the territory of Armenia. The Araxes has the second name Pishon. The World paradise is situated in the center of Armenia, to south-west from Van lake. The base map is very clear because Rober Vugondy used the mot detail cartographic materials. This map was published in 1762.

Philip Buash's map was published in Paris in 1783 and entitled "*The map which introduces the life of the Saints*". Eden is also shown in Armenia to southward from Van lake. Inside of Paradise Ararat mount is demonstrated with Noah's Arc on the top. Territories of countries are painted by different colores: Armenia, Media, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Syria, Elam and Judea. The Paradise rivers are also noted – the Pishon or Araxes spring has not real place, the Gihon river is shown as the Tigris left branch.

Carver's and Calmet's ideas were in great interest among European travelers and missioners. How was look like the Land of Eden? Were the Paradise river's springs?

One of the first brave travelers was a French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708). He wrote to his patron at the beginning of the 18th century from his travelling around Armenia: “ The Commentators upon Genesis, even those who are most confined to the Letter, don’t think it necessary. In order to assign the Place of Paradise, to find a River which divides itself into four Branches, because of the very great Alterations the Flood may have inducted; but think it enough to show the Heads of the Rivers mentioned by Moses, namely Euphrates, Tigris, Pishon and Gihon. And thus it cannot be doubted but that Paradise must have been in the way between Erzeron and Tiflis, if it be allowed to take the Phasis for Pishon, and Araxes for Gihon”.

It was out of question for many European authors from the 19th century that the Paradise was situated in Armenian Highlands. All famous religion encyclopaedias, for example, Mc Clinton and Strong’s are representing Eden in Armenia namely. In the Victorian Dictionary the name of the Araxes river is given as Gihon-Aras.

Lord James Bryce an English statesman describing his staying in Ararat in 1876 also paid readers attentions on the Land of Eden: “... Ararat to the south, and the dark mysterious mountains towards Kars in the far west, riveted our eyes, and there was something inexpressibly solemn in the great desolate plain that lay around us under the dying light a plain in which Armenian tradition places the site of the Garden of Eden ...”.

The first from Europeans who gave a full describing of Armenian Highlands was an Irish traveler Henry Lynch. He wrote in abstract for its English edition book: “What attracted me to Armenia? One inducement was curiosity: what lay beyond those mountains, drawn in a wide half-circle along the margin of the Mesopotamian plains? The sources of the great rivers which carried me southwards, a lake with the dimensions of an inland sea, the mountain of the Ark, the fabled seat of Paradise”.

4. Bardakjian, Kevork. *Who Bestows Poetic Grace and How? Konstantin Erznkac’i’s Vision-Poem.*

In an apparent response to vicious challenges and threats by ill-wishers, questioning his authority and ability to utter legitimate poetry, Kostandin Erznkac’i in his unusual poem (beginning with “Omark’ č’ar en/č’araxosen...”, “Some slander me...”), speaks of a ‘wonderful’ vision he experienced at a monastery, when he was fifteen years of age. In it, a ‘sun-clad’ figure, *Manuk*, before whom he prostrated with a number of requests, granted him his wishes, including the gift of composing poetry. This paper is an attempt to determine the model for Kostandin’s vision and to establish the identity of *Manuk*.

5. Basmadjian, Varvara. *Léon Tutundjian, les multiples réfractions de la quête d’un artiste-en rupture dans la peinture européenne du XXème siècle.*

D’Amassia, dans l’Asie Mineure de l’Empire ottoman, au Paris des années 30 , en passant par l’orphelinat de Loutraki en Grèce et le monastère des Pères Mekhitaristes à San Lazzaro de Venise, Léon Tutundjian a déjà jeté dans les 20 premières années de sa vie les jalons d’une vie et d’une quête sans cesse renouvelée, où fractures, émotions et constructions abstraites et en relief se côtoient, s’enrichissent et se complètent sans nier l’existence des différents « moments » vécus en courants ascendants ou descendants à l’image des flux des marées.

Il est difficile de cataloguer Tutundjian dans un courant artistique se terminant en isme, - classifications créées par les historiens de l’art du XXème siècle, pour essayer de se retrouver dans l’extraordinaire diversification artistique de cette époque. Léon Tutundjian, dont l’œuvre progresse en multiples allers-retours, au gré de ses combats pour la vie, est un artiste libre et observateur quelque peu en retrait des modes.

Il évolue certes en plusieurs étapes et a eu droit à ce privilège des classifications. Le tachisme, la pratique de l'aquarelle, l'exploration des techniques graphiques et des collages où perce le cubisme, un certain expressionisme, la figuration surréaliste sont les outils intellectuels de sa démarche artistique.

Entre fractures et réfractions, cette démarche de Tutundjian est essentiellement intellectuelle, étayée par une sensibilité et une émotion qui ne veut pas se reconnaître comme telle. Combat d'un homme contre lui-même, plus que contre les autres, avec ses défis, ses peurs infinies, son retour sur ses origines... Il n'est pas déraisonnable de rapprocher ses cercles transpercés, ses hachures, ses éléments organiques, sa vision aérienne d'un monde intérieur flottant en équilibre précaire de ses tableaux surréalistes où la même quête se concrétise dans l'œil vague, étonné, éperdu du « Masque rouge » et du « Masque jaune »*. Le déracinement devient tangible dans le *construit-déconstruit* de la série des « quatre tableaux en un », où l'on retrouve un fruit mordu et abandonné, une tête en interrogation, un arbre qui pousse dans le carrelage en damier d'un espace clos.

Avec Tutundjian rien n'est jamais fixé, sauf peut-être ses reliefs en métal sur bois peint. Mais il suffit de se déplacer de quelques pas devant ses reliefs si méticuleusement construits pour voir qu'à nouveau, selon l'angle par lequel le spectateur, et en premier lieu l'artiste, aborde l'œuvre, tout entre en mouvement. Le mouvement de la vie qui fait de Tutundjian un très grand artiste à redécouvrir.

*non titrés par l'artiste comme la plupart de ses tableaux, mais que pour raisons de facilité de lecture nous avons ainsi présenté.

6. Bobokhyan, Arsen. *The Armenians in front of the Trojan Gates: Reflections on Early Connections between Mainland Greece, Western Anatolia and the Armenian Highland.*
7. Bonfiglio, Emilio. John Chrysostom's *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* [CPG 4397]: the Assessment of an Old Armenian Translation for the Establishment of the Greek Text

The *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* is a homily allegedly pronounced by John Chrysostom in Constantinople at the end of summer 403, some time between the verdict of the Synod of the Oak and the day he left the city for his first exile. To date, the only available edition of the Greek text is that prepared by Bernard de Montfaucon in 1721 and reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Although since the time of Montfaucon's edition scholars' interest has almost uniquely addressed to the problem of authenticity of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium*, fresh collations of the extant Greek manuscripts in addition to a comparison and analysis of two ancient translations – one Syriac, one Armenian – have clearly shown that a new critical edition of the Greek text is necessary and highly desirable for a re-interpretation of the Greek text.

The aim of this paper is to offer an overview on the Greek manuscript tradition of the *Sermo cum iret in exsilium* as well as to investigate the value and place of the ancient oriental translations for the reconstruction of the critical text of the Greek original. Special attention will be given to a significant Armenian text published in Venice in 1861 which to date has never been the object of serious study. The results of a preliminary analysis of the Armenian text has already demonstrated its independence from yet another Syriac version and its importance as the witness of a Greek homily now lost.

8. Calzolari, Valentina. *Le miroir de l'autre : l'affrontement entre Grégoire et Trdat près du temple d'Anahit à Erez.*

Le premier pèlerinage organisé par le roi Trdat, après avoir retrouvé le trône de ses ancêtres, eut lieu au temple de la déesse Anahit, à Erez. Site culturel très connu des sources arméniennes, grecques et latines, le temple d'Anahit en Akilisène (arménien

Ekeghiats) constituait un lieu de culte traditionnel des rois arsacides.

Selon l'*Histoire de l'Arménie* d'Agathange, c'est près du temple de la déesse, dans la tente royale, au moment d'une libation, qu'eut lieu le premier long affrontement verbal entre le roi mazdéen et Grégoire, le futur Illuminateur de l'Arménie. A travers un long dialogue entre ces deux "héros", Agathange oppose deux systèmes de croyances ; les propos de l'un se reflètent dans les propos de l'autre comme dans un miroir, mais un miroir déformant. Point par point, les éléments principaux non seulement du culte polythéiste de l'Arménie pre-chrétienne, mais plus en général de la société arménienne iranisée, sont détruits par les répliques que Grégoire adresse au roi qui essaie de le ramener dans le giron du mazdéisme. En partant de l'analyse de cet épisode, notre communication montrera quelques aspects de la représentation de l'autre (mazdéen vs chrétien) chez Agathange. On s'interrogera sur la valeur hautement symbolique du banquet, qui a été choisi par l'historien comme théâtre de cet affrontement. En confirmant sa fidélité au dieu des chrétiens, Grégoire s'auto-exclut du système représenté par le roi. Au festin d'immortalité il préfère le banquet d'Abraham.

Dans la suite des événements immédiats relatés par Agathange, le système de croyances et de valeurs du roi semble l'emporter. Pour que le dieu de Grégoire triomphe, il faudra d'abord que le sang de vierges chrétiennes martyrisées irrigue le sol d'Arménie, pour en faire une terre fertile pour la parole évangélisatrice de Grégoire (c'était l'objet de notre communication à la XI^e conférence générale de l'AIEA : cf. V. Calzolari, « Le sang des femmes et le plan de Dieu », dans A.A. Nagy – F. Prescendi (éds), *Victimes au féminin* (collection Équinoxe), Genève, 2011, p. 178-194). La parole du patriarche et l'effusion du sang des vierges « amèneront les Arméniens près de Dieu » (§ 720) ; le corps virginal – receptacle de la divinité – des saintes martyres triomphe sur l'idole de la Grande Dame Anahit. Ce sera alors au roi de rejoindre le giron de la religion de l'autre, et d'engager son peuple vers une autre forme d'identité religieuse et ethnique.

Depuis, comme le dira des siècles plus tard Daniel Varoujan, la statue du temple brisé d'Anahit « s'ennuie dans le musée » (*Թանգարանին մէջ անդրիդ / Կը տաղսկանայ...*, Daniel Varoujan, *Chants païens : Anahit*, v. 15-16).

9. Cankara, Murat. *The Appropriation of European Romanticism in Early Turkish Novels in Arabic and Armenian Alphabets.*

Historiography of Ottoman/Turkish literature has so far overlooked the existence of literary contributions by the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire. This neglect goes hand in hand with another one: Crucial questions such as “what is Ottoman/Turkish literature?” or “was there a common Ottoman literature?” have not even been taken into consideration, let alone been answered. However, there has been a noticeable change in this attitude during the last decade and one can easily see a growing literature calling for comparative approaches to the literary production of Ottoman millets and emphasizing the necessity of focusing on texts by the non-Muslims of the Empire. Johann Strauss, with a number of erudite articles, has undeniably given a strong impetus for studies of this sort. The call, though necessary, proved insufficient after a while and made it necessary to read the texts themselves closely. That is why, in my paper, I will concentrate on the early Armeno-Turkish novels in comparison with contemporary Arabo-Turkish novels and will argue that there is a significant difference between the appropriation of European romanticism in novels written in Armenian and Arabic alphabets.

10. Chétanian, Bati. *De quelques noms d'oiseaux.*

Comment interpréter le cri des animaux ou comprendre la signification d'un vol ou d'un chant d'oiseau ? Quel temps prévoir si les cornes de la lune s'inclinent dans un sens plutôt que dans l'autre ? Les réponses, venues tout droit de l'Antiquité grecque, sont contenues

dans un texte *Yalags amnoc' ew nšnac'* reproduit dans le *K'nnikon* d'Anania Širakac'i (VIIe s.), un manuel d'exposition des quatre disciplines mathématiques du *quadrivium* destiné à la formation de futurs théologiens. Ce traité de météorologie est la traduction d'un extrait des *Phénomènes* d'Aratos (fin IVe-IIIe avant J.-C.) et nous invite, en même temps qu'à l'interprétation des présages météorologiques, à la recherche en ornithologie linguistique.

11. Contin, Benedetta. *Quelques remarques sur les rapports entre les Prolégomènes de David et les prolégomènes des commentateurs néoplatoniciens de l'Ecole alexandrine.*

12. Cowe, Peter. *The Evolution of the Discourse of Modernity in the Armenian Printing of the 17th-18th Centuries.*

The Armenian polity in the 16th century presents a dichotomy between the underdeveloped agricultural population in Anatolia and Southern Caucasia and a merchant middle class dispersion across Eurasia integrated into the world economy. Stateless and largely acentric, these two spheres were loosely connected by an independent church. This paper examines four contrasting initiatives to create an enhanced collective structure for Armenians over this period, two conservative approaches emanating from the first sphere counterbalanced by two modernizing projects from the second, highlighting the era as one of powerful yet uneven transition for Armenian society and neatly identifying the engines for change as those more fully representative at the micro level of the pattern of global developments, more effectively employing the print medium to advance their cause.

The first is the anachronistic attempt by the aristocracy to regain the homeland by appeal to the pope and European powers to intervene through the outmoded concept of Crusade. The other three recognize the need to engage the dispersed community in dialogue through the modern medium of the press, thereby creating an incipient form of civil society in which capital, technology, and the middle class prevail over land tenure and lineage. The first represents a campaign by the church to reinforce the status accorded it by Islamic jurisprudence in the Ottoman and Safavid empires, envisaging Armenians as a non-state confession under hierarchical jurisdiction. The other two projects articulate almost simultaneously in the second half of the 18th century two models of nationalism categorically and temporally distinguished in Anthony Smith's Eastern and Western typology, one emphasizing shared history, language, and culture with European Catholic affinities, while the other elaborates a program of common legal and institutional frameworks affiliated with Anglo-Saxon Protestant milieus. As a result, the print medium both 'globalizes' the debate and hastens the evolution of a fuller nationalist program in the 19th century.

13. Dadoyan, Seta. *Rethinking Armenian History through Paradigms of Interaction: The Armenian Experience with Islam as a Case Study.*

The Armenian experience in the medieval Near East as well as the modern Middle East is too diverse and complicated to respond to simplistic and quasi-epic narratives, even in mainstream histories. Consequently, for contemporary Armenian scholarship the identification of paradigmatic cases and connecting the dots, so to speak, must be of the essence of historical writing. Rethinking Armenian history through paradigms of interaction was a personal intellectual journey which after two decades of research and publication culminated in a three volume work titled *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World Paradigms of Interaction Seventh – Fourteenth Centuries* (NJ: Transaction Publishers, Vol. I 2011, Vol. II 2012, Vol. III 2013). The volumes are as follows:

I. The Arab Period in *Armīnyah*- 7th -11th Centuries

- II. Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World - Diverging Paradigms and the Case of Cilicia-10th 14th Centuries
- III. Erzinjān and Paradigms of Medieval Cosmopolitanism - The Prophet and Islam in Armenian Literature- 13th 14th Centuries

My talk is about the philosophical grounding for the initiative that is primarily holistic, critical, and interdisciplinary. In form and content, this extensive opus (of over 12 hundred pages) is written as an argument for and a prolegomenon to writing Armenian history in Near Eastern context. My main argument is: If, since the seventh century historic Armenia, from Asia Minor to the South Caucasus, as well as the modern Republic have been part of the Islamic world, and if until a few decades ago the entire region, from the Black and Caspian seas to the Mediterranean, including Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt, was the habitat of most of the Armenians, their history too was naturally part of these locations and peoples. Armenians lived there as integral elements and their world was governed by more or less the same laws that governed the region. History has no secret pockets and private laws, things Armenian are also things Near Eastern and must be studied as such. This has not been the case and this is where my study takes its urgency and legitimacy.

14. Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor. *Eve's Destiny in the Light of Armenian Apocrypha*.

The apocryphal texts expanding on the Biblical narratives of the creation and the fall of Adam and Eve confer on the figure of the forefather a cardinal role in the history and destiny of the world. This role is also reflected in the apocryphal accounts of Christ's life. The elusiveness of the Adam books concerning the destiny of Eve called for further reflections on the figure of the first woman in the light of the contemporaneously developing Christian soteriology, and traces of the elaboration of this theme may notably be found in the Armenian 'Account of Infancy of Jesus'. It is a heterogeneous text which, admittedly, preserves ancient strata, although its reshaping was pursued until the late Middle Ages. The 'Account of Infancy of Jesus' echoes a particular tradition regarding the salvation of the Protoplasts and the effect of the Incarnation of the Logos for the world of the dead, which also influenced the mediaeval Armenian homiletic and artistic traditions. It reflects the view according to which Eve, unlike Adam, was not forgiven during her life and, in order to be delivered from Hades, had to expect the coming of the Saviour. The infant Jesus visited by Eve in the cave at Bethlehem displays docetic features. The 'Account of Infancy' also relates of another visit to the cave at Bethlehem, that of the three Magi. Also the Magi's records of their encounters with the infant contain distinct docetic features, which suggests that the whole unit of Epiphany in the 'Account of Infancy of Jesus' has an ancient, heterodox, origin. Between the sixth and the ninth centuries, docetic material could be reused by different doctrinal currents in the Armenian Church with apologetic purposes.

15. Dulgarian, Robert. *Armenian Tigers: The Poetic Construction of Armenia at the Frontier of Augustan Imperial Ideology*.

This paper considers the emergence of the poetic commonplace 'Armeniaē tigrēs' (tigers of Armenia) and its cognates in the Latin hexameter poetry of the Augustan period. The paper examines a range of textual sources to argue that the emergence of the commonplace does not simply express a convergence of geographical interest and metrical demands, but reflects a developing anxiety about the relation of Roman imperial identity to Hellenic culture and in particular to Hellenized or quasi-Hellenized border areas, of which pre-Christian Armenia represents for Rome a paradigmatic and particularly charged example.

16. Ganjalyan, Tamara. *Motives and Opportunities of a Two-Sided Relationship. The Armenian Diaspora's Oriental Trade with Russia.*

The trade of Armenian merchants (of the Julfa Armenian Trade Company at first, later on mainly of Russian Armenians) with oriental goods is the best known and most often explored chapter of the history of the Armenian diaspora in Russia. The transit trade with Persian raw silk on the Volga route to Northern and Western Europe, which was (re)established in the second half of the 17th century, could develop in this form only because of the tsar's granting of extensive rights and privileges to the Armenian traders. These rights and privileges made possible the dominating and at the beginning even monopolised status of the Armenians in the oriental trade in and through Russia. A driving force behind the privilege of the Armenian long distance traders was the tsarist government's plan to turn Russia into a platform of Eurasian East-West trade. Expressions of this trade policy are the intensified co-operation with the Julfa Armenian Trade Company on the one hand and with the Persian Shah on the other hand, but also the attempt of incorporating the Northern Persian silk producing regions into the Russian Empire. The tsars' interests were by no means always congruent with the interests of the Moscow merchants who repeatedly but most often unsuccessfully protested against the Armenian merchants' privileges. The role of the Russian state in the economic development of the country was contradictory. Overall it gave little support to the spread of trade capital and monopolised profitable branches of commerce and production. Moreover it imposed heavy obligations on the Russian merchants, which came to disturb their commercial and entrepreneurial activities. On the other hand there really were attempts made to stimulate economic development by initiatives concerning the expansion of the oriental trade and the organisation of a Russian silk industry, all of which was also linked to the promotion of Armenian (and other oriental) merchants and entrepreneurs. The investment of Armenian capital into the orient trade not only contributed to the intensifying of Russia's economic relations with the countries of the Middle East, but also helped to increase Russian domestic trade and to establish a domestic textile industry. In addition, the Armenian merchants' oriental trade had an impact on Russia's traffic and trade policy insofar as it contributed to the transfer of Russia's main foreign trade route from the White to the Baltic Seas. The reasons for the impressive success of the Julfa Armenian Company are to be found in a number of factors. These consist for the one part in the company's specific kind of organisation and functions, which showed some features typical for trading (L.K. Ermoaleva: *Krupnoe kupecestvo Rossii*. In: *Istoriceskie zapiski* 114, Moscow 1986) diasporas. In addition there has to be mentioned the relative financial and organisational weakness of the Russian merchants. What constitutes another part of the factors contributing to the Armenians' success are the actual historical circumstances and political opportunities which allowed for the Armenian merchants to enter into a reciprocal relationship with the government and thereby secure their advantageous position. (Ina Baghdiantz McCabe: *Global Trading Ambitions in Diaspora. The Armenians and Their Eurasian Silk Trade, 1530-1750*. In: Dies., Gelina Harlaftis, Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (ed.): *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks. Four Centuries of History*, Oxford/New York 2005.) What was decisive in this context was the overlap of Armenian, Russian and Persian interests. By monopolising the Julfians in the transit silk trade the tsar not only anticipated economic benefits but also had a political motive lying in the intent to win over the shah (who, given his internal political weakness, was looking for an external supporter in his disputes with the sultan) as an ally against the Ottomans. Finally, in the course of the following two centuries Russia also endeavoured to expand its territory and to establish its dominance in the Middle East and Central Asia. The premises of Russian Eastern policy inured to the benefit of the Armenians of Russia insofar as they could secure for themselves enormous economical advantages and also because they viewed Russia as a Christian protector state against the Muslim rulers of Armenia. That is why the Armenians were willing to

support the tsars' undertakings in their imperial policy.

17. Greenwood, Tim. *Early Medieval Armenian Charters: texts and contexts*.

Land tenure in mediaeval Armenia has generally been analysed in terms of inheritance practices within the noble families or appropriation by force. It is clear however that operating alongside these processes was a sophisticated mechanism for the sale, exchange and endowment of land by written instrument. Although the evidence for Armenian charters is limited – although not entirely lacking – for the years before 860 CE, the *Patmut'iw n tann Sisakan* compiled by Step'anos Orbelian in 1301 preserves a remarkable collection of charters, the earliest of which date from the middle of the ninth century. These reveal not only a range of transfers of title to estates involving the church of the Holy Cross and the see of Siwnik' but also shed light on social relations, religious beliefs and legal practices. The technical terminology seems to depend heavily upon Pahlavi loanwords and it is possible that these written instruments reflect late Sasanian legal practice rather than Roman law. Quite apart from their significance for Armenian history therefore, these charters may also comprise an important, and hitherto unknown, body of material for scholars of late Antique Iran.

18. Haroutyunian, Sona. *Vittoria Aganoor and Mekhitarist Fathers*.

The Italian-Armenian poet Vittoria Aganoor (Padua 1855 - Rome 1910), the daughter of Count Edoardo Aganoor and Giuseppina Pacini, descended from the highly aristocratic Armenian family of the Aganoors. The family was transplanted from Djulfa by Shah Abbas the Great in 1605, later passing to India. Two centuries later, in 1835, on the suggestion of the Mekhitarist Fathers, the family emigrated from there, first to France and then to Italy.

Vittoria Aganoor's father was an immigrant and her mother was ethnically Italian. Because she grew up in an époque when assimilation was considered the ideal path for immigrants to follow, she did not learn Armenian. She was Catholic by faith. But a person's identity is not based on their denomination or language. The fact is that she was very tied to her roots and, naturally, was in close contact with the monks in the Mekhitarist Congregation on Saint Lazarus Island in Venice. Writing to the scholar Father Arsen Ghazikian, who had a great deal of fondness for her, she expressed her regret for not having learned the language of her nation: "How sorry I, too, am for not knowing Armenian! Pray, do not say it, for I would cry at the thought of how little it would have cost my dear papa to teach it to me as a child!"

It was none other than her grandfather who contributed to the construction of the Raphael and Moorat Colleges for noble Armenians in Paris, Padua and Venice.

From her earliest years, Vittoria benefited from an excellent literary education. Belonging to the cream of Italian society, she married a well-known Italian politician, who committed suicide soon after she passed away in 1910.

Aganoor has received a great deal of critical attention as an Italian poet. Years ago a conference was dedicated to her in Venice, however, no overture was made toward her Armenian identity: although it was mentioned in passing, it has not yet received any in-depth study. The purpose of this study is to cast more light on her Armenian identity and then to prepare her epistolary correspondence with Father Arsen Ghazikian for publication.

19. Hayuk, Iryna. *Armenians in the context of historical Ukrainian-Hungarian communications.*

The Ukrainian-Hungarian connections and a role of Armenians in it is necessary to consider first, from the point of view of a common political-economical history as Ukraine and Hungary since times of the Kievan Rus' constantly and closely cooperated in different spheres. Secondly, one must take into consideration also, that the character of the development of the Ukrainian-Polish-Hungarian-Moldavian region defined the place of Armenians in structure of the Hungarian-Ukrainian connections. Beside this, during second millennium there were constant migrations of Armenians from Moldova, Transylvania to the Ukrainian lands (Podillia, Galicia and Pokuttia), and from the other side – from Ukraine (Poland) and Crimea to Moldova and Transylvania.

1. **Economic relations.** It is well known, that already in XIV century the Lviv Armenian merchants had the branched out trading network with Crimea, Belgorod, Moldova and Transylvania (Hungary). In 1372 Louis the Hungarian has allowed to merchants and inhabitants of Russia freely to trade in the Polish and Hungarian kingdoms. In XIV-XV centuries the cities of the West Ukrainian region (Lviv, Sambir) and Podillia (Kamenets-Podilskyi, Khotyn) became the bases for transit trade of Armenians with large horned livestock (HL), bought in Moldova, Transylvania and Hungary. Sambir in the Middle Ages was large trading city which had close economic relations with Transcarpathia, especially with Hungary. Here were organized the largest fairs of HL, and here was a main warehouse of the Hungarian wines and customs service of Rzecz Pospolita. It is known, that here already in XV century was «an Armenian bath». In 1715-1751 the Armenian merchants of city Stanislaw were the monopolists – intermediaries in the trade between a mouth of Danube river, Northern Polish cities (Gdansk for instance) and Hungary. At that time trading agreements and the unions of Stanislaw, Sniatyn and Bucovinian Armenians with the Hungarian Armenians were taking place frequently.

In 1660 Transylvanian Armenians began to settle in Transcarpathia, especially in Maramorosh, Berezh and Uzhan zhupas(?). King Leopold has granted them a free trade under a condition not infringements of the rights of guilds and regular payment of taxes. At first they traded only at fairs, and in 1721 have acquired the right to trade out of them. They lived in Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, Siget, Priashiv, Suhyi Potik, Khust, Tiachiv etc. and were engaged in craft, trade, agriculture and cattle breeding.

The situation was changed in the seconde half of the XVIII century when due to catastrophic decline of trade in that area Pokurria's Armenians moved to Austria and Hungary accepting the offer of empress Maria-Terezija in 1769.

2. **Religious connections.** Armenians of Transylvania and Ukraine have common church history, especially from the moment of the declaration of church-union. There were well known events concerning the Armenians, for instance, the colonization of the Armenians in Transylvania led by Bishop Minas Zilifdarean T'oxat'ec'i in 1672; Bishop Minas' alleged confessional of faith made in 1686, Lemberg (Lviv); the declaration of the church-union with Rome in about 1690. The catholicisation of the Armenians in Transylvania is primarily associated with bishop Oxendio Virziresco's missionary efforts. The father Stephanos Roshka Stefanowych (1670-1739) has been appointed the general vicar of Armenian-Catholic Church to Podolia, Pokuttia and in Transylvania. In 1729 he was sent to Transylvania as the inspector, and there he has resolved a number of the important problems: 1. He has brought an order in the church life, and composed the "Ritual" for carrying out of services in Armenian-Catholic churches of Transylvania, also strengthened the power of Mihal Teodorowich as the prior of Armenians in the Girla, beside this created three church brotherhoods in Elizavetopol, Armenopolis and Giurgiu and wrote for them the charters. In 1779 the Armenian priests for Transylvania were consecrated in Lviv. At the Lviv school of Armenian Benedictine and in their monastery there were nuns and pupils from Transylvania.

3. Armenians in political and military history of Ukraine as a part of Rzecz Pospolita and Austro-Hungary. Armenians high economic potential and the net of international contacts first of all defined their importance in political history. They played the important role in the political intrigues, concerning the Moldavian throne, that anyhow concerned Hungary (one can remember, in XVI century the Lviv Armenian A. Yurkewych). They were intermediaries in negotiations (affaire of an armistice of Ottoman Porta and Hungary in 1414). Armenians in the context of a world policy of B. Hmelnitskyi who had far-reaching plans concerning Moldova, Walachia and Transylvania can be studied as a separate theme. It was not accidental that in the middle of XVII century Armenian merchant K. Sinanowych-Shimansky was executing the diplomatic commissions of the Polish king in Transylvania.

In XIX and in the beginning of the XX centuries Armenians of the Western Ukraine have been connected with Austro-Hungarian army both as suppliers, and as military men.

4. Cultural and scientific connections. Linguistic studies of brilliant Ukrainian philologist J. Hanush have shown the Armenian roots of many surnames in the Western Ukraine, Bukovina, Transylvania, and also have revealed connections between Ukrainian and Transylvanian Armenians.

New facts on the history of Armenians in Ukraine have been discovered due to the studies of the outstanding Hungarian linguist E. Schutz (he translated and put into scholarly circulation the texts of the Lviv Armenians wills and marriage contracts in Armenian-kipchak language; he explored the history of the appearance of Armenian-Kipchak language in Ukraine; he discovered a unique creation of the Lviv Armenian Printing house – "The Prayer book" of 1618 in Armenian-Kipchak language; he found, translated and published the oldest Armenian-Kipchak contracts made in Lviv, dated by January 12th, 1572; he also has published together with an English translation the one part of annals in the Armenian-Kipchak language, concerning to the Polish-Turkish war). Hungarian orientalist S. Vashari was involved in studying of these annals too.

In the context of the Armenian-Ukrainian-Hungarian connections one should allocate two more suggestions, which do not have, however, under self-serious databases:

1. The thesis about common ethnic origins of Crimean and Kamenets-Podilskyi Armenians with Hungarians. This statement was based on the opinion that Armenians and Hungarians ethnically were the Cumans (according to G. Clauson, and A. Garkavets).

2. The thesis about submission of the Hungarian territories by the order (dated by 1388) of Catholicos Teodoros to jurisdiction of the Lviv Armenian bishop (G. Alishan, L. Khachikian).

20. Hovannisian, Richard. *Neo-Denialism of the Armenian Genocide.*

During the past decade, there has been a wave of neo-denialism of the Armenian Genocide under the guise of academic discourse. Unlike Holocaust denial, the negationism in the Armenian case is sometimes mainstream and the books appear under the imprint of reputable publishers.

This presentation will trace the development of modern denial and examine several such works and the approaches used in order to demonstrate that they advance the strategies of rationalization and relativization through the use of intentional deception and disinformation.

21. Kovacs, Bálint. *Armenian Literary Values in the Carpathian Basin in the 17-19th Centuries.*

When we want to investigate the Armenian literary values in the Carpathian basin we

have to study 3 significant elements:

a) *The Armenian manuscripts from the Carpathian basin*

The Eastern European Armenian colonies, as those of the Crimea, Galicia or Moldavia were significant representatives of the Armenian literary works and civilization in the Middle Ages and in Early Modern History. Manuscripts from these scriptoria which were brought here by the Armenian people also appeared in the Carpathian basin. For instance I cite "Szepvizi Evangeliar", in which there is a note by the Armenian speaking possessor: "Ekefec'woy Sibviz'ue" 1756 [= (Csik) Szepvizi Church 1756]. This was brought from the Crimea, now it can be found in the State Archive in Cluj-Napoca. In the same way calendars and many other liturgical works appear in the Carpathian basin during this period due to Armenian migration. In the course of my research I noticed a turning point. After the union with the catholic church the presence of high level scientific and artistic standard, which was a characteristic feature of the scriptoria and their works, cannot be observed. Nevertheless, Armenian scripts are still present in Eastern Europe. This can be illustrated also by the manuscript of Frumoasa the best, which is a catholic theological work and which was written in Hungarian in 1802 but with Armenian letters. The title of this work is: "The Mirror without Macula".

b) *Armenian libraries*

Today there are 3 Armenian libraries in the Carpathian basin. They are located in Gherla, Dumbraveni, and Gheorgheni. In addition, there are two smaller collections in Frumoasa and in the State Archives of Cluj-Napoca. When we examine the Armenian books of the Carpathian basin with respect to the locations of printing houses we can state that almost all locations of Armenian printing houses are represented. That means that the books printed in the 17_19th centuries were brought to the Carpathian basin from Amsterdam, Venice, Rome, Constantinople, Saint Petersburg, Tiflis and Marseille. I especially mention the Astowacasownc', the first Armenian Bible from Amsterdam or the products of the printing houses in Venice.

c) *Armenian characters, Armenian literary treasures in Hungarian literary works of the Carpathian basin*

I have no intention to provide a vast bilateralliterary summary but I must mention that in some cases Armenian figures or Armenian themes appear in literary works of the Carpathian basin. I mention the school dramas which were performed in different catholic colleges. So if the formation of the school dramas written on an Armenian topic are not in connection with the Armenian migration, the high level of Armenian culture, writing and printing, all of which was practically unknown before, turned up in the Carpathian basin by the appearance and multitudinous settlement of Armenian people. Unfortunately, we cannot state that the Armenians created their own literaryworkshop in the 17_18th centuries, presumably the examination of their cultural heritage is going to provide details about the unique mixture of European and Asian culture.

22. La Porta, Sergio. *The Armenian Version of the Scholia of John of Scythopolis on the Dionysian Corpus.*

The corpus of works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite was translated into Armenian around 718 by Step'anos Siwnec'i and Dawit' Hiwpatos. Along with the Dionysian corpus, the scholia on the corpus of the 6th-c. bishop and theologian, John of Scythopolis, were also rendered into Armenian. These scholia were later attributed to Step'anos Siwnec'i himself in the Armenian tradition. The corpus and scholia were also translated into Syriac by Phocas bar Sergius in 708. Both the Armenian and Syriac versions of the scholia omit certain parts of John's scholia where overtly Chalcedonian arguments are presented. As there is no evidence to indicate that the Armenian translators were aware of the Syriac version, the common omission of these Chalcedonian arguments suggests that the Armenian and Syriac versions relied upon a Greek tradition that had excised the offending remarks. This paper will present the

evidence for these shared omissions and propose that non-Chalcedonian Christians had available to them a source for Greek texts that were insured of their 'orthodoxy'.

23. Laporte-Eftekharian, Sarah. *Le peintre Minas Nor Julayec'i entre tradition et modernité.*

En 2006, nous avons soutenu notre thèse de doctorat à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles sur les peintures des églises de la Nouvelle-Djoulf, cité arménienne des faubourgs d'Ispahan. Nous avons établi un inventaire des sources iconographiques de la plupart de ces peintures et démontré que, contrairement à la thèse qui faisait autorité depuis plus de cinquante ans, les xylographies du graveur Christoffel Van Sichem n'en font pas partie. Nous avons démontré par ailleurs que les peintres impliqués dans la décoration de ces églises sont des artistes de la cité. Dans le cadre de cette conférence, nous allons parler de l'un d'entre eux, Minas Nor Julayec'i, peintre qui à la fois s'inscrit dans la tradition arménienne – comme en témoigne la comparaison avec des miniatures (notamment du Matenadaran et de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France), et s'ouvre à la modernité – par son travail sur la base de gravures européennes.

24. Lucca Paolo. *The Armenian rendering of the Hebraisms in the Septuagint of Leviticus and Numbers.*

The Greek texts of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* abound in Hebrew calques and syntactic constructs due to its Hebrew *Vorlage* and the Jewish-Hellenistic *milieu* in which the *Septuagint* originated. This paper will present some selected examples from the Armenian *Girk' Lewtac'woc'* and *Girk' Towoc'* in order to show consistencies and inconsistencies in the translation techniques of the Armenian translators, trying to discern how they understood their Greek *Vorlage*.

25. Maranci, Christina. *Manuel, Daniel, Samson and the South Façade of Ptghni.*

This paper concerns a sculpted slab located on the south façade of the seventh-century church of Ptghni. It bears an image of a seated feline and, at the upper right, a human hand. The truncated character of the scene, and the carving style employed, have led scholars to agree that the stone was harvested from another, earlier monument, and that the scene formed part of an image of Daniel in the Lion's Den. Yet why was the stone cropped to omit, almost entirely, the figure of Daniel? One doubts that it was cut because of its unsuitable size, for the truncation of the scene has caused it to be narrower than surrounding slabs. In light of the careful way in which the wall surfaces at Ptghni are otherwise wrought, it seems unlikely that Daniel's exclusion was an accident. On the contrary, the seated lion is carefully centered within the image; the same amount of margin is given around the animal as to suggest it was the intended focus.

I would like to suggest that the stone was manipulated in order to evoke another biblical encounter: that of Samson and the Lion. One of the last of the Old Testament judges, Samson was known for his superhuman strength, and the narrative of his life, as presented in Judges 14, portrays a figure of Herculean and Christ-like qualities. In Armenia, the figure of Samson seems to have drawn attention from an early date. The sermon of Pseudo-Philo "On Samson" was translated from the Greek into Armenian in the sixth century, and is preserved now only in the latter language. Samson was also of particular importance to the Amatunik', the probable patrons of Ptghni. Movsēs Xorenac'i traces the lineage of the Amatuni family to Manue (Manoah), the father of Samson. The Amatunik' are also described as "well-formed", "worthily resplendent", and "strong"; the last trait, one may infer from the text, a legacy of their famous forefather. In this regard, it is noteworthy that at Ptghni, the themes of athletic strength and triumph in combat are also evoked by an image in close proximity to the spoliated

stone: the portrait of “Manuēl Amatuneac’ Tēr”, which depicts the hunter on horseback spearing a large predator.

26. Marciniak, Tomasz. *The Symbolic World of Armenian Identifications. Diaspora and the Polish Case.*

27. Mathews, Thomas. *The Secrets of the Gospel of Gagik-Abas (J2556).*

The ruined state of the grand Gospel of King Gagik-Abas of Kars (St. James, Jerusalem ms. 2556) has discouraged its study. The excision of ninety percent of its miniatures has left an appalling wreck. But the history of art is in large part a history of ruins, and the bombing and robbery of the Parthenon in Athens has challenged but not discouraged the investigation of the monument. A new study in progress demonstrates that the manuscript remains a splendid monument of the apex of Bagratid civilization. The present study investigates several aspects of the manuscript:

1. The history of the ms. can be traced from its creation in Kars (1045-1054), to its transfer to the castle of Princess Marem in Tsamandos near Kayseri (1065-1079), to its use in Cilicia in the thirteenth century in Sis or Hromkla, to its transfer after 1375 to Jerusalem, and its pious robbery in the 17th-18th century.
2. Technical pigment analysis has described the make-up of its palette and distinguished it from the palette of the near contemporary Trebizond Gospel.
3. Codicological study has established that the famous portrait of Princess Marem (fol. 135b) belonged to another manuscript.
4. The page layout reveals an unparalleled decoration with over 256 fantastic birds and 55 carpet-like panels.
5. Analysis of the Canon Table has shown their decisive role in the evolution of the tables from their arcaded form to a solid field of decoration.
6. Iconographic investigation has situated the program of the manuscript in the lively intellectual ambience of Grigoris Magistros in his dialogue with Seljuk intellectuals.

28. Mouravieff, Serge. *La place de l’alphabet géorgien dans l’oeuvre de Machtots.*

29. Muradyan, Gohar. *Greek Authors and Subject-Matters in the Letters of Grigor Magistros.*

1. The *Letters* by Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (c. 990–1058), which are characterized by intricacy of language and style, contain references to Greek authors, quotations from them and episodes of Greek mythology and literature. We have managed to decipher several names corrupted by scribes and obscure passages related to them, in which Magistros paraphrases such episodes or alludes to them. He has used both Armenian translations (e.g., David the Invincible’s *Prolegomena* or *Definitions of Philosophy* and the *Alexander Romance*) and original Greek texts. We have found parallels in works by Herodotus, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Diogenes Laertius, Pausanias, Homer’s commentator Eustathius, Libanius, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Suidas et al. Sometimes there is verbal affinity, in other cases it is impossible to point to a specific source.

Moreover, there are a series of enigmatic passages which we have not deciphered yet or which are only partly clear. Perhaps he mentions myths or stories not found in any Greek text today, but we might also assume that some of these were invented by Grigor himself in a “Greek style.”

2. The genre and composition of the *Letters* also show Greek influence. Some start with a reference or are dedicated to gifts sent to or received from Grigor’s

correspondents, such as books, fish, pomegranates etc. This reflects the Byzantine literary fashion of the time.

3. Grigor wrote in a Hellenizing language. It is characteristic of him to use Greek words in Armenian transliteration, among them titles of Byzantine officials. Additionally, his *Letters* are full of various types of Grecisms (lexical, morphological and syntactical) which he borrowed from translations of the Hellenizing School. Especially numerous are the words with prefixes.

30. Mutafian, Claude. *L'ascendance de Nersès Chnorhali: inceste chez les Pahlavouni?*

Les renseignements généalogiques fournis par Chnorhali lui-même, par les chroniqueurs contemporains et par les colophons laissent planer un mystère sur deux points :

– Qui était la mère de Chnorhali ?

– Qui était son grand-père paternel, c'est-à-dire l'époux de sa grand-mère, fille anonyme de Grégoire Magistros ?

Le généalogiste Rüdts-Collenberg ignore la première question et donne à la seconde une réponse qui n'a aucune base mais est quasi-unanimement acceptée. Le problème est important : de sa réponse dépend l'appartenance ou non à la dynastie Pahlavouni des catholicos du XII^e siècle.

31. Nagy, Kornél. *The Problem of the Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Episcopacy in Transylvania in the First Half of the 18th century.*

The first half of the 18th century is one of the most exciting periods in the history of Transylvania. The wars of liberation to terminate the Ottoman Turks (1686–1718), the integration of the Transylvanian Principality into the Habsburg Empire after the 150-years' relative independence (1690–1711) brought about significant political and social changes in Transylvania. This exciting period felled serious duties to the Hungarian Catholic Church, too. Prior to these changes, the process of Counter-Reformation in Hungary's eastern and northern regions was getting increasingly under way: the Orthodox Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in Upper-Hungary and Romanians in Transylvania united with the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic bishops, who were highly supported by the Holy See in order to reorganise the Roman Catholic Church's religious life in Hungary and Transylvania, reappeared at the seats of the abandoned dioceses after the 150-years' Ottoman occupation and the almost 110-years' pressure of the strong Protestantism pursued by the Princes of Transylvania (1601–1713).

The problem of the Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Episcopacy in Transylvania should be, in fact, analysed, and researched in this church-historical context. Because of the religious and political persecutions of secular authorities, the Apostolic-believer Armenians escaped from Moldavia and Poland to Transylvania between 1668 and 1672.

The Catholic missions among the Armenians, whose aim was to create the church-union, were initiated by the Armenian Uniate Archbishop in Lemberg (Łwów), in 1684. The Uniate Archbishop's intention to unite them with Rome (Holy See) was that Lemberg had jurisdiction on the Armenians living in the Crimea, Poland and Moldova, before its church-union done by Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz (1603–1681) in 1635. Therefore, the Armenians in Transylvania did not escape the spiritual leadership because they emigrated from the regions e.g. Moldavia and Poland, which were subdued to the Uniate Archbishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Their church-union was closely related to Oxendio Virziresco's (1654–1715) pastoral activity in Transylvania. After all, the appearance of the missionary Oxendio Virziresco, educated at Seminar called Urbanian College in Rome and born in Moldavia, in 1685, was a result of the Armenian Uniate Archbishop's request in Lemberg. Due to his pastoral activity, the Armenians in Transylvania declared

effectively the church-union in Lemberg on February of 1689 when they made a confession of faith with Rome in the Uniate Archbishop Vardan Hunanean's (1644–1715) presence. Therefore, Oxendio Virziresco was appointed by the Holy See as the Uniate Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania in 1690. At the same time, Oxendio Virziresco was appointed consciously as a titular bishop by the Holy See and not a bishop-in-diocese. Rome should have taken the Hungarian Catholic Church's interest into consideration, because the Hungarian Catholic Church had an intention to restore the non-functioning Roman Catholic diocese in Transylvania. But the Armenians in Transylvania started to use the term Armenian Uniate Episcopacy in this period. In fact, the problem of the Armenian Uniate Episcopacy emerged from this act.

After Bishop Oxendio Virziresco's death in 1715, the Armenian Uniate Episcopacy remained vacant. Therefore, serious conflicts broken out on the vacancy of Armenians' Episcopacy and ecclesiastical jurisdictions between the Armenians and Roman Catholic Bishops in Transylvania. The renovating Roman-Catholic Episcopacy in Transylvania left no stone unturned to integrate the Armenian Uniate Episcopacy into the Roman Catholic Church in terms of dogmatic as well as canonical aspects. Unlike the Uniate Romanians, the Armenians in Transylvania did not amount to a great community. Therefore, this, in fact, facilitated the Roman Catholic Episcopacy's situation to meddle in the Armenian Uniate Church's internal affairs in Transylvania. The main aim of the Episcopacy was to utterly subdue the Armenians in Transylvania to the Roman Catholic Church. For this reason, the Roman Catholic Bishops in Transylvania in the first half of the 18th century accused the Uniate Armenians of pursuing heretic and schismatic customs in conducting their holy liturgies without any concrete evidences on purpose. Moreover, The Roman Catholic Bishops in Transylvania regarded the Armenian Uniate Episcopacy's office in Transylvania as an illegitimate corpus and a hotbed of heresy. The main purpose of the Roman Catholic Bishops was to discredit the Uniate Armenians and their Episcopacy in Transylvania.

Finally, in my brief presentation, I try to answer questions concerning the problem of the Armenian Uniate Episcopacy in Transylvania, based on discovered and undiscovered sources kept at the archives of the Holy See in Rome and Hungary as well as analysing some secondary literature. Moreover, the presentation is primarily aimed at reflecting on the church-historical background of the issue.

32. Nichanian, Marc. *Բանասիրութիւն եւ վկայագրութիւն*

2006-07-08 *Թուականներուն, Art et témoignage (Արուեստ եւ վկայագրութիւն) ընդ-Տանուր վերնագրին տակ երեք հատոր տպեցի (MétisPresse, Ժընեւ), ֆրանսերէն լեզուով, Ի. դարու հայ գրականութեան շուրջ (Ա. հատորով՝ Մահարի, Չարենց, ալրց կարգին, Բ. հատորով՝ Դանիէլ Վարուժան եւ ազգային բանասիրութիւնը, Գ. հատորով՝ Յակոբ Օշական): Այս եռահատոր շարքին հետ գուգաեռաբար La Perversion historiographique (Պատմագրական խտորումը, Փարիզ, 2006) անունով գիրք մը հրատարակեցի, որ կ'ուսումնասիրէր պատմագրութեան յարակարծիքները Ադէտ կոչուած դէպքին դէմ յանդիման: Երկու ձեռնարկներուն միջեւ կապակցութիւնը ըստ երեւոյթին՝ վկային կերպարն էր, ու աւելի ճշգրիտ բանաձեւումով՝ վկային մահը, վկան որպէս մեռեալ: Եւ սակայն այդ կապակցութիւնը ո՛չ մէկ տեղ չէ բացատրուած: Կը կարօտի լուսաբանումի: Դասախօսութեանս նպատակը այդպիսի լուսաբանումի մը նախաշաւիղը հրամցնել պիտի ըլլայ: Յակոբ Օշականն է, որ պէտք ունի նոյնանաչու մեռեալ վկային հետ, ըլլալու մեռեալ վկան: Մեռեալ վկան, եթէ մեռած է, ինքը չի կրնար գալ վկայելու համար: Պէտք է մէկը գայ սակայն որպէս մեռեալ, պատմելու համար վկային մահը: Այս դժուարութեան վրայ կը բարդուի երկրորդ դժուարութիւն մը, «բանասիրութեան» վերաբերեալ: Ի՞նչ կապ ունի բանասիրութիւնը վկայի մահուան հետ: Ո՞ր մէկ բանասիրութեան մասին է խօսքը: Ահաւասիկ այս է որ կուզեմ բացատրել: Յակոբ Օշականին նուիրուած գիրքիս վերջին գլուխին նիւթին է մօտաւորապէս:*

33. Nitecki, Damian. *Maris: exercitor equitum et equorum*.

34. Osiecki, Jakub. *Invigilation of Armenian clergy 1920-1928. Written correspondence between GPU/Cheka and Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia*.

The paper is a part of my Ph. D thesis (Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow), based on archival sources from Armenian State Archive in Yerevan.

With commencement of soviet regime in Armenia, being aware of the significant importance of clergy and church among Christian societies, Bolsheviks started to persecute priests and believers.

The so called “modernization” process – (term used by Bolsheviks) was implemented officially, in administrative way. According to the writing of J.Stalin from 1923 the secularization and modernization of the society was to be accomplished by means of intense propaganda and bringing the Armenian Church into disrepute. As a result of this antireligious policy, religion as such was supposed to be regarded as useless and conservative phenomenon and Armenian priests as representatives’ of nationalism (Dashnacutiun Party) and bourgeoisie.

It was crucial too for GPU’s and Cheka’s agents to penetrate thoroughly the environment of clergy and to create conflict situations within it. The objective was also to trigger the process of inner-opposition/resistance against the head of the church (katholikos).

Few years after implementing soviet rule in Armenia, secret police (thanks to set of denunciators and informers) was able to control situation in Armenian Apostolic Church. Armenian Bolshevik’s used e.g Vartapet Benik or bishop Ashot to build opposition against katholikos and Higher Board of Clergy.

In accordance with reports, denunciations and official documents of Communist Party (1920-1928), Armenian soviet leaders tried to enter into relations with formal representatives of Church.

Facing new elections after George V’s death in 1930, the recognition of atmosphere and preferences in Echmiadzin has become critical for soviet establishment. The main objective was to help electing fully reliable and loyal to the regime person as katholikos.

35. Osipian, Alexander. *Georgius Dousa’s Epistola as a new source on the Polish Armenians’ trade in the Ottoman Empire in the late 16th century*.

A young Flemish humanist Georgius Dousa (1574-1599) of Leiden traveled to Constantinople in 1597-1598 looking for the Greek manuscript of *Codex Kodinos*. He described his scholarly journey in a letter titled *Epistola*, which was published in 1599. Dousa travelled through Polish Kingdom and Moldavian principality in a company of some Poles and Armenians. The latter were evidently merchants from the city of Leopold/Lemberg/Lviv where Dousa spent a lot of time. Dousa reached port of Smiela/Izmail in the estuary of Danube and there embarked on a vessel rented by the Poles and Armenians. Then they reached Constantinople by sea. Dousa also described in details an incident which happened with Armenian merchants from Lemberg in the Ottoman domains. This story enriches our knowledge of how the Armenian caravan trade with Constantinople was organized. The evidence which Dousa presents correlates with the data from Armenian court records of the cities of Lviv and Kamianiec

36. Ouzounian, Agnès. *Les textes arménien et géorgien du martyre de Chouchanik: quelques faits de langues*.

Le récit du martyre de Chouchanik, fille de Vardan Mamikonean et épouse de Va(r)sken, fils du vitaxe Achoucha, nous est parvenu en arménien et en géorgien. La *Vie de Chouchanik* est considérée comme la première œuvre originale géorgienne;

elle a été composée dans la seconde moitié du Ve siècle par un certain Yakob de Tsourtav, confesseur de la sainte. Il est généralement admis que la version arménienne ne dépend pas directement du texte géorgien, mais d'un original aujourd'hui perdu. Une lecture comparative des récits arménien et géorgien permet de relever un certain nombre de faits de langues qui seront interprétés dans le contexte de bilinguisme qui caractérisait la région de Tsourtav, située aux confins des mondes arménien et ibère, partageant, à l'époque, une même foi.

37. Pál, Judit. *Changing Identities: the Transylvanian Armenians and the Revolution of 1848.*

38. Pane, Riccardo. *Il Dio con-crocifisso: la Trinità e la Croce in Ełišē.*

Un breve passo del lungo testo di Eghishe "Sulla passione", omesso dall'edizione veneziana del 1859, definisce il Padre lo Spirito xačakic' e čarčarakic'. Il tema problematico della sofferenza di Dio, di grande attualità nella teologia contemporanea, affrontato in questo contributo alla luce della teologia trinitaria di Eghishe e della patristica coeva, permette di gettare nuova luce su un aspetto significativo della spiritualità dell'autore e di escludere quelle possibili interpretazioni teopaschite o patripassiane che avevano indotto l'editore a omettere poche righe.

39. Perczel, István. *A new manuscript from India of the Syriac Agathangelos.*

In 1971, Michel Van Esbroeck published an Arabic Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac characters) version of the Syriac summary of the lost book of Agathangelos on the conversion of Armenia. Later, the same scholar identified the Syriac original of the text in a manuscript of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchal Library in Damascus, dating to the twelfth century; he also published the Syriac text in 1977. As the bottom part of the Damascus manuscript is damaged, its text contains a number of lacunae, which fact prompted Van Esbroeck to use conjectures on the basis of the Arabic version, in order to reconstruct the original readings. In the year 2002 I identified, in a manuscript of the collection of Syriac manuscripts of the Old Orthodox Seminary in Kottayam, Kerala, another version of the Syriac text, entitled "The History of the Nephew of Abgar, King of Edessa". I also copied its beginning and ending section. This text is contained in a nineteenth-century manuscript. However, subsequently, the manuscript became inaccessible to Western scholars, an unfortunate situation, which, hopefully, will end soon.

A reading of the incipit and the explicit of this second copy of the Syriac Agathangelos, parallel to Van Esbroeck's edition, permits us to draw some preliminary conclusions, namely the following:

1. The text contained in the Kottayam manuscript is complete, so that its study would permit us to fill the lacunae of the Damascus manuscript, if we were to have access to it in its entirety. It renders Van Esbroeck's conjectures superfluous.
2. The text contains some significant variants over against the text edited by Van Esbroeck. This shows that it was not copied upon the Damascus manuscript.
3. Van Esbroeck edited the text of the Damascus manuscript without punctuation marks. The Kottayam manuscript is punctuated, which permits a more precise reading.
4. Independently of the differences between the two manuscripts, an analysis of the text of the Syriac Agathangelos shows rather clearly that it was not based on an Armenian original as Van Esbroeck had claimed, but on a Greek one that, in some manner, was connected to Emperor Heraclius's campaign in the Caucasus.

40. Peroomian, Rubina. *Truth is Not Only Violated by Falsehood; it May be Equally Outraged by Silence or The Suppression of the Memory of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey*.

Beginning from the inception of the Turkish Republic, the CUP policy of Turkification resumed full force and was implemented upon ethnic and religious minorities, among them the Armenian remnants of the 1915 Genocide. This policy, coupled with the suppression of the memory of the pre-Republican era, signified, on the one hand, the enforcement of a nationalistic historiography and educational policy to achieve a prescribed Turkish national identity for all; on the other hand, it portended a conspicuous Silence over the atrocities committed against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Speaking or writing about this subject became a taboo, a punishable transgression.

The statement by Henri Frédéric Amiel, the 19th century Swiss philosopher, was chosen not only as the title but also because it conveyed the essence of this paper which will examine the forced Silence in Turkish-Armenian literature—the obstruction of transgenerational transmittance of historical memory—and its effects on the Armenian survivors' psyche. This paper will also follow the subtle and hesitant echoes of pain, of nostalgia, and the cries for justice beginning in the late 1950s (Minzuri and on) gradually gaining momentum in Margosyan's and Hrant Dink's writings.

The initial Silence in Turkish official narrative, textbooks, and media, was the precursor to falsification of history, intensification of denial of the Truth beginning in the 1970s. Despite all this, the theme of the Armenian past began to resonate in Turkish literature produced by progressive thinkers.

This paper will follow this complex metamorphosis and demonstrate the consequential effects on Turkish society at large today.

41. Pogossian, Zaroui. *From Apocalyptic Beasts to Beautiful and Just Rulers: Some Reflections on the Attitudes to Mongols in 13th-14th century Armenian Sources*.

This paper will explore the drastic change of attitude towards Mongols as expressed in 13th and 14th century Armenian sources. While such authors as Kirakos Ganjakec'i and Vardan Arewelc'i in a *Colophon* depict Mongols as the apocalyptic intruders prophesied by Nersēs the Great, attitudes to the new rulers of Armenian territories change already in the middle of the 13th century. Vardan Arewelc'i himself purges his *Universal History* from any apocalyptic references in relation to the Mongols. Other sources, such as small chronicles or colophons also demonstrate a similar tendency. But we see a marked change of attitude especially in Step'anos Orbelean who depicts Mongols in an extremely positive light. Yet, this tendency was not universal, since the apocalyptic role ascribed to the Mongols was reiterated in other types of sources, such as the new versions of the *Prophecies of Agaton*. Moreover, there is evidence, that such ideas were popular among the population at large as opposed to the élites, be those religious or secular.

42. Redgate, Anne Elizabeth. *The Amatuni Hunting Scenes at the Seventh-Century Church of Ptghni: Patron and 'Propaganda'*.

The decoration of one window of the church at Ptghni includes two hunt scenes and an inscription naming the left-hand hunter Manuel, *ter* (lord) of the Amatunis. Scholars have disagreed about the church's date and the hunters' identity, seeing them either as ancestors, namely the Manuel and his father Pargev Amatuni who, Movses Khorenatsi states, were killed by the Persians in 389, or as donors. Christina Maranci's recent argument for the date c. 640 - c. 670, on art-historical grounds, and that the right-hand hunter is suffering the particular fate that Movses attributes to Pargev and

therefore is identifiable as him, are this paper's starting point. It will consider the socio-political context of the window's decoration, seek to identify the message that it was intended to convey, and reconsider the identity of the left-hand hunter. It will suggest that the usage of *ter* in texts implies that the patron/designer is unlikely to have considered *lord of the Amatunis* to be an appropriate title for Pargev's son and that the layout of the entire composition implies an indication of difference, not similarity, between the two hunters' identities. It will try to identify the species and thus the symbolism of the bird carved above Pargev, the result suggesting that Pargev was seen as not just an heroic but as a very protective forebear. It will argue that Manuel was presented as a living donor, with leadership qualities and with the prospect of divine favour through Pargev's intercession; that the context was one of social fluidity, the lesser nobility anticipating Byzantine patronage; and hence that the window's carving was, in part, an Amatuni claim of suitability for promotion, following Amatuni heroism in the unsuccessful defence of Dvin against the Arabs in 640.

43. Russell, James. *Shvods and shoving: two case studies in research on ancient Armenia*.

This lecture seeks to illustrate how some new methods and kinds of sources can be employed to address issues of long standing in the study of ancient Armenia: beliefs and language. One will examine the case of the genius loci called the *Shvod* and the verb *hrmshtkel*.

44. Sailors, Timothy. *Die Werke des Irenäus von Lyon in armenischer Übersetzung. Zum Status Quaestionis*.

45. Salmina, Valda. *The rendering of Armenian proper nouns into European Languages (into Latvian): theoretical and practical aspects*.

In this report we characterize in short the ways of formation of Armenian transcriptions and transliterations in European languages (by specifying terminology: scientific and practical transcription; by proposing historical overview from Hübschmann until contemporaneity; by characterizing the main principles of development of scientific transcription and most frequently used transcription/transliteration systems).

We analyze the processes of linguistic interaction between the Latvians and the Armenians as a new national minority in the society of contemporary Latvia based in the tradition of rendering of Armenian proper nouns into Latvian. The role of the intermediary language (mostly Russian, English) has been especially distinguished.

In this investigation we deal with Armenian and Latvian phonetic and graphic systems contrastive analyses, as well as theoretically well grounded equivalents for nontypical sounds in Latvian language. In addition morphological form of the Armenian proper nouns and problematic cases of grammatization have been analyzed.

Examples of cases of rendering Armenian proper nouns in various language registers of the period from the end of 19th century up to the modern times are given.

46. Sargsyan, Tatevik. *The Armenian monastery Surb Khach in Crimea/Հայոց Աբ խաչ վանքը Ղրիմում*

Ջեկուցումս նպատակ ունի ընդհանուր գծերով ծանոթացնելու Ղրիմի Սուրբ խաչ վանքի անցյալին, ճարտարապետական կառուցվածքին և վերջին տարիների նրա ուսումնասիրություններին, որոնց արդյունքները, հիմնականում ուսուցիչներն լեզվով, հրատարակվել են ինչպես հոդվածների, այնպես էլ առանձին մենագրությունների տեսքով:

Միջնադարյան այս հուշարձանը համակողմանի և լիարժեք հետազոտություն առարկա դարձավ միայն վերջերս՝ 20-րդ դարի 90-ականներից: 1998 թվին հայերեն և ուսուցիչներն լեզվով հրատարակված «Սուրբ խաչ» գրքում և 1999 թվին

«Պատմաբանասիրական հանդեսում» տպագրված «Ղրիմի Սուրբ Խաչ վանքը և նրա վիմագիր արձանագրությունները» հոդվածում առաջին անգամ ճարտարապետ Մերուժան Պետրոսյանի և իմ՝ Տաթևիկ Սարգսյանիս կողմից փորձ արվեց վանքի անցյալը լուսաբանել հայկական միջնադարյան աղբյուրների և առաջին հերթին Ղրիմում գրված հայերեն ձեռագրային հիշատակարանների տեղեկությունների հիման վրա: Անշուշտ, ներգրավվեցին նաև վիմագիր արձանագրությունների տվյալները, ուչ չրջանի հայ և ռուս ականատեսների հաղորդումները, ինչպես նաև մեր ժամանակի պատմաբանների, հնագետների, ճարտարապետների ու արվեստաբանների հետազոտությունների արդյունքները: Հետագա աշխատանքները խորացրին և զարգացրին ուսումնասիրություններն այս ուղղությամբ՝ իրենց համեմատաբար լիարժեք արտացոլումը գտնելով 2008 թվին ռուսերեն լեզվով հրատարակված «Ղրիմ. Սուրբ Խաչ վանք» մենագրության մեջ:

Սուրբ Խաչը ղրիմահայ գաղթօջախի ամենանշանավոր հոգևոր կենտրոնն է, հայկական մշակույթի փառավոր առհավատչյան, որը դարեր շարունակ եղել է տեղի աթոռակալ եպիսկոպոսների նստավայրը: Այն գտնվում է թերակղզու արևելյան կողմում, Ղրիմի լեռների անտառուտ գեղատեսիլ լանջին, միջնադարյան հայտնի բնակավայր և առևտրական կենտրոն Սուրխաթից, որն այժմ հայտնի է «Ստարի Ղրիմ» կամ «Հին Ղրիմ» անունով, 3 կմ հեռավորության վրա: Այն բաղկացած է Սուրբ Նշան եկեղեցուց (1358 թ.), դրան արևմուտքից կցված աշտարակավոր գավթից (14-րդ դարավերջ), մենաստանի շենքից (1694 թ.), երկսրահ սեղանատնից (18-րդ դար), վերջինիս հարավից հարող օժանդակ շինությունից կամ պահակատնից, մեծ և փոքր ներքին բակերից: Թվարկված կառույցների արտաքին բարձր ու ամրաշեն պատերը, ինչպես նաև տեղ-տեղ դրանց լրացնող պարսպապատերը ձևավորում են մեկ ընդհանուր փակ պաշտպանական համակարգ, որը վանքը նմանեցնում է ավելի շուտ ամրոցի, քան խաղաղ մենաստանի:

Սուրբ Խաչի ճարտարապետական նկարագիրը աչքի է ընկնում խիստ ձևերով, անպաճույճ հարդարանքով, զուսպ արտահայտչականությամբ: Կառուցված լինելով օտար հողում՝ հուշարձանը, բնականաբար, կրել է իրեն շրջապատող ժողովուրդների մշակութային ազդեցությունը, ներառել որոշակի ոչ ազգային տարրեր: Այսուհանդերձ, այստեղ գերիշխում է հայկական ճարտարապետությունը, հայեցի մտածելակերպը:

47. Scala, Andrea. *Differential object marking in classical Armenian.*

The most authoritative grammars of classical Armenian agree in describing the use of the preposition *z-* with the accusative as a matter of definiteness. But this claim is hard to subscribe when the preposition *z-* precedes indefinite pronouns (and adjectives) as *mi*, *ok*, *mi ok* and *omn*. In order to explain such cases and many other we have to rethink the parameters governing the use of *z-*. A look to the recent cross-linguistic researches about differential object marking suggests to explain the distribution of *z-* in classical Armenian not on the basis of the parameter /definiteness/, but on that of /referentiality/ or, according with other definitions, /specificity/. Moreover, if the old meaning of *z-* was “regarding, about”, as supposed by Meillet, it is possible to assume the existence of a relationship between topicality, that is pragmatic prominence, and different object marking in classical Armenian.

48. Schirru, Giancarlo. *Observations on the Armenian reflexes of PIE voiceless palatal.*

In the historical evolution of Armenian consonants, PIE voiceless palatal **k* becomes Arm. /s/ in all the contexts: in initial position, after vowel and after sonorant. For the latter changing, there are not clear examples illustrating the Arm. reflex of PIE **nk*; in this perspective, it is possible to discuss an etymology, concerning Arm. *hownjk* ‘harvest’, originally proposed (and subsequently refused) by V. Pisani. This solution entails the voicing of the original voiceless palatal after nasal (but not after rhotic), and its merging with the reflex of the PIE “voiced aspirated”: PIE **nk* > Arm. /ndz/.

The scarcity of examples illustrating the reflexes of PIE **nk* is not peculiar to Armenian; PIE **nk* has a very small comparative basis, while PIE **nk* is reconstructed in a large amount of etyma. Thus, in the frame of a reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European with three “guttural” series, it can be supposed that the voiceless velar should be involved in the process, and that Armenian reflects the element, which is represented by a velar in other satem languages, by a front consonant /dz/: PIE **nk* > Arm. /ndz/.

Four etymologies supporting this correlation will be discussed; they concern the following Arm. words:

- *tanjr* ‘thick, weight, fat’;
- *hnjan* ‘a basin to squeeze grapes in, a wine-press basin’;
- *sanj* ‘horse bit, bridles’;
- *anjn* ‘person, someone, himself; soul, body’.

49. Shahinyan, Arsen. *Territory and the Boundaries of the Autonomous Armenian Principality in the 7th Century.*

The last third of the VI and the first third of the VII century became a period of evident aggravation of the centuries-old struggle between the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Iran for domination over Armenia and the Southern Caucasus countries. As a result of two last wars — the Twenty Year War (572–591) and the Twenty Five Year War (603–628) — the interstate border as if 387 was reconsidered. Under the peace of 591 Byzantium got a large part of territory of Iranian marzbanats of Armenia (73 587 square km), Iberia (26 667 square km) and Assyria (19 532 square km). Pact of 628 duplicated the peace conditions of 591.

At the same time Armenian regions (i.e., territories of the former marzbanats of Armenia and Assyria) included into Byzantium in 591 were not subordinated by Maurice (582-602) to general imperial status and remained on special conditions. It was recognition of local norms of social system by imperial authorities, i.e. recognition of autonomous rights of local nakharar (feudal) houses. Special status of these lands introduced into general imperial norms of state law some amendments which eventually resulted in formation of a new institution — “ishkhan of Armenia” (“Prince of Armenia”).

The Twenty Year War and the Twenty Five Year War exhausted military force and financial potential of Byzantium and Iran. As a result the countries lost their politic and economical influence on front Asiatic region, as well as became themselves victims of new military and politic force forming in the deserts of Arabian Peninsula — the Arab Caliphate. The Sasanian state became extinct during early stage of the Arabs gains. Whereas Byzantium could organize opposition to the Arabs, though at the expense of huge territorial loss.

As a result, in 630 approximately, Armenian nobility achieved real political autonomy (self-government). An autonomous principality being vassal of Byzantium (with total area of 93 119 square km) was created and headed by Mzhezh Gnuni (about 630–637) and Davit Saharuni (about 637–641). The autonomy involved that traditional for early medieval Armenia public authority — the council of nakharars and ishkhans — which consisted of representatives of politic and military elite elected its head itself from amongst local princes. All local army moved to the disposal of the council. Vassal and suzerain relationships involved that an elected head should be introduced to the emperor Heraclius I (610–641) for approval, conferment of a title of “curopalate” and admission into nationality. Appearance of the Armenian Principality was a result of genesis and legal implementation of a national institution “ishkhan of Armenia”. In 639/40, new geopolitical situation in the region allowed marzban of Persian Armenia Teodoros Rshtuni (631?–639/40) to extend his power over all Armenian provinces which had been dependent on Byzantium (including historical Lesser Armenia with outlet to the Black Sea). In 641, he achieved that his princely power over united Armenia (with total area of 263 181 square km) with the center in Dvin was legally

implemented by the emperor Constant II (641–668). The territory of Principality in 651 was enlarged due to the reunification of the Suinik region (15 237 square km). However, the occupation of the south-western regions of Armenian Principality by Arabs in 640s (with total area of 88 365 sq. km, i.e., about 33,5% it's territory) forced of Teodoros Rshtuni to begin parley with the vicar of caliph Mu'awiya and conclude strategically important agreement with him in August of 652. Arab Caliphate on this document de-jure recognized autonomous Armenian Principality in boundaries acting on that moment, i.e., in the limits of territory with an area of 190 053 sq. km.

50. Siekiersky, Konrad. *Armenians in Romania Today. A Report on Research Project "Religion, Politics and Diaspora: The Case Study of the Armenian Community in Modern Romania"*.

The aim of proposed paper is to present results of an ethnographic research project "Religion, Politics and Diaspora: The Case Study of Armenian Community in Modern Romania", conducted by the author during a period of March-July 2011. The presentation will focus on contemporary characteristics and dynamics of given Armenian community, its internal diversity, position in Romanian society and relations with Armenia. Collected materials will be also used to analyze politics of symbols and politics of identity that emerge in the specific environment of diaspora as well as to discuss certain features of the concept of diaspora itself.

51. Tamrazyan, Hrachya. *Ստեղծագործ անհատի և արվեստի տեսության խնդիրները Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի «Հաճախապատում» ճառերում* [Issues of creative personality and theory of art in the *Frequent Discourses/Yačaxapatum Čark* of Mesrop Maštoc].

Գրիգոր Լուսավորչին վերագրվող «Հաճախապատում ճառերի» հեղինակային պատկանելության հարցը գտնվել է հայագետների ուշադրության կենտրոնում: Ընդունված տեսակետի համաձայն՝ ճառերի հեղինակը Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցն է: Եղած ակնհայտ փաստերին գումարվում են նորերը՝ կապված երկերի բնագրագիտական և փիլիսոփայական-գեղագիտական շերտերի հետ, որոնք երևան են հանում արվեստի տեսության մի յուրօրինակ համակարգ:

Խորքային դիտարկումն այս ճառերի մեջ ի հայտ է բերում մի ամբողջական ծրագիր-տեսություն՝ գիտությունների և արվեստների ներքին հղացքի և ընթացքի մասին, ինչպես նաև կրթության և մանկավարժության նշանակության, վարդապետ-աշակերտ հարաբերությունների և այդ կապի ժառանգականության մասին:

Ստեղծվում է արվեստագետի, վարդապետի մի կատարելատիպ – գաղափար, գործունեության և վարքի մի ծրագիր, որը տանում է աստվածանմանության. մարդն աստվածանում է ըստ մարդկային կարողությունների:

Մարդկային գործունեության այս շղթան, ստեղծաբանության այս ծիրն անցնում է ճառից-ճառ, ուրվագծելով նաև հեղինակի հոգեմտավոր կերպարը, նրա գործունեության ոլորտները՝ կենսագրական տարրեր ի հայտ բերելով դրանց մեջ:

Այս ամենը կասկած չի թողնում, որ «Հաճախապատում ճառերի» հեղինակը Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցն է, հայ մեծագույն վարդապետն ու ուսուցչապետը:

Անշուշտ, Մաշտոցն օգտագործել է Գրիգոր Լուսավորչի ձևավորված դավանաբանական ավանդույթը, հատկապես «Վարդապետության» մեջ, նոր ժամանակներին համապատասխան լրացնելով – հարստացնելով այն:

Սակայն «Հաճախապատում» ճառերի բուն ոգին, տարերը դավանաբանությունը չէ: Այս իմաստով այն տարբերվում է «Վարդապետությունից» թե՛ ժանրային, թե՛ բովանդակային առումով:

Գրերի գյուտից հետո սկսվել էր արարման բուռն ընթացք՝ ստեղծվում էր հայ մատենագրության, հայ մշակույթի ոսկեդարը, ամեն ինչ հայ կյանքում գտնվում էր բանական շարժման մեջ, հոգ-որ սլացքի, թռիչքած- զարգացումների փուլում:

Անհրաժեշտ էր բարձրացնել, շեշտել մարդկային բանականության, հանճարի, ստեղծարար ձիրքի նշանակությունը, պաշտամունք սերմանել դպրության ու մատենագրության հանդեպ:

Անհրաժեշտ էր գաղափարել նոր, աստվածանման մարդու՝ մատենագրի ու արվեստագետի կերպարը՝ իբր- ճշմարիտ վարդապետության կատարելատիպ, որին պետք է ձգտեն աշակերտները:

Դա է անում Մաշտոցն իր ճառերում՝ իբր- ուսուցչապետ արարման պաշտամունք սերմունծելով ու սերմանելով իր աշակերտների - հետագա սերունդների մեջ, որն հզոր ազդակ դարձավ հայ դպրության , մատենագրության ու մշակույթի զարգացման, հայ կյանքի համար ընդհանրապես:

Աստվածանման մարդու վարքը նա պատկերացնում է իբր- հանճարեղ արարման ընթացք, այդ գաղափարը նախասահմանելով իր թարգմանած առաջին իսկ նախադասության մեջ՝ «Ճանաչել զիմաստութիւն - զխրատ, իմանալ զբանս հանճարոյ»:

52. ten Kate, Albert. *La parenté textuelle de l'ancienne version arménienne de l'Évangile de Jean/The Textual Affiliation of the Old-Armenian Version of the Gospel of John.*

The Textual Affiliation of the Old Armenian Version of the Gospel of John.

The oldest known version of the Armenian Gospel of John occurs in two manuscripts: one of Etchmiadzin(nr. 229) and the other in the Matenadaran(nr. 6200). They were edited by Macler(1920) and Xalateanc'(1899), and re-edited by Künzle(1984). In comparing them with other versions, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian and the different Diatessaron-traditions, they appear to be influenced by the Syriac Peshitta-tradition, but also by Old-Latin versions. The textual affiliation with the Greek Caesarean text-type is not always so clear in this Gospel. These manuscripts side often also with the Codex Sinaiticus and Greek papyri, and also with some Diatessarons. We hope to dress a clear picture of the different affiliations, giving examples of the typical Old-Armenian variants in this Gospel.

53. Terian, Abraham. *Another Look at the Fifth Century Sources on Monasticism in Armenia.*

This paper takes issue with those who place the rise of cenobitic or communal monasticism in Armenia at a time after the fifth century, or who dwell on but a certain meaning of the word VANK' in this period (following Ep'rikian, 1897). After tracing the scholarly debate to its beginning and inviting attention to all the primary sources from the second half of the fifth-century, beginning with certain canons of Shahapivan, the overview clearly shows a transition from diverse forms of asceticism to cenobitic monasticism in Armenia during the period in question.

54. Thomson, Robert. *Nerses of Lambron's "Commentary on the Death of John."*

The so-called "Dormition of John, *Hangist srboyn Yovhannu,*" is the final part of the apocryphal *Acts of John the Evangelist.* This section often circulated separately. It was a popular text, included in many Armenian Bibles as well as Miscellanies. In 1179 Nersēs of Lambron composed a Commentary on the Dormition; this was published in

1736, but has not attracted very much attention, though a modern Armenian translation appeared in the journal *Ganjasar*, vol. 6 [1996].

Of particular interest in this commentary is the information Nersēs provides about traditions concerning the life of John that are not found in the *Acts of John*, notably the story of his birth and upbringing. This paper will compare the evidence in Nersēs' commentary with traditions known in Armenian from other (apocryphal) texts, and attempt to elucidate the source for these details.

55. Tinti, Irene. Linguistic Notes on the Old Armenian *Timaeus*.

It is fairly well known among scholars that the extant Armenian translations of Plato's dialogues have been the subject of some debate, particularly regarding the matter of their attribution, chronological collocation and relationship with the Greek originals, ever since their appearance in print in the late 1800s. More detailed analyses, however, need to be conducted, since a throughout linguistic study of each dialogue, which will eventually lead to a contrastive examination of their translation technique, has not yet been done. The present paper's aim is to bring a small contribution in that field, and relate the results of a research concerning Plato's *Timaeus* and its Armenian translation as preserved in the *codex unicus* (manuscript 1123 from the library of St. Lazarus). In order to provide samples of the translator's approach to the text, a single semantic field has been selected: the enquiry focuses on the anthesis between the Greek verb *eimi* ("to be") and its kinetic pendant *gignomai* ("to become", "to be born", "to happen" and also, in the perfect, "to be"), which mirrors the ontological difference between the world of eternal Ideas and the phenomenal world. Primary attention has been devoted to the latter, whose polysemy makes it especially suitable to represent the various manifestations of the transient reality: since Plato seems to have taken the greatest possible advantage from the opposition between different forms of *gignomai* in order to convey philosophically relevant distinctions, it is indeed significant, in a traductological perspective, to ascertain which ones of these distinctions the author(s) of the ancient Armenian translation could recognize and render. That is especially true as the target language did not possess an equal set of morphologically and semantically differentiated verbal forms.

56. Topchyan, Aram. *The Old Armenian Translation of Ps.-Methodius' Apocalypse: Complete or Fragmentary?*

There are parts of the *Apocalypse* of Ps.-Methodius translated into Armenian from the oldest Greek version, probably, in the late 7th or early 8th century. Witnesses to this are Step'anos Orbelean's Chapter 32 (which corresponds to the "prophetic" part of the *Apocalypse* and is also found in manuscripts as a separate work) and the piece entitled *Question* in M9100 and forming part of Vanakan Vardapet's *Book of Questions* (it contains passages from the "historical" section of Ps.-Methodius).

Alongside these, another, very different recension of the "prophetic" part of the *Apocalypse* which bears traces of the Crusades and later events also circulated in Armenia. Very likely, it is a 12th or 13th-century redaction (perhaps with some changes made in the 16th or 17th century) of the old Armenian translation of the "prophetic" section of the *Apocalypse*.

However, there is no sufficient evidence to give a definite answer to the question whether or not a complete old Armenian translation of Ps.-Methodius existed.

57. Troebst, Stefan. *Sweden, Russia and the Safavid Empire: A Mercantile Perspective*.

Among the driving forces behind Sweden's policy of expansion and ultimately of her rise to a Great Power in the early modern period were economic and financial factors: the peripheral, poor, backward and sparsely populated country tried to compensate for its weakness of resources by controlling the main arteries of East-West trade in

order to siphon it off. The main target of Swedish policy of trade control was Muscovite Russia. From the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, the rerouting of Russian foreign trade from the Tsar's main port of Archangel on the White Sea to Swedish ports in the Eastern Baltic Sea was a core element in Sweden's foreign policy. Already in the 1550s, Stockholm realized that Persian transit trade was a constitutive component of Russia's trade with the West. Accordingly, Swedish policy makers developed a sustained interest in Safavid Iran in general and in Persian trade with Europe in particular. One of the first concrete results of this interest was Stockholm's involvement in the 'Holstein Project' of 1632-35/41, which resulted in the famous Brueggemann-Crusius Mission to Isfahan. In the first half of the 1650s, modest Swedish successes concerning the rerouting of the Archangel trade motivated the merchants of Reval to include Persian raw silk in their mercantile transactions. This commodity was bought in Moscow and Novgorod, and then exported via Sweden to Amsterdam. Parallel to this, Northwest-Russian merchants started to export raw silk to Sweden. Only after the Swedish-Muscovite War of 1656-1661 and extended Muscovite-Armenian-Safavid negotiations on transit trade during the period 1660-1676 was Swedish interest in the Persian trade revitalized. Between 1679 and 1687, Ludvig Fabritius undertook two missions to Isfahan on behalf of the Swedish crown. In negotiations with the Grand Vizier and the Armenian merchants, Fabritius succeeded in getting his counterparts interested in the Baltic route. In addition, he managed to obtain the Tsar's agreement to allow subjects of the Shah to do transit trade via Novgorod to Narva. In return, on 23 September 1687, Charles XI of Sweden issued a grant to the Armenian merchants of Isfahan, which gave them privileged use of Sweden's Baltic port of Narva, including the operation of a 'Persian House'. In 1690, this grant triggered a fairly regular raw silk trade from Iran via Russia and Narva to Amsterdam carried out by Armenian merchants. Occasionally, up to 50 merchants plus staff stayed in Narva. According to Swedish statistics, in the years 1690 to 1697, an average of 250 bales of raw silk p. a., i. e., some four per cent of Iran's raw silk exports, were shipped via Sweden. From the mid-1690s on, internal divisions among the Armenian merchants of Isfahan resulted in the emergence of Kurland and Poland-Lithuania as competitors for Swedish trade policy. This caused the Swedish crown in 1697 to send Fabritius once more to Isfahan. Shah Sultan Husain I agreed to focus Persian transit trade on the Swedish ports in the Baltic, yet the outbreak of the Great Northern War in the summer of 1700 brought an abrupt end to the Narva route. Whereas the Great Northern War ended Sweden's status as a Great Power, another emerging power in the region adopted the Swedish design of drawing Iran's trade with Western Europe to the Baltic Sea: in 1708, Brandenburg-Prussia used the Swedish grant of 1687 as the blueprint to draw a group of Armenian merchants to Sweden.

58. Uluhogian, Gabriella. *Il ms. S. Marco 790 da Buda a Manila e a Firenze (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana)*.

Il ms. S. Marco 790 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, di quasi trecento fogli, contiene un *Breviario* domenicano e i cantici che accompagnano la recitazione dei salmi. È stato esemplato a Buda nel 1369 da un copista proveniente dalla provincia di Naxiçewan. Assai modesto dal punto di vista artistico, ha un notevole valore storico. Il suo committente, e in parte copista, è una singolare figura di sacerdote-medico-traduttore, Yakob-Sargis che, avendo aderito alla professione cattolica, era divenuto oggetto di sarcasmo da parte dei connazionali armeni. Il personaggio, proprio per il suo doppio nome e per il nome dei genitori e dei famigliari, permette di essere identificato col copista di un *Messale* del 1391, cod. XI. 464, conservato nel monastero di San Florian in Austria. I colofoni e le note dei due manoscritti offrono un'interessante testimonianza sull'attività dei frati predicatori armeni nell'Europa orientale negli ultimi decenni del XIV secolo e non solo. Il nostro codice, infatti ha molto viaggiato, prima che due religiosi armeni, di passaggio in Italia

nel 1724, lo lasciassero nel monastero fiorentino di San Marco, dal quale è confluito con altri alla Laurenziana. Oltre che per i testi, è importante per le numerose note memoriali e per le notizie relative ai suoi possessori e fruitori, i frati predicatori armeni che, nel 1715, in viaggi avventurosi, lo portarono con sé fino alla lontana Manila. I margini rifilati, le decorazioni miniate talvolta sconciate con irriverenti disegni a penna denunciano la sua lunga storia e l'uso continuativo che ne è stato fatto.

59. Utidjian, Haig. *The musician as biblical exegete: theological and musical observations on the example of St. Gregory of Narek's Hawun-hawun*

This paper analyses one of St. Gregory of Narek's most celebrated odes. It first aims to demonstrate how recourse to the author's extant *oeuvre* as a whole, to the Armenian Hymnal, the Greek Septuagint and to items of contemporaneous visual art, can serve to expose some hitherto missing pieces to the rich kaleidoscope of multi-layered and often fleeting biblical allusions which have not been readily apparent to modern readers or commentators of this exquisite, lapidary miniature. This approach also helps explain the otherwise surprising fact that in the earliest manuscript sources the ode is presented as an antiphon to the Ode to the Church, *Erkink' i yerkirs*. Second, comparisons of extant musical versions of the ode with neumatically-notated versions, analogies with comparable melodies from the Hymnal and the Breviary, and an awareness of Armenian compositorial practice culminating in the burst of creativity in nineteenth-century Constantinople, would all seem to militate against the common assertion that Komitas' well-known nineteenth-century transcription corresponds to the tenth-century original. Finally, we submit that *Hawun-hawun* may itself be deemed as a work of biblical exegesis, and may well have been conceived by its author as such. Through its musical deployment during the Divine Liturgy, and bringing to bear its dazzling array of superimposed and closely juxtaposed biblical images – where each component, by dint of its association with every other, was rendered all the more meaningful and vital to the congregation, and all the more relevant to the Eucharist being served at the here and now – the ode could be justifiably expected to achieve such an objective with great subtlety and power.

Keywords: St. Gregory of Narek, mystic poetry, Armenian odes, Hymnal, neumatic notation, allegory, biblical exegesis, mediaeval Christian theology.

60. Van Lint, Theo. *The Letters of Grigor Magistros to Catholicos Petros I Getadarj*.

61. Vardanyan, Edda. *L'Évangile de Lemberg (1198) : est-il l'Évangile du couronnement?*

Se fondant sur la date de sa création, l'on suppose que l'Évangile de Lemberg a été créé pour le rite du couronnement de Lévon I^{er}. Le programme iconographique de la page de titre de l'Évangile selon Matthieu peut être un argument en faveur de cette hypothèse. Trois éléments du décor de cette page et leur interrelation reflètent symboliquement la fête de l'Épiphanie que l'Église Arménienne célèbre le 6 janvier, choisi comme jour du couronnement de Lévon I^{er}: 1) le médaillon renfermant le portrait du Christ Emmanuel dans le frontispice; 2) l'ornement marginal représentant la généalogie du Christ; 3) le récipient plein d'eau, placé sous l'initiale en forme d'ange. En outre, ces éléments sont les symboles de l'idéologie du pouvoir royal. Le leitmotiv du décor de la page de titre est le thème de l'onction qui donne au pouvoir royal la signification la plus complète du droit divin. Ce décor exprime l'avènement de l'« Oint », titre, que Lévon reçoit en devenant roi, et qui joue un rôle important durant son règne. L'étude du programme iconographique de cette page de titre montre que l'Évangile de Lemberg pourrait être en rapport avec le rite du couronnement de Lévon I^{er}.

62. Vardazaryan, Olga. *On the Scholia to the "Armenian Philo"*.

The hermeneutic “coating”, which was generated around the Armenian Corpus Philonicum during XII-XIII cent., reflects all the stages of the commenting philosophical and theological texts of the medieval monastic school curriculum. As the introductory lections to the Corpus (*սլաւոճարք*) and the epitomized rhetorical reproduction of *De Providentia* (*Հաւաքովն*) are already published¹, there remain a core of the scholiastic production – the *scholia* in proper sense², and some *glossaries*, which, as H. Amalyan has demonstrated, were compiled by borrowing lexical materials from scholia³. The paper is aimed to introduce principles of the description of the “philonic” scholia and discuss (mainly on the basis of all existing Armenian commentaries to the *Prov*) some issues of the edition of their texts: the more economic and obvious modes of the presentation of the paraphrases, the hierarchy of the variants of the scholia, the evaluation of readings for textual criticism of the Armenian translations of Philo’s works.

63. Viredaz, Rémy. *Indo-European final *-Ts and accent placement in Armenian.*

Posttonic Reduction or “Apocope”: e. g. *lúco*, gen. *lucóyo* ‘yoke’, *č’órek’, *č’óras ‘four’, *hínge ‘five’, *háyr ‘father’, *ótan ‘foot’ > *luc*, **lucóy*, *čork*’, *č’ors*, *hing*, *hayr*, *otn*.

Protonic Reductions: e.g. **lucóy*, **sirtí*, **dustér*, **lowsóy*, **eyšóy* > *ləcoy*, *sərti*, *dəster*, *lusoy*, *išoy*.

For Indo-European I quote the late, dialectal stage just after the loss of the laryngeals.

1. In Greek, although final stops are not allowed, final sequences of stop + s are admitted (-ξ, -ψ). What was the fate of such sequences in Armenian?

Possible examples are:

ayc (*ayci-*) ‘goat’ < **aig1-s* (Olsen), Greek *αἴξ*.

mic (*mci-*) ‘mud’ < **smid-s* (Martirosyan), root **smeid-* known in Germanic.

hac’ (*hac’i-*) ‘bread’ < **pāt-s*, English *food*.

erbuc (*erbco-*) ‘breast’ < **rbúc* < **bhrug-s* (Olsen), cf. Greek *φάρυ(γ)ξ* ‘throat’ < **bhrug-s*.

eres-k’ (*eresa-*) ‘face’ < **rés* < **prep-s* (or **kwrep-s*), cf. *erewim* ‘appear’, Greek *πρέπω* ‘be conspicuous’. Plurale tantum like the Iranian loan *démk*’.

anic ‘nit’ < nom. **k2n̥id-s*, cf. Greek *κονίς*, English *nit* (cf. Pedersen).

añiwč (*añiwcu-*) ‘lion’ < **ařéwč* < nom. **areugs* or **arēugs* (cf. Lamberterie).

vec’ ‘six’ < **uéc*’ < **suwek1s*.

2. Non-examples

ałuês (*ałuesu-*) ‘fox’, cf. Greek *λώπηξ*: not **-ek1s* (cf. *vec*’ above); perhaps **alōpek1-i-* (!).

Sigmatic aorists such as *anêc* ‘cursed’ or *eloyč*’ ‘lit’ (Pedersen, Kortlandt) may well have been thematized (after 1 sg.).

¹ O. Vardazaryan, The ‘Causes’ of the writings by Philo. Texts and studies, Proceedings of the ‘V. Brusov’ Yerevan State University of Linguistics. Social studies, vol.3, Yerevan 2005, 185-233. [in Armenian]; Idem, The Epitome of the Explanation of the (Treatise) *On Providence* by Philo the Wise, (made) by Yovhannēs Orotneč’i, “Banber Matenadarani” [Journal of the Matenadaran], 17, Yerevan, 2006, 213-259. [in Armenian].

² The bibliography of the “philonic” scholia preserved in Yerevan Matenadaran see in: O. Vardazaryan, The Armenian scholia to the works by Philo of Alexandria], “Patma-Banasirakan Handes” [Historico-Philological Journal], 168/1, Yerevan, 2005, 185-206 [in Armenian].

³ *Barč*’ P’iloni [The words of Philo], *Barč*’ Xorani [The words of Tabernacle], *Yewt*’nerord *glux groč*’ [(The words of) the seventh chapter of writings]. About these and other linked *glossaria* see H. Amalyan, The Lexicographical Monuments of Medieval Armenia (5th-15th cent.), Erevan 1966, especially 71-96 [in Armenian].

More uncertain or unlikely examples will not be relied upon here.

3. On the basis of 1 above, it is thus likely:

– that *-g1s, *-ds, *-k1s (and generally non-labial stops + *-s) produced wordfinal affricates in Armenian, and

– that these were not reduced to *-s even though other stops were no longer allowed in final position (except for plural -k'). (Affricates are a kind of stops.)

3.1. Before accepting such conclusions, we should try our best for alternative explanations:

ayc < áyci < *aig1-i-, a plausible enlargement of *aig1-.

hac' < *pa-sk1-i-, *pās-k-i-...

mic < ad hoc root *(s)mei-g1-; words for 'mud', 'dirt' are frequently renewed.

erbuc < *rbúc < *rbúco < thematized *bhrugo-.

eres-k' < *prep-s-ā (Pedersen), with an unfrequent though possible suffix.

anic for *anit after anêck' 'curse' (Hamp).

ariwc < *areug-o- or *areug-i-.

vec': paragogic vowel (such as *huwec'c' > *huwec'c'e, Viredaz 1997, 2005).

3.2. These alternative explanations are unlikely in many cases.

Conclusion: even before the "Apocope", not only n, *l, r, s and plural k', but also *c, *c' were allowed in final position in Armenian. Best examples first:

*uéc' 'six' < *suwek1s

*anic 'nit' < *k2n̄id-s

*áyc (or possibly *áyci) 'goat' < *aig1-s

*aréwc (or less probably *aréwci, *aréwco) 'lion' < *areug-s (or *arēug-s)

*rbúc (or *rbúco) 'throat' < *bhrug-s (cf. Greek φάρυξ)

*hác' 'bread' < *pāt-s (or unknown origin)

*míc < *smid-s (or less probably *smig1-s or *smig1-i-; or not inherited).

4 Further conclusion: there were dissyllables like *uéc', *anic, *aréwc accented on the final syllable even before the Posttonic Reduction. Thus, the fixed accent of early Armenian was not always on the penult. In languages having a fixed accent in a near-final position, the accent placement rule is often twofold: e. g. Latin, or Aeolic Greek. So we propose that the Armenian accent rule was twofold as well: on the penult in general, but on the final with words ending in *-Ts (stop plus sibilant). Since neither plural -k', nor the reflexes of *-nt, *-ns, forced the accent on the final syllable, this effect of *-Ts groups will be due to their status as "quasisyllables". However, the accent remained in its place even after early Arm diphenemic

*-ts became monophonemic *-c. Though one would like to have more examples to warrant such far-reaching or unexpected conclusions, at least the problem has been posed.

64. Yeghiazaryan, Azat. *"History of Vardan and the Armenian War"*, by Elishe as a literary work.

My research treats the literary analysis of historiographical books of the fifth century. Much has been written about Armenian historiography of that period, but mostly focused on the way these books reflect the history. In other words, these books have been viewed as historiographers' historical works. Since the late eighteenth century debates have centered on whether the historians offered an authentic account of the period they discussed, or engaged in fraud. Indeed, this strange controversy still occupies the minds of Armenologists more than other issues such as narrative style, the type of reflection of reality, the type of hero, etc. As a result, the books of Khorenatsi and others have not been considered as phenomenon of literature. To my mind this is a major, even indefensible gap in studies of the historiography of the fifth century.

This paper deals with some features of “History of Vardan and the Armenian War” by Elishe, its style, heroes, narrative etc. Analysis will highlight comparison with the books of Agathangelos, Moses Khorenatsi, Pʼawstos Buzand, and Lazar Parpetsi.

65. Zsigmond, Benedek. *How many Ashkharabars? A Forgotten Language in Transylvania.*

According to the received view about Armenian literary languages, there are four: Old Armenian, Middle Armenian, Standard Eastern Armenian, Standard Western Armenian. Both Old and Middle Armenian have several varieties: beginning with a prestigious one (“Classical” and “Cilician” respectively) and developing some later forms. Western and Eastern Armenian have early varieties to be crystallized into standard languages until the 20th century.

However, what can we do with manuscripts and printed books written in a language which does not match any of the above categories? A well-known example is the poetry of Sayat-Nova, while another, much less known, is Transylvanian Armenian literature.

Armenians settled in Transylvania, a historical region in Central Europe, mostly at the end of the 17th century. In previous papers presented at conferences in Piliscsaba, Zamość and Los Angeles, I mentioned that Transylvanian Armenians had their own language, folkloric hymns and liturgy. In the present lecture I would examine some problems connected with the status of Transylvanian Armenian language.

Aydenyan and Acharyan described the main features of a dialect which they later called that of Ardeal. However, they did not differentiate between spoken form (dialect) and written form (literary language). If we analyse several types of written texts produced in different periods, we will get a more detailed picture of Transylvanian Armenian grammar and lexicon.

The more evidences we find for independent literary languages, the more reasons we have to modify the standard view. My proposal is to complete the model of four literary languages and set up a bunch of early Ashkharabars for the 18th-19th centuries. Only two of them would survive until the 20th century and face the challenge of its conceptual explosion: Western and Eastern Armenian.