

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA PERIODICA
86 (2020), fasc. I-II
ISSN 0030-5375

LES SCIENCES ET LES SAVOIRS EN ARMÉNIE
ENTRE ANANIA ŠIRAKAC'Ī ET GRIGOR MAGISTROS

SCIENCES AND LEARNING IN ARMENIA
BETWEEN ANANIA ŠIRAKAC'Ī AND GRIGOR MAGISTROS

Alessandro Orenco, Introduction 7

Alessandro Orenco, *L'Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'ī* 9-18

Autobiography was a well-known literary genre among Greek and Roman Christians in Late Antiquity: Gregory of Nazianzus and Augustine, for instance, famously authored autobiographical works.

In the Armenian tradition, on the contrary, no autobiographical works are attested for several centuries after the invention of the indigenous alphabet. Although references to the (real or alleged) authors can be found in the historical works of Koriwn, Agat'angelos, Elišē, and Movsēs Xorenac'ī, only Łazar Parpec'ī seems to give any information about himself, in the letter to Vahan Mamikonean.

The first Armenian text that can be truly considered an autobiography is the so-called *Ink'nakensagrowt'iwn* by Anania Širakac'ī. This work is attested in a longer and a shorter version. Originally, it might have been a sort of introduction to the *K'nnikon*, Anania's huge synthesis of the sciences of the quadrivium (this book would have been difficult to reproduce on account of its size and contents, but a complete copy thereof probably still existed at the time of Grigor Magistros).

Anania's autobiography provides some details on the author's birth-place, his educational background, and his teaching activities. On a broader scale, it also gives information on the Greek and Armenian culture of his time, how difficult it was to find a good teacher, and how ignorant and arrogant some self-proclaimed professors were. On that account, Anania's autobiography, although hardly an impartial document, can be considered a valuable source for the Armenian — and, to a lesser extent, the Byzantine — culture of the 6th and 7th centuries.

Zaroui Pogossian, Ruling Širak and Aršarunik' at the End of the Fifth Century: Sahak Kamsarakan and a Mathematical Problem of Anania Širakac'ī as a Historical Source 19-63

This article takes its inspiration from an unusual representation of the relationship between members of the potent Kamsarakan dynasty of Late Antique Armenia, as described in a mathematical problem by the seventh-century polymath Anania Širakac'ī. Based on this, it explores inner family dynamics in the system of *naxararu'iwn*, and the Kamsarakans' relationship with the other mighty family of the period — the Mamikoneans. The article juxtaposes data

from Anania Širakac'i to information provided by Łazar P'arpec'i and Procopius of Caesarea on Sahak Kamsarakan and his brothers Nerseh and Hrahat. It underscores the role of Sahak Kamsarakan as the founder of the most celebrated Late Antique basilica in Armenia — the basilica of Tekor — and in introducing and promoting the cult of St. Sergius, as attested by the famous inscription of Tekor. This is compared to the foundation of yet another outstanding architectural jewel — the basilica of Ereruyk' — and the significance of these near contemporary structures for the Christianisation of the landscape of Širak, the function of specific saints' cults, and the role of Kamsarakan princes in promoting them. The article also highlights the hemispheric scope of action of the Kamsarakans fighting on behalf of the Roman and Sasanian Empires, from Italy to Afghanistan, and reminds the readers of their importance as agents of cultural exchanges between their native Armenia and the region of Širak, to the wider world. Finally, it underscores the value of Anania Širakac'i's *Problems* in preserving echoes of a distinct Kamsarakan dynastic memory in the absence of historiographical sources focusing on this specific aristocratic family.

Key words: Late Antiquity, Armenian Christianity, cult of saints, St. Sergius, basilica of Tekor, basilica of Ereruyk', Sahak Kamsarakan, the Kamsarakan dynasty

Nazénie Garibian, Anania Širakac'i and the Historical Realities of the 7th Century

65-90

The life of Anania Širakac'i — an Armenian philosopher and mathematician — spanned a large part of the 7th century: a period that is regarded as one of the most eventful, upsetting, and dynamic stages in the history of the Near East and the Eastern Christian world. Therefore, the article first presents the key characteristics of this period on a large scale, and their impact on the relationship between Byzantine and Armenian realities. Then, it covers the details of the life of Anania Širakac'i, including his travels, his studies, and his professional activities, as described in his *Autobiography*. These are placed in the specific context of the 7th century. The article pays particular attention to the nature of his studies, the type of a school he opened after his return to Armenia, and the curriculum he introduced, which seem to be related to the second level of the Byzantine *egkuklios paideia* (general instruction), that is, philosophy. Comparing some passages of the *Autobiography* with Byzantine teaching and learning practices helps us better understand their full meaning. Based on this data some new observations are made regarding the written legacy of Širakac'i, the *Big K'nnikon*, as well as concerning the motivations of the author for composing its autobiographical introduction. In a period of epochal transitions in the eastern Mediterranean, Anania Širakac'i appears as one of the most important figures who tried to establish a link between the ancient and new civilizations by means of the *paideia* — the Hellenistic education and culture. Bringing this idea to his homeland he allowed, in his own way, for Armenia to maintain and solidify its affiliation to these civilizations.

Erna Manea Shirinian, The Study of Sciences at the Time of Anania Širakac'i

91-105

The Armenian author of the 7th century, Anania Širakuni or Širakac'i, was a scholar with a wide range of interests, with a universalism of the mind and abilities that were applicable in many areas of knowledge and practice. He

played a great role in the development of new knowledge in different fields. Širakac'i was at home with two cultures – Armenian and Greek – which he tried to convey not only in his works, but also through an Armenian mode of life. Anania Širakac'i's main interest was in the exact sciences, so it is comprehensible that these subjects were most preferable for him. It is possible to count more than 15 disciplines in which he was skilled: besides the seven liberal arts (grammar, dialectic or logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music), Anania engaged in research or study in such diverse areas as cosmology, geography, the calendar, metrology, history, philosophy, theology, hymnography (or musicology), medicine, pedagogy etc. Such a vast range of interests in a single individual seems to reflect the idea of the interconnectedness between different sciences – a phenomenon that was widespread in the Antique and Hellenistic periods, but about which early Christian (including Armenian) authors were, nevertheless, well aware of, too.

Hamlet Petrosyan, Mathematics and the Feast: The *Xraxčanakans* of Anania Širakac'i

107-122

The *Xraxčanakans* of Anania Širakac'i are a small collection of arithmetic problems (for now, we can be sure that there are six *xraxčanakans*) which are united by the theme of the feast. Unlike other arithmetic problems by Širakac'i, the *xraxčanakans* are accompanied by special advisory instructions: when, where and how to use them, as well as what behaviour to display. It is noteworthy that the purely arithmetic part of three *xraxčanakans* is composed on the theme of a feast and wine, which makes it possible to form an idea about the atmosphere of a feast.

It should be noted that the essence of the *xraxčanakans* is only arithmetical; there are no mysterious-allegorical or formal-logical problems, and two of the *xraxčanakans* (the second and the fifth) are no less complex than Širakac'i's *Mathematical Problems*. They must have presented a serious challenge even if the respondent tried to solve them in a fully sober state.

A comparative examination of the medieval feast and the content of the *xraxčanakans* reveals that Širakac'i adjusted the principles of the Greek symposium (which he was obviously well acquainted with) to the customs typical for the Armenian feast. This adaptation was done in order to spread mathematical knowledge in Armenia.

This article examines a number of written sources, as well as archaeological and pictorial data, such as descriptions of royal and state-organised feasts, stamped jar belts, and tombstones depicting a feast for the dead, in order to propose a reconstruction of the atmosphere of a medieval feast in Armenia. Furthermore, this analysis shows that within medieval Armenian intellectual culture there was a tendency to combine “innovations” with traditional world-views, customs, and rituals, aimed at spreading spiritual and moral concepts. Širakac'i's *Xraxčanakans* gives us a glimpse into the forms and procedures of such initiatives.

Grigor Broutian, Anania Širakuni's *K'nnikon* and its Destiny

123-135

In 666-667, by the order of Armenian Catholicos Anastas I Akorec'i, Anania Širakuni created his great work called *K'nnikon*. This was a new textbook for the higher schools of Armenia, containing both Trivium and Quadrivium sciences. Besides the seven fundamental sciences, at least three applied sciences were

included in this textbook: Geography, Medicine, and the Calendar. Since the times of Mesrop Maštoc' and Catholicos Sahak Par'ew until the time of Anania, only Trivium sciences were included in the educational system of Armenia. This was therefore an attempt to radically reform the educational system of Armenia.

In the part of Knnikon concerning the calendar (called Tomar), Anania made a complete synchronization of the calendars of all known 15 Christian nations, gave the explanations of these calendars, and explained the means of transferring the dates of one calendar to the dates of another one. He also composed 532-year Easter tables for the Armenian Church for the years 580-1112.

After the death of the Catholicos Anastas I Akořec'i in 667, the reform of the educational system was stopped, Anania fell out of favor, and the new textbook was banned for about four centuries.

Anania's Knnikon was rehabilitated as textbook for Armenian schools only in the XI century due to the efforts of Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni and the Catholicos Petros I Getadarj, and as a result of the rehabilitation of this unique textbook, we have a brilliant cluster of scientists in mediaeval Armenia who specialized in the field of exact sciences.

Armenuhi Drost-Abgaryan, Anania Širakac'i as Hymnographer 137-147

This paper considers the open question of the hymnographical heritage of Anania Širakac'i (7th century) as the author of the Resurrection hymnographic corpus in the Hymnal of the Armenian Apostolic Church known as *Šaraknoc'*, as well as his liturgical thinking reflected in his homilies and the first redaction of the Hymnal *Čonəntir* by Barsel Čon.

The *Šaraknoc'* authors' lists, preserved in manuscripts, often ascribe the same hymns to different authors and Church Fathers. Therefore, it is methodologically inappropriate to discuss the question of authorship of the liturgical songs in the 1500-year-old Hymnal, but to differentiate between the layers formed during the centuries, transferred orally and revised by redactors. One of these old layers is preserved in the oldest *Šaraknoc'* manuscript n° 9838 (1193 AD) of the Manuscript Institute — Matenadaran — in Yerevan, which is published in this contribution for the first time.

It cannot be excluded that Anania composed the original nucleus of Resurrection hymns for the single-day festivities of Easter, later expanded to become the larger cycles of the Easter octave and the Pentecostal time, and actually sung on the eve of Sundays of the Pentecostal period during the 50 days after the Easter (3ḥuuuḡ period). However, it is far more likely that the theologians and hymnographers of the 7th century, including Anania, adopted and developed a principle of their own for grouping the old hymns handed down from the 5th century, before the introduction of the Byzantine canon genre in Armenia by Step'anos Siwnec'i.

Edda Vardanyan, Le symbolisme dans l'architecture et l'iconographie du *žamatun* du monastère de Hořomos (1038) et les écrits théologiques d'Anania Širakac'i 149-166

In 1038, during the reign of the Bagratid king Yovhannēs-Smbat, a new type of a building was added to the monastic complex of Hořomos — the *žamatun*. Novel iconographic motifs were introduced also in the internal sculptural dec-

oration of the *žamatun*. The entire architectural and iconographic *ensemble* was aimed at expressing funerary symbolism and eschatological expectations. The content of the decorations of the *žamatun* highlight the connection between death and resurrection seen through the lens of baptismal symbolism where baptism is considered as a new birth. In Armenian theological literature one of the first expressions of these concepts is found in Anania Širakac'i's *Homily on the Epiphany*. Some themes developed in this *Homily* find their visual parallels in the *žamatun* of Hořomos. Moreover, other details of the *žamatun's* octagonal dome's iconography, such as the symbolism of the "Eighth Day of the Lord," the "Creation Week" and number symbolism, likewise imply knowledge of ideas exposed in Anania's *oeuvre*. The use of cosmic symbolism in the iconography also conveys the idea of universal renewal — a leitmotiv in the *žamatun's* construction programme. It is highly likely that these architectural and decorative innovations introduced at the beginning of the XI century should be viewed in correlation to the growing interest in Anania Širakac'i's work in this very same period, when they were put into circulation by scholars close to Yovhannēs-Smbat, especially such intellectuals as Grigor Magistros. The decorative *ensemble* of the *žamatun* of Hořomos is interpreted as a version of the iconography of the Apocalypse, perfectly in tune with the current historical and political contexts marked by the decline of the Bagratid kingdom under king Yovhannēs-Smbat. The architectural and decorative innovations allow us to observe how when the need was felt artists could give a visual expression to certain theological reflections, as well as information acquired through scientific enquiry.

Anna Arevchatyan, Les conceptions musico-esthétiques de Grigor Magistros

167-175

Among Armenian authors of the Bagratid period Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros (980-1059), one of the most brilliant representatives of the intellectual elite of Ani, occupies a most important place. Scholars are still far from having exhausted the study of his rich legacy. Among others, his name is included in *šarakan* (liturgical hymns) authors' lists which shows that he was one of the most outstanding poets and hymn-writers of his time. Five *šarakans* in *šarak-noc'* manuscripts and two chants in *ganjarian* (collection of chants) manuscripts are ascribed to him.

Grigor Magistros' concepts on aesthetics, especially musicology, as expressed in his *Letters* and in his *Commentary on Grammar*, are particularly noteworthy. They testify not only to the author's wide range of interests and thorough knowledge that spanned from the religious/spiritual to the popular music of the bards, but also allow us to appreciate the contemporary artistic and intellectual environment. His *Letters* often refer to classical and ancient Armenian mythology, as well as provide information on the cultural milieu and education programme of the major monastic schools of the time, such as in Ani, Halpat and Sanahin. Sometimes Magistros narrates various festivities or events taking place in the capital of Ani, describing the different types of music played on these occasions. In the *Commentary on Grammar* Magistros goes into detail about one of the main *genres* of bard music — the *rhapsody* — providing its complex and multifarious characterisation. Magistros names numerous other *genres* of music. As types of spiritual/religious music he discusses psalmody

and liturgical singing, whereas for secular music he mentions the *genres* of rhapsody, canticle, lament, whistling, murmuring, etc.

Magistros' activities and intellectual output cannot be imagined without reflecting on Armenian-Byzantine cultural interactions. Having received a brilliant education in Ani and Constantinople, mastering several languages, Magistros, on the one hand, was one of the most important representatives of the hellenophile school in Armenia and, on the other, embodied a new ideal of an encyclopedic intellectual of the times, in whose worldview knowledge of music and arts was fundamental.

In sum, Grigor Magistros represented a new type of an intellectual that appeared in the Bagratid period, a renowned scholar and philosopher. It is hard to overestimate his contribution especially for the development of Armenian music. He left an important legacy not only as the author of *šarakans* and chants, but also as a musicologist, whose *Letters* constitute an invaluable testimony about music and other aesthetic issues of concern among the intellectuals of the time.

Gohar Muradyan, Scientific and Other Works Read by Grigor Magistros

177-189

In his *Letters* Grigor Magistros cited and mentioned numerous sources. Most parallels are, however, with the Bible, and sometimes he mentions specific biblical books. Armenian authors referred to by him are Movsēs Xorenac'i, Anania Narekac'i, Agaṭangelos, and he tells us also about Anania Širakuni's lost work *K'nnikon*. One of his most important sources is David the Invincible's *Definitions of Philosophy*. Among works read by Grigor were Armenian versions of Greek theologians, philosophers, and physicians. He also cited from a series of Greek sources which he read in original, mostly from Clement of Alexandria's *Exhortation to the Heathens*. Grigor also recounted some Greek myths, among them, some unique ones.

Federico Alpi, Medical Fragments in the Letters of Grigor Magistros

191-220

The epistolary of the Armenian polymath Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros (ca. 990-1058) contains, among many other things, several references to medicine. This is not only in line with Grigor's imitation of Byzantine epistolography (where medical science and health concerns played a significant role), but also with his love for erudition and intellectual research. On the one hand it is possible to see how Grigor reproduces and adapts to the Armenian context features typical of Byzantine letter-writers, such as quotation of medical authors or descriptions of illnesses and therapeutic methods; on the other hand, the material found in Grigor's *Letters* offers unique insight in the scientific (and more specifically medical) knowledge of the Armenian upper class in the first half of the 11th century. Through his difficult but rich letters, Grigor discloses important information on the reception of classical Greek and Byzantine medical science (and possibly also of Arabic or even Persian medicine) in Armenia. Finally, his knowledge of the *K'nnikon* of Anania Širakac'i leaves open the possibility that material from that work could have found its way into Grigor's *Letters*, even though — unfortunately — there is no conclusive evidence for this.

ARTICOLI

- Charles-Antoine Fogielman**, The Vices Opposed to the Virtues: The Syriac version 221-261

This paper provides a critical edition of Evagrius Ponticus' short treatise, *The Vices Opposed to the Virtues*, in its Syriac version, along with an English translation allowing the reader to compare it with the Greek original. Evagrius' work is an unusual text, consisting in a series of short definitions for each of the vices in the standard Evagrius list, along with the corresponding virtues; it uses a particularly rich and allusive vocabulary, to the point of obscurity, making it a challenge for the modern no less than for the ancient translator. The present Syriac version is therefore of great interest as a case study in translation technique, as well as a testimony to the enduring popularity of Evagrius' ascetic works in Syriac-speaking monasticism.

- Pascal Mueller-Jourdan**, Brève notice sur l'émergence de la notion de sujet à Byzance. Le cas de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien († 1022) 263-276

Symeon the New Theologian has developed, in the end of tenth and the beginning of the eleventh Byzantine century, a coherent anthropology in resonance with his monastic and mystical experience. This short article focuses on one aspect of that which it can be called a theological humanism: That is to say the emergence of the concept of subject-one. This human agent-one acting through multiple operations manifests the tri-unity of the nature of the soul. A brief comparison with Proclus' Commentary of Plato's *Parmenide* will contribute to indicate the presence of platonician materials as a characteristic feature of the Byzantine mystical theology.

- Vincenzo Ruggieri**, Il negletto, ilare volto di Bisanzio 277-288

Two Byzantine frescoes, one in Cappadocia — in the so-called monastery at Eskigümüş, near Nidçe — and the other in the church of St Sophia at Trabzond show an unusual feature in ecclesiastical Byzantine iconography: the loving and smiling tenderness of Jesus and his Mother towards mankind (*philanthropia*). The setting of both paintings — painted at ground level — enables the viewer, whoever this might be, to have a friendly and intimate *tête-à-tête* with the sacred personages. This intentional figurative creation would perhaps represent a *desideratum* of Christian Anatolian society combining various social and religious customs.

- Daniel L. McConaughy**, Aphrahat on the Role of Holy Spirit in the Christian Life 345-363

This study examines Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* regarding the role of the Holy Spirit in the life of a Christian from his Semitic and un-Hellenized point of view. This study shows that lay people were members of the church and 'saved' just as the *bnay qyama*, the ascetic elite. This is supported by the *Liber Graduum* which also recognizes the Upright and the Perfect as members of the Church and saved. Thus, though Aphrahat focuses more on the *bnay qyama* than the lay people, as the *Liber Graduum* focuses more on the Perfect than

the Upright, Aphrahat's discussions of the Holy Spirit also apply not just to the spiritual elite, the *bnay qyama*, but more generally to all Christians.

The earliest orthodox Syriac writer, Aphrahat writes things that may seem strange to western ears. For instance, he refers to the spirit figuratively as 'mother'. Although he wrote from Persia in the mid fourth century, his writings reflect a more primitive period in Christian doctrine and practice than western writers. However, his profuse use of Scripture and scriptural imagery make him familiar and relevant today.

Elie Essa Kas Hanna, Villages dans les chaînes du nord du Massif Calcaire syrien. Territoire et bâtiments privés et publics (IV^e-VI^e siècle)

365-390

The limestone region, situated to the northwest of Aleppo, is one of the richest archaeological zones in Syria. Several hundred archaeological sites in this region have been registered and interpreted by archaeologists as villages and monasteries. In a previous article published in OCP 2018, the monasteries and their chronology were already analyzed. In this article, the villages and their layouts and organization are discussed. Some of the villages, treated in this article, were built during the second century and witnessed a phase of a great economic prosperity and increase in population between the fifth and sixth centuries. Other discovered villages from this flourishing period were found with buildings of a variety of usages (public, private, and religious). In this article the inhabited centers are considered from a point of view of urbanism, based on the available data collected previously by archaeologists (Howard Crosby Butler, Georges Tchalenko, Georges Tate) and the Author, during the last survey conducted in 2010. Field studies have confirmed that the lands surrounding these settlements were well situated between the *agr*, the lands suitable for cultivation, and the *saltus*, the rocky grounds. Even the villages, for the most part, appear to be a complex reality, where buildings were constructed following certain urban architectonic guidelines so as to take full advantage of the features of the landscape. The residential structures were built along the east-west axis in order to maximize the use of sunlight. The baths were built without gymnasiums, according to the rules dictated by the fathers of the Church. Arcaded streets have not been documented as they have been in the Roman or Byzantine metropolis; neither have there been found any shops (*tabernae*). The roads display an irregular course, the dimensions of which vary from two to six meters. Reception structures are found near the borders of these villages or in tandem with the basilicas.

Peter Dufka, S.J., Il discernimento spirituale secondo Barsanufio e Giovanni di Gaza

391-410

Two monks, Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, both from the first half of the 6th century, have made an original contribution to the topic of spiritual direction and it is thanks to their writings that we can form a better idea of them.

The article consists of six parts. The first one is concerned with the sources, the second one presents briefly Barsanuphius' and John of Gaza's lives. The third part is dedicated to the letters in which the two authors treat explicitly the issue of spiritual direction. Finally, the fourth, fifth and sixth part focus on several

topics containing implicitly spiritual discernment and explicitly speak about the measure of food, heart and obedience.

What strikes the reader is the method in which Barsanuphius and John arrive to discernment. It stands out in comparison with the method many other Desert Fathers applied with their use of aphorisms, apophthegmata, and other means that seem to us enigmatic today. It is their particular way of communication and normality of their discernment that make their approach outstandingly contemporary.

- Sebastian Brock**, An early Syriac baptismal service (Sinai, Syriac New Finds M47N) 411-435

An edition and translation is provided of the early West Syriac baptismal *ordo* in Sinai NF M47N. The accompanying introduction and commentary indicate its significance for the history of the Syriac baptismal rite within the Antiochene liturgical tradition.

- Marco Di Branco**, The Prophet and the Kings. The Six Sovereigns of Quṣayr ‘Amra in the Light of the New Restorations 437-448

Since its discovery by Alois Musil in 1898, the extraordinary wall-painting at Quṣayr ‘Amra that features six rulers, three of whom labelled in Greek and Arabic as «Caesar», «Chosroes» and «Negus» respectively, has stimulated imagination and critical insight of generations of scholars. Damaged soon after discovery, and poorly preserved in spite of two subsequent restorations, this painting has hitherto remained enigmatic. In this paper, in light of the important results of the new restoration of the painting, I would like to offer new and important elements supporting my interpretation of the meaning of the scene, which, in my opinion, represents a celebrated event of early Islamic history (canonized by Ibn Ishāq in his biography of Muḥammad): namely the embassies sent by Muḥammad to the six «kings of the earth» — including the Ghassānid phylarch and the lord of the Yamāma — in the year 6 H (= AD 628).

- Damien Labadie**, *La Laudatio sancti Stephani* du pseudo-Chrysostome : édition et traduction de la version arabe de BHG 1664 449-463

This article offers an edition and translation of an unpublished text on the protomartyr Stephen, the first Christian martyr and deacon. It is an Arabic homily ascribed to John Chrysostom, translated from a Greek original (BHG 1664) and transmitted in the manuscript Sinai Arabic 409. Presenting an overview of the pieces of Stephen’s hagiographical dossier, and more particularly of the Arabic texts, the article then proposes an edition and a commented translation of this pseudo-Chrysostomian homily. Particular attention is paid to the orthographic, morphological and syntactic singularities of this text, which falls within the register of Middle Arabic. Useful comparisons with the Greek version, edited in the nineteenth century by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, also shed light on several difficult turns of phrase of the Arabic text.

Federico Alpi – Pietro D’Agostino , Negotiating the Union Epistolary Exchange between the Greek and Armenian Churches in the 13 th Century: the Documents	465-518
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The present contribution deals with the attempt to reestablish ecclesiastical communion between the Greek and the Armenian Churches, over a time span of 9 years (1239-1248): the surviving documents exchanged by the two Churches on that occasion, in Greek and in Armenian, are here introduced, published and commented. The length of the documents made it necessary to split the contribution in two parts: the first one is this, while the second one will be published in the next issue of OCP. The article, in this first part, is composed of two sections, each one focusing on a particular aspect. The Introduction (by F. Alpi) provides a general outline of the historical setting and of the development of the negotiations between 1239 and 1248; it aims to offer a framework in which to place the published documents, and some possible reasons for the renewal of negotiations between the two Churches are also discussed. The second section (by P. D’Agostino), entitled The Greek documents (L₁, L₃, L₄), focuses on the manuscript tradition and the edition of three letters exchanged between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople-Nicaea and the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia in the years 1239-1248. It contains the description of the three codices transmitting the texts, the explanation of their mutual relationship, and the edition of the critical text, accompanied by an English translation.

Hayarpi Hakobyan , Foremother Eve in the Nativity of Christ According to some Armenian Miniature Paintings from the 13 th -14 th Centuries	519-528
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Some Armenian miniature paintings depict the foremother Eve in the illustrations of the Nativity. The unprecedented iconographical type has two versions; either Eve’s head is depicted under the manger, or she is approaching Mary with outstretched arms. The miniatures of this group are always accompanied with legends that contribute to a better comprehension of the depicted scene. On this point, the name of Eve is accompanied by the emblematic demonstration of a head. Consequently, near the standing figure of Eve we can read, “Eve is rising from her tomb”, “The Tomb of Eve” or “Eve has been the midwife for Jesus”. It is quite possible, that the depiction of the feminine head evokes the same idea of the tomb of Eve, as Adam’s head hints about the location of his tomb on the mountain of Golgotha in the scene of the Crucifixion.

Tommaso Braccini , Tre versioni dell’“esorcismo di Gello” da manoscritti di Madrid, Vienna e Cambridge	529-542
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This article provides new editions of the variants of the “Exorcism of Gello” contained in manuscripts Madrid, BN 4644 (written by Constantine Lascaris) and Wien, ÖNB suppl. gr. 116 (a sixteenth-century exorcistic roll), as well as the first complete edition of the text in the nineteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Christ’s College 266.

Nina Glibetić , The Late Medieval Eucharist among Slavs: The Case of a Little-Known Manuscript, <i>Zagreb HAZU III a 32</i>	543-570
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This article explores a little known and unique eucharistic manuscript written in the early fourteenth century in the Serbian redaction of Church Slavonic. The codex preserves non-Philothean texts of the liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil that are characterized by distinctive features, including a rare clerical vesting rite and a significantly reduced prothesis rite. After a codicological and historiographical description of the codex, a transcription of the full text of the Chrysostom liturgy is given. The transcription is followed by a detailed liturgical analysis of its contents, with ample reference to Greek and other parallel texts of the liturgy. The conclusion of the study is that HAZU III a 32 was likely first used within a parochial, non-monastic context, and represents liturgical practices in the rural Slavic Balkans prior to the widespread standardization efforts at the end of the fourteenth century.

Viorel Coman , André Scrima's Contribution to the Ecumenical Breakthrough in Orthodox-Catholic Relationships: A Historical Reconstruction (1957-1967)	571-595
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The article focuses on the contribution of the Romanian Orthodox theologian André Scrima (1925-2000) to the ecumenical turn in Orthodox-Catholic relationships. Scrima was the personal representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I to Vatican II (1962-1965), and a key figure in the process that led Constantinople and Rome from estrangement to conversation and cooperation in the 1960s. Most of the scholarship that explores the Orthodox impetus to this turn to dialogue focuses almost exclusively on the ecumenical initiatives of the representatives of the Russian diaspora in Paris. That being the case, no solid attention is given to Scrima's role in the breaking down of the long heritage of division between Orthodoxy and Catholicism. Drawing on unexplored archival material, this article fills this lacuna, offering an analysis of Scrima's contribution to the ecumenical turn in Orthodox-Catholic relationships during the time period between 1957 and 1967. In so doing, the article reconstructs the key role played by the Romanian theologian in the events that changed the trajectory of Orthodox-Catholic relationships.

RECENSIONES

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