ARTICULI

The story of the visit of the Armenian king Trdat and St. Gregory the Illuminator to Emperor Constantine was rewritten and re-elaborated several times from the 5th century to the 13th century. The article focuses on how the roles played in the story by Trdat and Gregory changed over the centuries, not only according to the different reasons of its reworking but also with respect to the different historical and political scenarios in which the revision took place.

Key-words: Trdat/Tiridates; Constantine the Great; Gregory the Illuminator; Armenian literature.

What tools in education did the Manichaean and Christian monastic traditions deploy in the mixed environment of the Turfan oasis between the 8th and 11th centuries? And above all, what was the role of Iranian speakers in education? From a methodological point of view, how should one approach the chosen topic when one has largely fragmentary and decontextualised material? Philological-linguistic and historical-religious research over the past century has yielded exceptional results, both with regard to the transmission of religious knowledge from the centres to the frontier zones and with regard to its circulation at the local level. We will discuss the education of monks inside monasteries, although mostly faced with an argumentum ex silentio and trying to identify the fitting educational root(s).

The article provides the publication of the Betrothal and Marriage service which forms part of a manuscript of the late Yuan period, at present located in Taipei, but formerly in Beijing. Other parts of the manuscript contain short addresses to saints, East Syriac anaphoral prayers, and select Psalms. The text of the Betrothal and Marriage service is multilingual: while the main text of the service in Syriac, there is a section in New Persian (which will be published separately) and there are glosses in Uyghur. A comparison of the structure of the Betrothal and Marriage services with that of the rite of the Church of the East indicates several marked differences, as well as certain basic similarities.

Since the 1951 publication of Giuseppe Messina, SJ, the Persian codex *Orientali* 81 in the Laurentian Library, Florence, and its relatives have been considered as a later witness of a lost early Christian Diatessaron in Syriac. Art historians claimed its miniatures are copies of ancient archetypes. The miniatures are here newly discussed by Hayarpi Hakobian. As for the text, Angelo Maria Piemontese convincingly argues against the possibility that *Or.* 81 might be a later edition of an ancient Syriac prototype.

The article examines the illustrations of the Persian Harmony of the Gospels BML 81, copied in Hasankeyf in 1547. As the manuscript has previously been confused with Tatian's Diatessaron, the researchers have also examined the illustrations in this context. They have suggested that some of the illustrations are of early Christian origin, that the others date from the Syrian Renaissance, and that the pictorial cycle may have been copied together with the text from a thirteenth-century prototype of the manuscript. However, the choice of pictorial repertoire suggests that it was most likely composed specifically for BML *Or.* 81, taking its models from the manuscripts that would have been associated with the visualisation of the harmony of the Gospels. Such manuscripts were contemporary Syriac lectionaries, illustrated in the artisanal patterns of the sixteenth-century artistic trends followed in the workshops near Mardin.

The Armenian *katholicos* Stepʻanos V Salmastecʻi offered to papal Rome (1548) an illustrated Persian Gospel, then kept at Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS *Or.* 81. It contains *al-Inǧīl al-Muʻaẓẓam* (The surpreme Gospel), both a Persian preface and a gospel harmony, written and signed by the Jacobite priest Ibrāhīm b. Abdullāh al-Ḥiṣnkayfī (Ḥiṣnkayf, 21 November 1547). He reveals his own Christian name Īvānīs (John) and his epithet ʻIzz al-Dīn (Glory of the Faith) inside a twin magic literal square. A peculiar Persian device (*to'amān* "twins") conceals a scribe's motto and figure. The scholarship on the codex, its palaeographical evidence and crucial features marking the scribe's style and linguistic, textual expressions, are outlined.

The article analyzes the rise of the Noravankʻ Monastery in Vayotsʻ Dzor (region of Syunikʻ, Armenia) as a major holy site in the period of Seljuk incursions and conquest of Armenia in the 11th-12th centuries. This political-military context, on the one hand, caused a highly competitive, volatile, and often violent dynamics between the local Armenian nobility and the newly arrived military men in some way connected to the Seljuks. On the other hand, there were

put in place strategies of accommodation and containment of violence, among them partially overlapping legal practices regarding pious foundations. I argue that the patronage and land grants to monasteries by Armenian military and religious élites were one of the strategies of resistance and accommodation to Seljuk rule, efforts to maintain the inalienability of land and control of territory, as well as a means of positioning themselves in the factional struggles at the local and/or regional level versus the Seljuk court in Isfahan. In the first part of the paper this hypothesis is tested through a detailed study of the actions and death of king Senek'erim of Syunik' (1072-1094/6), his relationship to the sultan Malikshāh (1073-1092), and his endowments to the monastery of Tat'ew that are compared to the Muslim tradition of *waqf*. In the second part, I look at bishop Hovhannēs Kapants'i's efforts to establish a tax-exempt status on and expand the lands belonging to the monastery of Noravank' with the support of the Seljuk court. This is done through the analysis of a *historiola* reported by the 13th-century historian Step'anos Ōrbēlean. It details Hovhannēs Kapants'i's voyage to Isfahan, his miraculous healing of the sultan's son, and his use of the written record in establishing rights to land-control and its use. Hovhannēs' actions eventually led to the transformation of a local holy site to the major religious center of Noravank'. Lastly, the article highlights the importance of élite women (Armenian or Seljuk) in situations of contested authority and legitimacy of titles, as well as their role as economic agents.

Key words: medieval Armenia, Syunik', Seljuks, monasteries, *waqf*, women's history

Mikhail Bernatsky, The Abridged and Revised Version of the *Homily on the Eucharist* by Gennadios Scholarios and Constantine Paleocappa as a Possible Rewriter   251-284

The homily *On the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ* by George Gennadios II Scholarios (ca. 1400 — paulo post 1472) was the first original Orthodox theological text to use the word μετουσίωσις (*transubstantiatio*) as an *ex professo* Eucharistic term and to adopt the doctrine associated with it. This homily played a key role in the later development of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Orthodox Church during the post-Byzantine period. In the 17th century, however, this impact was indirect and occurred through an abridged and revised version of the homily, created by some author and ascribed to Gennadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople. That version was used as a source for the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem (1672) along with the authorization of the word μετουσίωσις. In 1690, the abridged version was published by Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem and Scholarios was mentioned in the tomos of the Council of Constantinople in 1691. This version served also for the apologia of the term μετουσίωσις. In the beginning of the 18th century E. Renaudot considered this treatise authentic. Recently F. Tinnefeld attributed it to Meletios Syrigos (1585/1586-1663/1664). In this article we study the manuscript tradition, analyse the text of the forgery within its historical and theological context, and offer our preliminary hypothesis about its authorship. We come to the conclusion that Meletios Syrigos cannot be its author and that the abridged version appeared in the 16th century in the anti-Protestant miscellanea as evidence in favor of the Catholic theology of Eucharist. We hypothesize that the author could be a famous copyist and author of forged works in the 16th century, named Constantine Paleocappa. Further, we present a new edition of the Greek

text accompanied by the references to the sources used to compose the pseude-pigraph as well as an English translation.

The production of Mattā al-Miskīn and its literary dimension

The written production of Mattā al-Miskīn (1919-2006), famous spiritual father of the Coptic monastery of St Macarius in Wādī Naṭrūn (Egypt) from 1969 until his death, reflects the principles of his spiritual life. He believed in the originality of his experience with God as a Christian who follows the model of his predecessors, learns from it, but then opens up to a new peculiar and unique horizon, as always happens during the journey of divine-human history. Fr. Mattā started his first work on prayer, following the footsteps of the Church Fathers and commenting on their teachings; afterwards, his authentic literary style got developed and matured, but always in harmony with the Church's tradition.
Many of his contributions in Arabic have been translated into various modern languages.
The analysis of some elements that influenced the language of Mattā al-Miskīn, can lead us to realise the particularity of his literary style.

MISCELLANEA S.E. BOGHOS LEVON ZEKIYAN

Boghos Levon Zekiyan described Nersēs Šnorhali as a "prophet of ecumenism." Recognizing elements predating the ecumenical movement in Šnorhali's dialogue efforts with the Byzantine Church in the mid-12th century, Zekiyan highlighted his negotiation principles. These included a firm will for achieving a deep and true union in faith, recognition of the need for unity alongside the space allowed for diversity, and avoidance of any partial agreement that would substitute a comprehensive one. These characteristics, in today's perspective, resonate as ecumenical. The text explores historical and religious roots enabling Šnorhali's approach within the Armenian Church, by analysing the letters of one of Šnorhali's ancestors, Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros, to a Chalcedonian Armenian.
Grigor's letters to T'oṙnik Mamikonean, a Chalcedonian prince, hint at their confessional differences without showing signs of opposition. The Chalcedio-

nian faith of Tʻoṙnik is humorously addressed, yet with clues revealing Grigor's preference for the miaphysite position. Throughout the correspondence, their relationship remains amicable, reflecting Grigor's pan-aristocratic perspective. He emphasizes familial and intellectual bonds over religious differences, suggesting wisdom and truth-seeking as unifying factors. Grigor's letters demonstrate a nuanced approach to interconfessional dialogue, rooted in familial ties and shared intellectual pursuit rather than doctrinal conformity.

This analysis sheds light on the historical and theological backdrop of Šnorhali's "ecumenical" efforts, illustrating how familial and intellectual bonds transcended religious divisions in medieval Armenia.

Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-1173) is a key figure in the dialogue between the Armenian and the Byzantine churches of the twelfth century. His writings are witness to a sincere desire for the unity of the Church. However, his vision of unity was too innovative to be able to be shared by his interlocutors, who remained firmly attached to the idea of a union based on the Armenians' capitulating and adhering to the «orthodox» positions of the Byzantines. Nersēs Šnorhali was convinced that the divisions between Christians needed to be achieved without creating new ruptures within his own Church, which had already been touched by the schism of Ałtʻamar and the centrifugal tendencies of which he was well aware. As he saw things, the lack of an Armenian political power lay at the root of the break-up of his nation, which he considered a people in exile, both on account of the lack of a political centre of gravity and on account of the historical vicissitudes of the Armenian plateau. Nevertheless, Nersēs nourished the hope that, just as the position of catholicos had returned to the descendants of Gregory the Illuminator (i.e. the Pahlawuni, to whom he belonged), so likewise the royal power might be able to be restored to the true princes, perhaps to be identified with the Hethumidi. Through their familial relationship with the Pahlawuni, the Hethumidi were able to present themselves as descendants of the ancient dynasty of the Arsacids, with whom the Pahlawuni claimed a shared origin.

This paper discusses the long and contrasted relations between Iran and Armenia before the advent of Islam, trying to identify lines of continuity and transition between the two historical entities. Eastern Anatolia was at the boundary of the Iranian heartland, and Armenia was mentioned already in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions. Later on, during the Hellenistic period, dynasties such as the Orontids and the Artaxiads, gained a degree of independence. The influence of Middle Iranian languages and specifically Parthian on the Armenian languages cannot be underrated, proving the profoundness of relations under the Arsacid dynasts, to the extent that a cadet branch of this royal house ruled Armenia well into Sasanian times. Subsequently, when rule went from the House of Arsaces to the House of Sāsān, the heir to the Sasanian throne bore the title of "King of the Armenians", though it is not easy to determine precisely what lands did he rule upon. Under the later Sasanians some of the Armenians regions were directly governed by the central administration, but

the region never lost its uniqueness. Finally, the author presents the relationship between the two ancient countries as a representative case of the entangled history characteristic of Western Asia and the Mediterranean in antiquity.

This article examines the similarities between the lexis of the Hymnarium of the Armenian Apostolic Church (5th-15th century) Šaraknoc' and the "Book of Lamentations" (Matean Ołbergowt'ean) by Grigor Narekac'i (10th century) using the vocabulary under two letters (Z and E, the first two letters of the surname ZEKIYAN). The exemplary comparison of the lexical material leads to the first conclusions that at least a third of the hymnal lexicon is present in Matean (54 of 181 entries under the letter Ձ / Z and 8 of - 9 under the letter Է / Z).

The article is concluded with a sample translation from Grigor Narekac'i's prayer book (87th dialogue / *Ban* with God), which also inspired the jubilarian to translate it into Italian.

The study, basically a conference the author gave at Balamand on the 30th Anniversary of the Balamand Document (26.06.93 – 26.06.23), explores what precipitated the crisis and what animated the 1993 assembly. The addressed Churches at long last did not endorse BD for its shaky historical approach, e.g., to the Eastern Catholic Churches, delaying reconciliation despite a promising "sister-Churches" note. If the Catholic Church abandoned a "return ecclesiology" for "dissenters", for Orthodox to set as their ecumenical goal the return of those who "defected" would likewise be an unacceptable "return ecclesiology".

The Lectionary of Hethoum II, a manuscript from Matenadaran (no. 979) copied in 1286 and lavishly illustrated, opens with an image of a saint on full page, standing, dressed in canonical episcopal attire. Based on the iconography of the figure, as well as on the fact that the miniature faces the text commemorating Saint Basil on 1 January, scholars have identified the portrait with this Cappadocian father. However, on the lower part of the page, at the bottom of the image, the inscription names him Sahak, the grandson of saint Gregory, the author of the content of the book. The article begins with a detailed analysis of the arguments put forward in favour of the hypothetical identification of the figure with Saint Basil, then presents a study on the miniatures of the manuscript and the history of the Armenian Lectionary to support the authenticity of the inscription which attributes the image to Armenian Catholicos Sahak II the Great (387-438/9), who indeed took the initiative of the translation and introduction in Armenia of the Great Lectionary of Jerusalem. The iconographer thus used a miniature portraying saint Basil to represent saint Sahak. This case study allows observing a way of transmission of iconographic models in medieval Armenian art.

The article offers an *editio princeps* and an English translation of the Armenian homily of Meletius of Antioch on Holy Thursday. Mentioned *en passant* by Zarbhanalean in 1889 and by van Esbroeck a hundred years later, the text has hitherto remained inedited. The sermon presents literal parallels with three Old Georgian texts preserved under the name of Meletius of Antioch and with one Armenian homily transmitted under the name of otherwise unknown bishop Zenob. The sermon betrays an author who loves to inquire into the Gospel texts and to exegetically savour their emotions. It contains a series of interesting parabiblical details concerning the events of Jesus' last days before Crucifixion and Resurrection.

Although both Coptic dialects Sahidic and Bohairic render the angel's greeting to Mary (Lk 1:8) differently, both translate χαῖρε as "peace," not "joy". It is when we turn to Lk 1:28 that we find a diversity in translating κεχαριτωμένη: in Bohairic "she who is full of grace," while in Sahidic "she who has found grace." This shows that the two variants cannot be reduced to a common one, thereby highlighting the dual Coptic tradition of the Delta and the Valley, and yet in hymnography, for example, there have been many interesting interchanges.

The Armenian sovereigns did not have dynastic serial numbers, which inevitably provoked some controversy, particularly in the case of the last kingdom of Armenia, in Cilicia, where the royal line succeeded the princely one. The second prince named Leo was crowned in 1198 and became King Leo the first. Some authors, and not the least perspicuous, persist in calling him Leo II, even though as king he had become Leo I. Under these conditions, the last king, Leo of Lusignan, became Leo VI instead of Leo V. However, his cenotaph bears the inscription in medieval French *quít Roy latí du royaume darmeníe*. If it were Leo VI, we would have to read this epitaph with a comma after his name, that is to say: "Leon of Lusignan, fifth Latin king of the kingdom of Armenia," and then find four Latin kings who preceded him. However, there were only two: in 1222 Philip of Antioch, son-in-law of Leo I, and in 1342 Guy of Lusignan.
This problem is linked to that of the kings of Armenia named Constantine. Everyone recognizes that two kings of this name succeeded one another between the two Lusignan kings of Armenia, Guy (1342-1344) and Leo V (1374-1375). Without solid argument, two other Constantine kings are often added, thus giving the latter the numbers III and IV instead of I and II.

In the *Patmut'iwn aɫuanic' ašxarhi* by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, one can find the

term *č'op'ay* (չոփայ), not Armenian, which seems to have a perfect counterpart in *coppaj* (цоппай), a word present in Ossetian, but not Ossetic itself. This study examines the two terms and considers whether they can be truly connected. It also investigates their possible etymology as well as from which language (or languages) they may have respectively entered Armenian and Ossetian.

Cyrus the Great, as the liberator of the Jewish people from the Babylonian captivity, and in his quality of first "promoter" of the reconstruction process of the temple of Jerusalem, was called in *Deutero-Isaiah* 41,3, "the Anointed" of the Lord. Thus, literally, and simply, Cyrus was a "Messiah" (*mašiaḥ*), a remarkable designation translated in the *Septuaginta* as that of Χριστός. Very simply, Cyrus and Jesus were two Χριστόι, and this connection was a matter of important speculations concerning a sort of *translatio imperii* from a human king to a divine one. The present article focuses on some narrations, attested in Greek, Slavonic and Arabic sources, concerning the active role of Cyrus as the king who sent his Magi to Jesus, a story which despite its anachronism, played an important role in the program of conversion of the Iranian lands to Christianity.

This contribution concerns the manuscript *Hierosol. S. Sepulcri* 29 (= *Taphou* 29: XII-XIII saec.), a Greek hagiographical-homiletic codex that is little studied and which is preserved in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem. An analytical description is provided that clarifies the manner of its production and distinguishes the various hands of the Greek scribes — amongst whom figures an otherwise unknown Leo deacon of Nyssa — thereby adding this codex to the dossier of medieval Greek manuscripts produced in southern Anatolia. This article focusses above all, however, on the Armenian version of *Or*. 38 of Gregory of Nazianzus, which an anonymous medieval reader transcribed during the 13th century on the margin of the Greek text on fols. 43r-53r. We analyse here both the Armenian text and its script. The Armenian text corresponds to the ancient translation that is believed to have been made towards the end of the 5th century, which is transmitted by numerous codices, but was here modified by the 13th-century Armenian annotator at various points so as to make it better correspond to the Greek text that he had in front of him. Furthermore, the Armenian script he makes use of gradually passes from the formal bookhand minuscule (*bolorgir*), which is used initially, to the Armenian cursive (*šłagir*), which is also attested in another Greek manuscript where the same hand seems to have added the Armenian translation of a Byzantine poem (*Vat. gr.* 1445, fol. 2r). In fact, *šłagir* is a script-type which was hitherto scarcely documented in its medieval phase and is in any case little attested or noted so early in the context of book production or para-literary texts. The testimony of *Taphou 29* is especially interesting because, among other things, it confirms the reconstruction of the evolution of medieval Armenian

handwriting proposed by scholars such as Hrač'eay Ačaṙean and Yakovbos Tašean. Between the end of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th century, in fact, these illustrious scholars had already suggested that Armenian cursive (*šłagir*) derived directly from the calligraphic minuscule (*bolorgir*), rather than from the later «notary script» (*notrgir*) that the *communis opinio* has instead considered an intermediary between the two.

The article affirms the ascription of this hitherto unpublished document (M2680, ff. 258v-259r) to Catholicos Yohan (Yovhan or Yovhannēs) Mandakuni (in office 478-490), better known for his role in the formation of Armenian liturgical manuals. The brief directive is addressed to monastic priests in a coenobitic setting and serves equally as a rule for hegoumenoi, reminding them of the seriousness of their responsibility for the souls entrusted to their keeping. The author draws a sharp contrast between those who carry out their duty faithfully and those who do not. The historically contextualized text is provided with translation en face.
Keywords: Mandakuni, Early Armenian monasticism, monastic rule, hegoumenos.

Eghia Demirjibashean (1851-1908) remains less well-known than he deserves. This contribution looks at his life and work, his editorial initiatives and his role as a public intellectual. It addresses his many pseudonyms as well as his fragile mental health. It briefly discusses some of the work written about him and recommends a critical edition of his now dispersed works. It finished with an English translation of his famous prose-poem Our Bosporus.

Some notes on the appreciation of language seem uniquely appropriate to honour Levon Zekiyan by focusing on his armeno-italian roots:
1. The 'visual language' of a Leonardo de Vinci (the Vitruvian Man of 1492, his paintings of Saint Anne [ca 1501], the Mona Lisa [ca 1503], and John the Baptist [ca 1509] which he took with him to the French court of King Francis I).
2. The 'language of science' investigated with the word-play: ծնող – ծնաւ – ծնունդ – մխածին as witness of the earliest Armenian Christology.
3. The poetic 'tonality of language' is for the most part untranslatable (s. Goethe's 'Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh …'; Dante Alighieri's Commedia; the pre-islamic arabiya and the Qur'an; Puschkin; etc. etc.): this type of exquisit language has, with its musical connotations, a quality of timelessness.

RECENSIONES