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ABSTRACTS

Victoria Abrahamyan (Université de Genève)

The role of Turkish propaganda in shaping the image of Ottoman Armenian refugees in French mandate Syria and Lebanon, 1920s-1930s

In the aftermath of World War I, Syria became home to thousands of Ottoman Armenian survivors who had fled the genocide (1915-1922). Their resettlement occurred at a critical historical moment, marked by post-war uncertainties, the establishment of the Syrian state under French mandate, and, the failed attempts to create an independent Arab state. Although Armenian refugees found safety in French-mandated Syria, they quickly became targets of anti-refugee and anti-Armenian propaganda, with Syrian nationalists accusing them of collaborating with the French colonial authorities.

This paper argues that the negative image of Armenian refugees—as allies of the French mandate and instruments of colonial rule—was largely shaped by Turkish propaganda. Throughout the interwar years, Turkey led a deliberate campaign to associate the presence of Christian Armenian refugees with the unwanted French mandate, portraying their settlement as mutually reinforcing. This narrative, which depicted Armenian refugees as tools of French imperialism, gained significant traction and continues to influence Western accounts of Armenian-French relations in interwar Syria to this day.

Drawing on a wide range of primary sources—including the archives of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris, French diplomatic and mandatory records, Armenian and Arabic press, memoirs, and secondary literature—this paper examines several staged incidents in refugee camps in Syria and Lebanon. It demonstrates how these incidents were orchestrated by Turkish agents to manipulate public opinion and turn local populations against the Armenian refugees. The ultimate goal was to create a climate hostile to the refugees, thereby achieving their removal from these countries.

Tara L. Andrews (University of Vienna)

What are the facts?! Data models for history when the sources are scarce

The relationship between data collection and historical reasoning has been an increasingly uneasy one, as the role of digital methods in humanities research has become increasingly prominent. The tension arises from the tendency of data collections to present information in terms of settled and certain fact, when the historical narratives we work with - particularly in medieval Armenian studies and similar realms - are anything but settled or certain. In this paper the work of the ERC-supported RELEVEN project (grant #101002357) in developing more appropriate models and practices for historical data collection will be presented.

The central concept developed in RELEVEN is the STAR model (for STructured Assertion Record), under which information about historical persons, places, texts and events is recorded together with the authority who has made the claim, the evidence upon which this claim is based, and the documentation of where the claim was published. The approach is applied within the project to the primary sources and ongoing scholarship concerning the eleventh century in the eastern Christian world. A case study of particular relevance concerns the interactions of the Armenians who inhabited the Byzantine East – including the kingdoms annexed by the Empire in the 1040s as well as the territories to the west where significant numbers of Armenians migrated in the second half of the century – to seek to reconcile the material and colophon evidence of prosperity and continuity with the increasingly dire accounts of destruction that come down to us in the written histories. The paper will aim to show how, when digital data collection methods can accommodate information about how and where a claim arises, the possibilities for a structured use of this data expand immeasurably, even when the original sources themselves are not plentiful.

Roy Arakelian (Chercheur indépendant, Paris)

Tigrane le Jeune : son histoire et ses attributions monétaires

L'étude des frappes des derniers rois du nom de Tigrane appartenant à la dynastie artaxiade présente malheureusement de multiples difficultés¹. En effet, les numismates sont majoritairement très réservés quant à la question de savoir si Tigrane le Jeune, fils félon de Tigrane II le Grand, a pu battre monnaie². La plupart ne lui ont attribué aucun type monétaire³, d'autres ont tenté l'exercice, avec, il faut bien le dire, plus au moins de force de conviction⁴.

L'argumentation pour une attribution repose sur l'hypothèse plausible que ce fils de Tigrane le Grand ait pu régner deux fois, une première fois avec son père, en tant que corégent, et une seconde fois grâce à la décision de Pompée de lui attribuer le royaume de Sophène.

L'examen des textes parvenus jusqu'à nous laisse supposer qu'il a pu théoriquement battre monnaie à cinq reprises :

- lors d'une éventuelle corégence avec son père, entre 70 et 69 av. J.-C. ;
- lors de sa sédition contre son père, en 67 av. J.-C. ;
- lors de l'invasion de l'Arménie par les Parthes, alors qu'il conduisait une armée d'invasion, en 66 av. J.-C. ;
- lorsqu'il aurait été le roi de Sophène, en 66 av. J.-C. ;
- lors de son exil à Rome, après 66 av. J.-C.

Nous examinerons chacune de ces périodes afin de déterminer si des monnaies peuvent être attribuées à Tigrane le Jeune pour chacune d'entre elles.

¹ Voir notre étude sur la reine Erato : Maxime K Yevadian. et Roy Arakelian, « Erato, reine d'Arménie, Une histoire moins incertaine grâce à de nouvelles découvertes numismatiques », *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*, 2021, 36, 1, p. 67-137.

² Par convention, nous reproduisons dès à présent les principaux corpus monétaires auxquels il sera continuellement fait référence :

CAA = Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, Royal Numismatic Society, Londres, (ok)1978.

ACTV = Yeghia T. Nercessian, *Armenian coins and their values*, Armenian Numismatic Society, n 8, Los Angeles, 1995.

HRAC = Anahit Mousheghian et Georges Depeyrot, *Hellenistic and Roman Armenian Coinage (1st c. BC - 1st c. AD)*, Moneta, vol. 15, Wetteren 1999.

ACCP = Franck Kovacs, *Armenian Coinage in the Classical Period*, Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster 2016.

³ Paul Z. Bedoukian, Yeghia T. Nercessian, Anahit Mousheghian et Georges Depeyrot n'ont attribué aucune monnaie à ce prince.

⁴ Clive Foss, *The Coinage of Tigranes the Great: Problems, Suggestions and a new find*, dans « The Numismatic Chronicle », 146 (1986), pp. 19-66; Turan Gökyildirim, *An Artaxiad Coin Hoard from Turkey (1991)*, in *Sevgi Gönül, Hatıra Sayısı*, eds. Haluk Perk and Hüsnü Öztürk, Turkish Numismatic Society, Istanbul 2005, p. 22-23.

Anna Arevshatyan (Institute of Arts, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia)

Tigran Mansurian's Modern Hymnography

The paper is dedicated to the works of Tigran Mansurian, an outstanding representative of Armenian contemporary music. In those works, the remarkable tendencies of the composer's stylistic development were manifested. Being a supporter of various directions of the post-war Western avant-garde and using the devices the latter in Armenian music in the 1960s, Mansurian in the following years turned to a new interpretation of Komitas traditions, combining them with modern music perceptions. The role and significance of spiritual monody in Mansurian's music is important. Many times he also referred to medieval Armenian poetry.

The musical language of the prayer series *I Confess with Faith* and *Hymn – Good Helmsman* examined in the paper could best be described as both modern and national. The latter was expressed by the author's evident modal music style, which was embodied in the melodic lines based on phrases derived from different modes of Armenian eight-mode system. This is a new hymnography written by a master hand of a modern author, which is in line with the spiritual aspirations and feelings of the contemporary listeners.

Anahit Avagyan (Matenadaran & Catholic University of Eichsaett-Ingolstadt)

The sources of the hagiographical units included in the Armenian “Vitae Patrum” collections

“Vitae Patrum” collections occupy a distinctive position within the literary heritage of all Christian denominations. Furthermore, these texts have never been a source of doctrinal controversy, largely due to the differing objectives underlying their creation. This is also the case with Armenian ecclesiastical literature, which exhibits a rich manuscript tradition pertaining to these collections, both in terms of quantity and content diversity. Despite their significance for Armenian studies and, in particular, for theology, these collections are nevertheless rarely studied.

The formation of collections of Armenian *Vitae Patrum* has historically occurred in several stages. This implies that new materials have been incorporated, existing materials have been subjected to revision, and in some cases, materials have been excluded. These processes are also observed in the compilation and editing of other collections and languages, indicating that they are not exclusive to Armenian.

In the classical sense, *Vitae Patrum/Patericon* collections comprise the apophthegms of the desert fathers, arranged in either alphabetical or thematic order. However, in addition to the apophthegms in various languages, the corpus of these collections also encompasses more comprehensive *vitae*, such as the Athanasian *Vita Antonii*. This approach is reflected in Armenian collections as well. What did Armenian collections adopt from the homonym and homogeneous collections in the original languages? What did they incorporate from their own literature? What changes did they make, and for whom did the Armenian fathers intend these collections?

These questions will be the primary focus of the paper. In order to address them, the structure and content of the Venetian two-volume printed edition of the Armenian “Vitae Patrum” - known to the scientific community - will be presented, as well as the materials of the edition’s base manuscripts.

In 1855, Father Nerses Sargissian published in Venice the collection entitled “Vitae Patrum,” which was based on ten manuscripts and included two different redactions. This paper will undertake a comparative analysis of the structural elements of the manuscripts used by the publisher, Father Nerses Sargissian, and will simultaneously examine the underlying principles of his compilation of printing materials. Additionally, it will make reference to the printed collections of the “second edition” itself, namely those published in New Julfa in 1641 and in Constantinople in 1720.

The first volume of the Venetian edition comprises a series of hagiographical units that are documented in the writings *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* and *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius of Helenopolis. Some studies have indicated the existence of an Armenian translation of these works. This presentation will provide an overview of the current scholarly perspectives on the Armenian translation of these works, its scope, and its inclusion in the “Vitae Patrum.”

In this paper, we will commence with an overview of the collections of “Vitae Patrum,” after which we will proceed to examine the *vitae* that are included in these collections and can be found in the *Historia monachorum* and the Palladius’ *Lausiaca History*.

Arpine Avetisyan (Matenadaran)

The sources of Nerses Lambronats‘i’s translation of the Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John

Nerses Lambronats‘i’s (1153-1198) is one of the prominent representatives of the Armenian medieval literature. He is known by his diverse activities in various fields. Lambronats‘i is an author of many panegyrics, hymns, sharakans (Armenian spiritual songs), speeches, interpretations and translations. At the 16th General Conference of the International Association of Armenian Studies which will be held in Geneva in January 9-11 I will present the sources which Lambronats‘i used when translating and adapting the Greek text of the Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John made by Andrew of Caesarea (563-614). The book of Revelation appears in Armenian manuscripts only from 13th century. From this point of view, Nerses Lambronats‘i’s (1153-1198) new translation of the book of Revelation, together with the commentary, essentially became the basis for the canonization of that book in the Armenian ecclesiastical tradition. The text of the Commentary on the Revelation is replete with comments made by the translator that are not exist in the Greek original. The study of those passages shows that the present translation is not simply a direct reproduction, but on the basis of the Greek original Nerses Lambronats‘i created a unique interpretation, where he tried to culturalize the existing text by seasoning it with additional explanations referring to the Bible and Christian Church Fathers. He has brought the commentary into line with the theological thinking of the Armenian church tradition.

Kevork Bardakjian (University of Michigan)

A Footnote to the Anonymous Medieval Armenian Visitor's Description of Certain Shrines and Relics in Constantinople

This paper is an attempt to provide further supplementary annotation to an anonymous pilgrim's description of shrines and relics in Constantinople, some time after the construction of the Monastery of Theotokos Peribleptos in the early 1030s but before the fall of the city in 1453. Dr. Sebastian Brock published the text, "A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople," with encyclopaedic annotations and comparative parallels in *REArméniennes*, N.S 4(1967), 81-102. Embarrassingly, I discovered this text very late, in the course of a large search for sources for the study of some aspects, real and imagined, of the Armenian presence in Constantinople in the fifteenth century. A long hiatus ensued, and I am only just resuming the project. A scrutiny of the Anonymous pilgrim's description will form a small but substantial complement to my larger study of the Armenians of Constantinople.

Varvara Basmadjian (Institut d'art et d'archéologie, Sorbonne)

Poésie et arts, la quête, l'œuvre et la vie suspendue de Garig Basmadjian

Garig Basmadjian naît à Jérusalem le 20 décembre 1947, dans une chambre du couvent arménien, accolée à la petite église Sourp Thoros, où sont conservés de magnifiques manuscrits médiévaux arméniens.

Garig le poète, Garig l'homme généreux, brillant, le galeriste rigoureux à l'œil et aux sens acérés a eu le temps en 42 années d'asseoir les fondements de son arménité, tout en vivant dans une atmosphère cosmopolite où passer de l'arménien à l'anglais, du français au russe ou à l'arabe est l'expression d'un esprit ouvert et libre ; le temps de fonder une famille, de publier et d'éditer une vingtaine de livres, d'écrire de très nombreux articles et interviews, de fonder une galerie d'art arménien et russe à Paris, de se construire une réputation d'intellectuel et d'artiste en marge des conformismes, mais aussi de galeriste avisé et sans compromissions.

Toute la vie de G.B. semble être une quête. Sa vie pourrait se résumer dans le recueil de poèmes *Anavard Khagh*, paru en 1980 à Paris, regroupant des poèmes écrits entre 1969 et 1979. Partir étudier en Arménie à Erevan, en 1966, signifie le commencement d'une nouvelle vie pour découvrir ce pays myrrique et construire sa propre réalité. Durant ces années, Garig Basmadjian a rencontré des écrivains et poètes qu'il a admirés, dont il a traduit les œuvres en anglais, notamment celles de Paruyr Sevak. Ceux-ci l'apprécient et le reconnaissent comme un poète dont le talent jaillit d'une double source littéraire, d'autant plus puissant.

En accueillant à Paris, dans sa Galerie du Boulevard Raspail, les peintres arméniens et russes contemporains, en exposant leurs œuvres, il ouvre aux Européens, les portes d'un art peu connu. Il organise en 1988, une exposition de sa collection à la Galerie Tretiakov de Moscou et au Musée de l'Ermitage de Leningrad.

Bouleversé par le séisme de décembre 1988, Garig Basmadjian se mobilise, organise à Paris, au théâtre des Champs-Élysées, avec *Aznavour pour l'Arménie* deux importantes ventes aux enchères de tableaux et œuvres d'art, au profit des enfants d'Arménie. Invité par le Ministère de la culture soviétique, il part en juillet 1989 à Moscou, afin de concrétiser de nouveaux projets. Il doit être de retour à Paris le 31 juillet. Ce jour-là, il ne descend pas de l'avion. Aujourd'hui, janvier 2025, son sort reste inconnu.

Emilio Bonfiglio (University of Hamburg)

The Vienna Agathangelos: A Study of Palimpsest W 56

Agathangelos' *History of the Armenians* is one of the most important sources on the Christianization of Armenia. Handed down in two main recensions, transmitted by dozens of Armenian manuscripts, and translated into almost all languages of medieval Christianity, this book is the only original Armenian text that became a medieval true bestseller and a philological unicum in Armenian textual criticism.

The critical edition of Agathangelos still in use today was published in Tiflis in 1909 by Galust Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and Step'an Kanayean, who established their text on more than 50 manuscripts. While the oldest full extant manuscript seems to date from the 12 century, the Tiflis editors could not make use of what is actually the oldest witness to that text: a palimpsested copy of Agathangelos that in 1895 Yakovbos Tašean dated to the 9th or 10th century.

Today preserved in the library of the Mekhitarists' Congregation of Vienna under shelf mark MS 56 (i.e., W 56), this manuscript was diplomatically published in 1911 by Grigoris Galēm k'earean and more recently brought to scholars' attention by Aram T'op'č'ean (2005 & 2009) and Movses Sahakyan (2024). In spite of that, this witness remains largely unknown and undervalued to most scholars.

Based on a 2015 multispectral imaging project carried out by Heinz Miklas for the University of Vienna, this paper provides a new appraisal of this neglected manuscript, offering an overview of its main codicological, paleographical, and textual features. Special attention will be paid to the material aspect of the manuscript, a unique piece of Armenian cultural heritage but also an invaluable witness of the *modus operandi* of the Viennese Mekhitarist Fathers within the international philological landscape of the 19th century.

Azat Bozoyan (Institut d'études orientales, Académie nationale des sciences de la République d'Arménie)

Les relations d'échange de l'Église arménienne avec Constantinople et les centres ecclésiastiques du Proche-Orient

L'organisation ecclésiastique de l'Arménie, qui adopta le christianisme au début du IV^e siècle, était directement subordonnée à l'Église œcuménique. Le chef suprême des évêques arméniens était consacré par les évêques de Césarée. Sous le règne du roi Pap, ils commencèrent à consacrer le chef suprême des évêques arméniens sur la base d'un consensus général des évêques locaux et des autorités. Depuis la seconde moitié du V^e siècle, il convient de noter l'approbation des candidatures catholico par les rois sassanides de Perse. Les conciles ecclésiastiques arméniens discutèrent et critiquèrent la formule dogmatique du concile de Chalcédoine, d'abord en réponse à l'Hénéticon de Zénon, mais harmonisèrent plus tard leurs positions avec celles de l'Église anti-chalcédonienne du Proche-Orient, encouragée par l'Iran sassanide. Au VII^e siècle, l'Église géorgienne se sépara du groupe des trois Églises du Caucase du Sud et se rangea du côté des Chalcédoniens. Le schisme entre l'Église arménienne et les structures byzantines s'est encore aggravé sous la domination arabe. Hovhannès d'Odzoun a finalement proclamé que la structure hiérarchique, les conceptions théologiques et le rite de l'Église arménienne étaient hérités de l'époque des apôtres. L'Église d'Arménie s'est donc tournée vers la composante la plus importante de l'identité nationale. Dès lors, chaque concession dans le rite et la foi signifiait un recul par rapport aux idées et à l'identité nationales. Parallèlement à la restauration des institutions publiques à l'époque bagratide, les autorités ont accordé de vastes privilèges à l'Église, qui est devenue le principal levier pour maintenir la politique intérieure et extérieure de l'État. Pour briser le royaume bagratide, l'Empire byzantin a eu recours à l'incitation aux conflits entre les Églises chalcédoniennes et anti-chalcédoniennes. En essayant de soumettre l'Arménie à tout prix, les empereurs byzantins ont affaibli la structure religieuse de l'Église arménienne. Les incursions des Seldjoukides ont démontré que cette politique byzantine a conduit à la sécession des provinces d'Asie Mineure où le Sultanat d'Iconium et l'Émirat danichmendide avaient été créés. La poursuite de cette politique a abouti à la perte progressive de l'ensemble des possessions de l'Empire en Asie Mineure et à l'émergence de l'Empire ottoman sur le territoire byzantin.

Carlo Busini (University of Perugia)

The Exodus of Armenians from Nagorno-Karabakh: The Eternal Fate of a Pending Homeland in the Armenian History

Last year's Azerbaijani attack in September 2023 most likely decreed the end of 'Artsakh', a land where Armenians had lived for centuries, despite the hardships and suffering they were subjected to throughout their history. This paper analyses the eternal uncertainty and consequent 'mobility' that characterises and has characterised the Armenian people throughout their history. The Armenian concepts of mobility and uncertainty will be addressed through references to some exemplary historical facts such as the forced deportation ordered by Shah Abbas I in the 17th century, the diasporic return migrations and the outward migrations of Armenians, to arrive at the central issue: the recent exodus of displaced persons from Karabakh and the precarious current condition of what was once Artsakh. The analysis will thus develop by dwelling on the possible scenarios of the near future, also considering what are the risks for the republic of Armenia itself.

By means of an in-depth study and illustration of studies on the new migration circuits that have been created, both those concerning newcomers from Karabakh and Armenian residents of the republic itself, the analysis will get to the heart of the issues of the current migration crisis, instability and uncertainty. In conclusion, the issue of the right for the former inhabitants of Artsakh to be able to return to their former homes and homeland will be addressed. The debate on the issue of return for refugees from the Caucasian Autonomous Region is still heated, and there is still much discussion about the social and legal status to be given to these people both in research and in the international legal scenario.

Valentina Calzolari (Université de Genève)

La représentation des Arméniens comme ‘peuple martyr’ dans les sources arméniennes et non arméniennes de l’après-génocide (1917-1930)

Ma communication porte sur la représentation des Arméniens comme peuple martyr dans la littérature de la Catastrophe (Աղէտի գրականութիւն). Elle se situe à la suite de quelques publications antérieures dans lesquelles j’ai analysé de quelle manière Grigoris Balakian, auteur de *Le Golgotha arménien* (2 vol., 1922-1959), a fait recours au modèle offert par l’ancienne littérature martyrologique comme grille de compréhension des événements. À partir des réflexions de Bruno Bettelheim et Giorgio Agamben, qui nous apprennent que la notion de martyr, lorsqu’elle est appliquée au génocide, peut être considérée comme une mystification des victimes, je me suis interrogée sur la tentative, de la part de cet écrivain et homme d’Église rescapé du génocide, de donner un sens aux atrocités comme si elles n’étaient pas *sine causa* (cf. V. Calzolari, “The Armenian Writers faced with Writing about the *Medz Yeghern* (1917-1924)”, in H.-L. Kieser, K. Mouradian, S. Bayraktar (éds), *After the Ottomans. Genocide’s Long Shadow and Armenian Resilience*, London: I.B. Tauris 2023, p. 81-109). Dans ma communication je poursuivrai mes réflexions à partir d’autres textes arméniens publiés entre 1917 et 1924. De façon comparative, j’ai élargi mon regard aux écrits de témoignage *étrangers* publiés peu après 1915. Parmi les nombreux ouvrages non arméniens que l’on peut lire en contrepoint des témoignages en langue arménienne, j’ai pris en considération comme cas d’études *Au pays de l’épouvante, l’Arménie martyre* d’Henry Barby, publié à Paris en 1917, ou encore *Mémoires d’une déportée arménienne*, de Payladzo Captanian, publiés à Paris en 1919 dans la traduction française effectuée par Zabel Essayan.

Lorenzo Colombo (Université de Genève)

Le texte du Pseudo-Nonnos à travers l'Arménie médiévale

L'objet de la communication sera un aperçu sur l'histoire et la transmission du commentaire du Pseudo-Nonnos aux discours de Grégoire de Nazianze, dans sa version arménienne (VII s. ?), sur la base des étapes de production, révision et usage qu'on peut reconstruire à partir du texte lui-même et de ses témoins manuscrits. Cette reconstruction sera inévitablement provisoire et fragmentaire, mais le *puzzle* se préfigure quand même intéressant.

Si on examine de près le texte de la traduction, dont date et auteur sont inconnus, on peut entrevoir quelques éléments qui pourraient nous donner des informations précieuses sur l'atelier du traducteur et sur les premières étapes de l'histoire du texte dans la littérature arménienne. Les principales questions de recherche sont les suivantes : 1. Est-ce que le traducteur a utilisé un glossaire grec (hypothèse déjà appliquée à des autres traductions de la même période) ? 2. Est-ce que le traducteur disposait de la version syriaque du commentaire ?

On peut reconstruire très peu sur l'histoire du texte pensant les siècles qui s'écoulaient entre la traduction et les premiers manuscrits ; le seul qui cite sans doute cet ouvrage est Grigor Magistros (lettre 58 Muradyan). Il est dans ces années que le texte est soumis à un nouveau processus de rédaction et correction, probablement en suite d'une nouvelle comparaison avec le texte grec : le ms. V511 et les leçons *in margine* dans le ms. M1672 témoignent ce que Akinean appela « nouvelle rédaction » (« նոր խմբագրութիւն ») du texte du Ps.-Nonnos.

Enfin, on va voir deux derniers développements du texte, liés à deux personnalités éminentes. Le premier est le ms. V511 (a. 1206), qu'on pourrait connecter au Գիրք Պատմանաց de Grigor Abasean sur la base des données textuelles et du fait que tous les deux mss. ont été copiés au début du XIII s. à Sanahin ; en plus, des interpolations intéressantes ont été ajoutées au texte de Nonnos (p.e. *hist.* 4.56).

Le second est le ms. M598 (a. 1303), copié par un disciple de Hovhannēs Erznkac'i, qui présente lui-même des expansions originelles (p.e. *hist.* 39.11, 39.17).

Büsra Döner (MA Université de Genève)

La littérature contre le déni : la résistance de deux écrivains arméniens, Zavèn Bibérian et Meguerditch Margossian, face au négationnisme en Turquie

Ce travail analyse les contributions littéraires de deux auteurs arméniens, Zavèn Bibérian (1921–1984) et Meguerditch Margossian (1938–2022), pour préserver et transmettre la mémoire collective et l'expérience arméniennes tout en résistant au négationnisme post-génocide de Turquie. Les œuvres de Bibérian se concentrent sur la nature fragmentée de la mémoire collective et des expériences arméniennes au sein de la communauté arménienne d'Istanbul, tandis que celles de Meguerditch Margossian reflètent l'expérience arménienne provinciale, en particulier à Diyarbakir, en mettant en lumière la persistance du déni et de la discrimination dans la vie quotidienne des habitants arméniens de cette ville. Ces deux écrivains majeurs de la littérature arménienne en Turquie offrent des perspectives complémentaires pour comprendre l'expérience arménienne dans le contexte négationniste post-génocide. Par leur prose, les deux auteurs contestent le négationnisme institutionnalisé de Turquie. Nous explorons comment ces auteurs construisent un récit de contre-mémoire, en transformant la littérature en un espace de reconstruction, de visibilité et d'expression face à l'effacement, au déni et à la marginalisation de l'identité arménienne dans la Turquie contemporaine. À travers leurs écrits, Bibérian et Margossian transforment l'espace littéraire en un lieu de résistance et de mémoire arméniennes, tout en déconstruisant le récit officiel nationaliste et négationniste de l'État turc. Ainsi, leurs œuvres contribuent non seulement à la transmission et à la préservation de la mémoire collective arménienne dans un contexte négationniste, mais aussi font de la littérature un espace où l'histoire de la Turquie contemporaine se réécrit à travers le prisme arménien.

Nazénie Garibian (Matenadaran & Academy of Fine Arts of Armenia)

The Social Status and Pretensions of Armenian Women According to Medieval Documents

The paper examines the position and common rights of medieval Armenian women in both society and family. The study is based mainly on lapidary inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts containing various information on women regardless of their background and social status.

The analysis of this corpus allows us to conclude that in medieval Armenian society family origin, genealogy and social status were much more important than gender. Especially in aristocratic circles, because of the hereditary dynastic structure of the Armenian political and social system, affiliation to a particular oldest family took precedence over any other position or office; thus, “nobility of race” and “dynastic order” were inalienable dignities, even if families had lost their political influence, title or land estates over the centuries.

According to the documents in question, these dignities would also have been granted to female members of the great families, who preserved the notion of the aristocratic hierarchy and duly expressed it on their memorial inscriptions by presenting themselves above all with their own name, descent and position and, in some cases, even omitting those of their spouse. This trend became symptomatic in the Period of the Kingdoms (ninth-eleventh centuries) and reached its peak in the following era (12th-14th centuries), particularly in the north-eastern regions of Armenia, where a new ruling aristocracy was formed as a result of the Armenian-Georgian liberation campaign against Seljuk domination.

Hervé Georgelin (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

About Zavèn Bibérian's novel Անկուտի սիրահարներ / Broke Lovers [Amoureux fauchés]: Was individuation possible for Armenians in Republican Turkey?

Based on my translation of *Անկուտի սիրահարներ* (1962) into French, I'll attempt to locate this novel within Zavèn Bibérian's literary work who was a novelist, a memorialist and a journalist. Bibérian (1921-1984) is a special figure of contemporary Istanbul Armenian literature. He benefitted from the local heritage of a still vivid Armenian educational offer and community life, a still strong French-speaking milieu and the new Republican and potentially egalitarian training opportunities. His personal abilities, despite dropping out of every educational institution, made him a unique trilingual full-fledged writer. He embarked after WW2 as a young man on internationalist political activities, that marginalized him among the local Armenians and made his existence precarious in the Turkish national state.

In *Broke Lovers*, some recurrent Bibérianesque themes are thematized with a special emphasis on the early stage of a young man's refusal of the place and the social, political, cultural regime he is meant to live or rather remain trapped in. I intend to show with how much irony but simultaneously much tenderness, Bibérian depicts the difficulty for a young man, Սուր/Sour, to accommodate to school, family, community and Turkey, while adoring Istanbul, living a first almost-adult love and being aware of his shortcomings in the tough setting. Bibérian's main characters are often *de facto* antiheroes. This can be challenging for a conservative audience. His writings however comprehend tenderness for many who do not chose the social / narrative role they are forced to embrace – even repressive and boring parents have their own reasons to behave their embarrassing way. Through his contemporary *Bildungsroman*, Bibérian's prose revives for us, with no didacticism, the Armenian Istanbul of the 1950s living under many threats. His literature resonates with and certainly inspires the developing historiography about Turkey's Armenians after 1923.

Zohrab Gevorgyan (Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia & American University of Armenia)

Disabilities, diseases and rights in the context of the environmental history of Cilician Armenia

As a result of the predominance of political history, historical contents related to environmental history and daily life are often left out of the attention of historians. In the sources related to the history of the Mediterranean or Cilician Armenia, there is much evidence about medieval diseases, hospitals, doctors, disabled people and their rights. These evidences are special not only from the point of view of the environmental history of the Mediterranean Armenia, but also of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in general, because the Armenian kingdom was one of the most important junctions of the West-East trade relations in the 13th and 14th centuries, and at the same time, it was an environment for the circulation of diseases, medical knowledge and various other information.

This report will present the sources and evidence related to medieval diseases, disabilities and rights in Armenian and other sources regarding Cilician Armenia and Eastern Mediterranean in general. How were diseases named and defined in sources? How was medical information circulated in the Mediterranean, taking Cilician Armenia as an example? These are the main questions which will be presented in this report.

Jost Gippert (University of Hamburg)

Approaching the Early Centuries: Palimpsests and Their Significance for the History of Armenian Literacy

The written heritage of the early centuries of Armenian literacy mostly consists of palimpsests, i.e. manuscripts on parchment that were later erased and overwritten; these materials are one of the main objects of the ERC project *DeLiCaTe* (“The Development of Literacy in the Caucasian Territories”), which is at present running at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Studies, University of Hamburg. Until the present day, approximately 10,000 palimpsested manuscript pages with erased Old Armenian texts have been detected, among them 7,000 in the collection of the Matenadaran, Yerevan. After a short survey of the scope and distribution of the Armenian palimpsests and methods of investigating them, the present paper will focus on the insights these materials yield as to the development of the central genres of the Armenian written tradition (Bible, liturgy, hagiography, historiography, and theology), with examples taken from palimpsests of Graz University Library (ms. 2058/2), the Matenadaran (M 10362, M 2130, M 1306), and the National Library of France in Paris (suppl. grec 1226). Special attention will be paid to the question of the dating of palimpsests and other undated manuscripts of the first millennium.

Tim Greenwood (University of St Andrews)

After Garitte: Revisiting the *Vg* Recension of Agathangelos

It is almost eighty years since Gérard Garitte published his groundbreaking edition, Latin translation and meticulous study of a previously postulated but otherwise unknown Greek version of the *History* of Agathangelos, preserved in a manuscript in the Escorial dated 1107 CE and copied in Sicily [*Scor. Gr.* X.III.6, fol/ 241v – 262r]. His 1946 publication, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, inspired subsequent research by Ter-Lewondyan, van Esbroeck and Thomson into the Arabic, Karshuni and Syriac texts; it is no coincidence that in 1961 van Esbroeck and Thomson studied Armenian and Georgian under Garitte at Louvain. Garitte's meticulous philological research demonstrated that the Greek text (hereafter *Vg*) was a translation from Armenian and his interpretation still holds. His reflections on the origins of *Vg*, preserved in chapter VIII, are focused on the elaborate theories of Marr and Adontz in relation to the Arabic version *Va* derived from *Vg*. They make for entertaining reading 'Pour rendre compte de l'origine de la recension conserve dans l'arabe, Marr a créé un système très ingénieux, très plausible à priori, ou se tient très étroitement, et qui a le seul défaut d'être bâti entièrement su le vide'! This paper explores the relationship between the Armenian version *Aa* and *Vg*, not with the intention of determining what happened or to attempt to recover the original form of the tradition of Saint Gregory – both reductive processes, privileging X over Y and disregarding the discarded material – but rather with the intention of treating each version as a separate narrative, shaped by the context in which it was produced. This comparative assessment not only reveals how, and more speculatively why *Aa* and *Vg* differ from one another; it also proposes a new date and context for the writing of *Vg*. Arguably *Vg* was composed inside Roman Armenia in the first half of the sixth century. As such it holds particular significance for studying the retention and development of Armenian cultural memory within the East Roman Empire in the era of Justinian.

Gohar Grigoryan Savary (University of Florence, ERC Project ArmEn)

The *Assizes of Antioch* and the Visualisation of the King's Institution in Cilician Armenia

A miniature created in 1331 at the Cilician Armenian capital Sis depicts King Lewon IV at the tense moment of executing—according to the nearby inscription—‘just judgment’. The image serves as frontispiece to the oldest extant copy of the *Assizes of Antioch* (V107)—a now-lost Frankish law code, the content of which is available through the Armenian translation, undertaken in the middle of the 13th century by the Cilician ruling family. An important monument of secular law, the *Assizes of Antioch* exceeded in its implications the frontiers of the Principality of Antioch and the crusader states, penetrating also the Armenian state of Cilicia (1198-1375). This study—published under the title “The *Just Judgment* of King Lewon IV. Representational Strategies of Righteous Rulership in Cilician Armenia” (in *Staging the Ruler's Body in Medieval Cultures: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. by M. Bacci, G. Grigoryan, M. Studer-Karlen, Turnhout: Brepols, 2023, pp. 79-116)—explores how the implementation of the Frankish law code informed the decision-making principles of Cilician sovereigns and their artistic portrayals.

Hayarpi Hakobyan (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg)

Towards the Reconstruction of an Illustrated Gospel Dated to 1181 CE: Dispersed Folios from Narekavank Harvard no. 1960.202 & 1960.203

Our knowledge of manuscripts produced in the Lake Van basin between the 9th and mid-13th centuries remains limited. Only four manuscripts and fragments survive from this period, with an additional two attributed to the region based on the stylistic features of their illumination. Records indicate that at least seventeen other manuscripts once existed, but these are known only through later reproductions, which have preserved information about their content and dates.

Given these constraints, manuscript fragments and loose folios hold considerable value, as they enhance our understanding of manuscript production practices and artistic traditions in the region. Among such fragments are two parchment folios preserved at Harvard University (nos. 1960.202 & 1960.203), which contain Eusebius's concordance tables (featuring the first and fifth–sixth canons). A colophon by the manuscript's primary scribe identifies its creation at Narekavank in 1181–1182. Remarkably, previously neglected historical evidence offers additional details about the second scribe, enabling his identification and suggesting a possible connection to another known figure referenced in other sources.

This study is the first to examine the authorship of the entire manuscript, proposing the attribution of two additional illustrated pages to the 12th-century Gospel of Narekavank. These folios, currently held in separate collections, have been recognized in scholarly discourse but have never been associated with the Harvard fragments or with each other. Furthermore, this paper explores the possible contextual structure of the pictorial cycle, situating it within the continuity of local artistic traditions in the Lake Van region from the 11th to the 14th centuries. In doing so, it provides new insights into the evolution and persistence of these traditions over several centuries.

Knar Harutyunyan (Matenadaran)

From Manuscript Descriptions to "Discoveries": Early Versions of Known Texts and Newly Identified Manuscripts

The description and cataloging of Armenian manuscripts, initiated in the 19th century, remains an ongoing process. This work encompasses two main directions: the study of previously unexamined manuscripts and the expansion of concise catalogue entries into comprehensive descriptions. The latter is being actively undertaken at the Matenadaran. In the mid-20th century, 2 volumes of brief manuscript descriptions were published for the Matenadaran collection. Building on this foundation, the multivolume "General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran" project was initiated by senior codicologists of the Matenadaran (Onik Eganyan, Asatur Mnatsakanyan, Andranik Zeytunyan, Paylak Antabyan and others). After a revitalization of the project in the 2000s, it was led for over a decade by the renowned codicologist Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan. His tireless efforts established a well-structured cataloging process and nurtured a new generation of codicologists to continue the work. Currently, the project is advancing on the 12th–14th volumes.

My report highlights the importance of systematic and methodical manuscript description in the 21st century through several intriguing cases of clarifications and "discoveries" made during the cataloging process. Examples include:

Reattribution of Texts: A 13th-century manuscript, previously attributed to medieval Armenian author Gevorg Kagh, was identified as an earlier version of Anania Sanahnetsi's 11th-century *Commentary on the 14 Letters of Paul*. This new example predates known copies of the work by two centuries.

Previously Unrecognized Texts in Manuscripts: During the sorting of mixed pages in one of the oldest homiliaries at the Matenadaran (MM 3782, 12th century), a sheet was discovered containing a portion of a homily by Theodotus of Ancyra. This fragment, although from a known work, hadn't been previously noticed and predates all other known Armenian examples of the same homily.

Unrecorded Royal Commissions: The guard leaves of Matenadaran MS 4722 contain a colophon mentioning the manuscript's patron. Analysis suggests that this fragment is part of a Menology commissioned by Cilician King Hetum II—an extraordinary find, as no historical records had previously mentioned his Menology.

Localization Without Colophons: A systematic approach enabled the localization of a manuscript's origin despite the absence of explicit information in the colophon.

Andy Hilkens (IMAFO, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

Towards a history of Syriac-Armenian bilingualism

One of the foremost indicators of the long entangled history of Syriac and Armenian churches and the interaction of Armenian and Syriac-speaking Christians is the existence of Syriac-Armenian bilingualism among Syriac as well as Armenian Christians. Although this issue has been discussed tangentially in the context of aspects of Syro-Armenian studies, in particular the history of the Armenian translation movement, a history of Syriac-Armenian bilingualism has never been attempted. In this paper I take the audience through *some* of the evidence for Syriac-Armenian bilingualism from the use of Syriac as a language of learning and liturgy in Late ancient Armenia to communication practices of Syriac churches in present-day Armenia.

Karen Jallatyan (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe & Catholic University of Budapest)

The Ruins of Modernity: Literary and Photographic Afterlives of The Medieval Armenian Capital City of Ani

What can we learn about modern Armenian memory culture by studying representations of the ruins of Ani? What would such an exploration reveal about the entanglement of modernity and memory? To address these questions, this presentation will reflect on the specific configuration that Ani as a lost city has generated in the last decades of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th century among Armenians by drawing both from visual as well as literary sources. It will consider Ani photographs by Ohannes Kurkdjian from the 1880s, as well as Aram and Artashes Vruyrs' photographs from the subsequent decades, along with paintings by Arshak Fetvadjan, pairing them with works like Leo's 1903 (?) travelogue *Ani: Impressions, Recollections, What has Passed and What has Remained* (Անի տպաւորութիւններ, հիշատակներ, անցածն ու մնացածը), Daniel Varoujan's poem "Among the Ruins of Ani" (Անիի ւերակներուն մէջ), published in 1909 in *The Heart of the Race* (Յեղին սիրտը); F. Krikor Balakian's 1910 historical, illustrated travelogue *The Ruins of Ani* (Նկարագրութիւն Անիի ւերակներուն: Պատկերագրող), Levon Shant's 1918 historical play *The Chained* (Շղթայուածները) and Bagrad Ayvaziants 1920 historical novel *Ani was Sold* (Անին ծախուեցաւ). The presentation will argue that the configuration of loss generated by these visual and textual works have largely remained intact during the 20th century both in Soviet Armenia, e.g. in the poetry of Hovhannes Shiraz, as well as in the Armenian diaspora. In closing, the presentation will try to develop a critique of the ideological underpinnings of such configuration of loss in the name of discursively more open ways of relating to the ruins of Ani.

Suzan Meryem Kalayci (University of Oxford)

Dark Times - Reflections on the Armenian Genocide

Illuminating the unique experiences of Armenian and Turkish women both during and after genocide, this lecture explains why women's difficulties and strategies of survival were different to those of men. It stresses that women voices and experiences are central to the understanding of genocide and its aftermath. I will revisit the Armenian genocide in 1915 from a centenary perspective, examining the roles of women as victims, perpetrators, survivors, and those of the second generation. Drawing from personal narratives, memoirs, oral interview, literature, and historical photography this book brings together women's stories of martyrdom, trauma, and survival and those in which women took active part in genocidal violence. Engaging different modes of historical analysis and weaving in personal narrative, this lecture thus aspires to avoid two recent trends in Genocide Studies: a one-sided focus on either the perpetrators or the victims, and obsessive revolving around the notion of denial. This lecture is based on my forthcoming book: *Reading Silences: Essays on Women, Memory and War in 20th Century Turkey*.

Ovsanna Khachatryan (Matenadaran)

Manifestations of Grarajk' as a Unique Genre of Armenian Medieval Literature in the Antilias Manuscript № 150

Grarajks are writings found in Armenian manuscripts, which were created to be placed at the beginning of letters, documents, and other written texts addressed to various individuals (literally, 'before the writing'). The Grarajk possesses stable generic characteristics, and as such, it is regarded as a distinct genre within medieval Armenian literature. The main generic characteristic is its thematic specificity, as it is addressed to individuals of varying social roles and statuses. Its content is predominantly eulogistic, often taking the form of a laudatory text.

Another characteristic is its contextual feature: Grarajks were primarily created with the intention of becoming part of another genre. Grarajks can be in prose or verse. In the earliest manuscripts, prose grarajks dominate, while from the 16th to the 17th centuries, verse grarajks become more common.

Grarajks in manuscripts are mostly found in series or groups, often copied one after another. However, there is no grarajk group that repeats identically in at least two manuscripts. Therefore, the grarajk group is unstable and cannot be considered a single textual unit. These writings are primarily found in manuscripts known as Collections, one example being Antilias Manuscript No. 150. The group of grarajks included in this manuscript is distinctive in that each grarajk is followed by scriptural quotations that are directly related to the specific grarajk.

In the first part of the presentation, we will comprehensively present the main characteristics of the grarajk genre, and then we will provide a detailed analysis of Antilias Manuscript No. 150. In the main section of the presentation, we will provide a detailed overview of the grarajks included in the manuscript and their specific characteristics, with particular focus on the scriptural quotations that follow the grarajks. In the concluding section of the presentation, we will attempt to explain the purpose for which such a group of grarajks was created.

Victoria Khurshudyan (SeDyL, Inalco) & Chahan Vidal-Gorène (PSL & École nationale des Chartes)

Annotation models for the Armenian linguistic variation. One model to rule them all?

Developing annotated linguistic corpora for Armenian is essential for both computational applications and linguistic analysis but presents significant challenges. The task is time-consuming, and achieving the critical data mass required for training language models is particularly challenging given the inherent limited resources across Armenian variants and dialects. The ANR DALiH project addresses these issues by creating new corpora and leveraging transfer learning from Large Language Models to develop a unified multi-variant language model.

Sergey Kim (Université de Lausanne)

Mélèce d'Antioche géorgien traduit de l'arménien: une étude des textes parallèles retrouvés

La communication portera sur quatre textes géorgiens de Mélèce d'Antioche retrouvé en arménien. La dépendance d'un modèle arménien de ces compositions géorgiennes était déjà supposée par Michel van Esbroeck ; le texte arménien retrouvé confirme cette hypothèse. Quelques exemples des textes parallèles seront analysés.

Onnik Kiremitlian (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Dialectal Issues in the Armenian Manuscripts of the *Catenic Homily on Holy Thursday* Attributed to Marutha of Tagrit

The various Armenian manuscripts (mostly belonging to 13th-15th cc.) of the *Catenic Homily on Holy Thursday* ascribed to Marutha of Tagrit contain readings that from first glance seem to be orthographical errors or slip of a scribe's pen. However, a close inspection of these orthographical variants reveals that there are many consistencies in these so called scribal "errors". With a very few exceptions, they reveal the interesting phenomenon that these orthographic variations can be a result of dialectal divergences and peculiarities which the scribes introduced into the manuscripts they copied, thus reflecting the geographical area where the manuscript was produced, or in some cases indicate that the copyist was not native to the region where he copied the manuscript, but brought with him dialectal spellings and introduced them in a manuscript written in a different geographical location than that of his own. Thus, a clear distinction should be made between orthographical errors or peculiarities and those seeming divergences in orthography due to dialectal differences in pronouncing or writing the same word.

Studying these textual and orthographic variants could reveal many facets of the developments and changes that the Armenian language underwent in different parts of Armenia, and thus help to locate manuscripts that are of unknown provenance or date to a particular area where the manuscript should have belonged, thus enriching our knowledge of Armenian scriptoria and manuscript traditions, and tracing their development throughout the centuries.

Therefore, a right methodology of employing the various data on the distribution and isolation of Armenian dialects in the various provinces of Armenia and the surrounding countries will enable us to achieve tangible results in the study and determining of the geographical provenance of the various Armenian manuscripts employed not only in the *Catenic Homily*, but in the other manuscripts as well. This can open new vistas of research in the domain of Armenian codicology and the study of the development of Armenian dialects as well.

Petra Košťálová (Charles University Prague)

Cultural Anthropology Aspects in Historical Sources: The Case of Armenian Chronicles from Today's Ukraine

Textual analysis of primary sources in comparative historical perspective could be fruitful not only for historians, but also for ethnologists, anthropologists, religionists, linguists, researchers in the field of comparative literature and many other scholars. Armenian chronicles and colophons from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) territory, whose rich production witnessed the heyday of *Lehahayer* during 16th and 17th century, could give the reader an insight into the everyday life of Armenian Diaspora in cities as Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets Podilskyi or Zamość. Till today preserved registers of Armenian *datastans* include numerous premarital testaments, trade contracts, prenuptial agreements etc.; besides that, Polish Armenians wrote also chronicles, colophons as well as travel accounts (Simeon of Poland, Oksent of Kamianets, Hovhannes of Kamianets etc.). They are mostly written in Armenokypchak language or in local Armenian dialect. These sources offer many interesting information concerning specific position of *Lehahayer* community within the frame of Polish urban centres, its struggle for ancient privileges, collaboration and rivalry with other minorities (Jewish, Greek) and majority (mostly Polish, German burghers).

In general, primary sources could encompass also such peculiarities (interesting for anthropologists) as for example depiction of exorcism of evil spirits from the body of woman in postpartum period, appearance of werewolves, description of 17th century miracles or the seek for asylum and saving a condemned man from the gallows by a young girl throwing her veil over him (further “mediatized” by Henryk Sienkiewicz in his famous book *The Knights of the Cross*). Chronicles of Oksent and Hovhannes of Kamianets include detailed course of the battle of Khotyn fortress between Ottoman forces and armies of *Rzeczpospolita*. In parallel, this battle is recorded in contemporary chronicles of Polish nobles; taking place in the background of Thirty Years' War, Ottoman “Great Flight” period and framed by broader context of so-called Little Ice Age. These chronicles could be also considered indispensable sources within the frame of shaping Ukrainian and Polish history.

Bálint Kovács (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe & Catholic University of Budapest)

The imagination of Minas Bžskeanc‘ on Ani

The paper examines the medieval Armenian capital Ani through the lens of 19th-century Mekhitarist Catholic Armenian F. Minas Bzhshkeants' imagination. This analysis reveals the concept of Ani Armenians - as a unified ethnic entity in Eastern Europe. The presentation includes a critique of the concepts presented, as well as real and imagined travel accounts, including F. Bzhshkeants' perspective as a tourist. Additionally, it incorporates critiques from Edmond Schutz and Marc Nichanian. The paper addresses several key questions, including an analytical examination of the concept of mental travel and its relationship to the actual practice of travel and personal imagination. It also engages with the philosophical dimensions of Bzhshkeants' approach situating his work within broader contexts, including the Enlightenment, pre-positivist, and positivist philosophies.

Rok Kuntner (University of Würzburg)

Literary Rewriting in Medieval Armenia: The Case of the *Alexander Romance*

The Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance* has survived in multiple recensions. While Text A (Simonyan 1989, 69-363), in conjunction with the unedited "intermediate" text, allows for a relatively reliable reconstruction of the initial translation, Text B (Simonyan 1989, 364-445) appears to exhibit a secondary character, potentially reflecting a deliberate reworking of its *Vorlage* (Cowe 1996; Traina 1997; Mancini Lombardi & Uluhogian 1998).

This paper examines the distinctive features of Armenian Text B in comparison to Text A and the Greek Texts A and β, focusing on linguistic and stylistic characteristics, as well as evidence of additional sources.

The analysis demonstrates that Text B reflects intentional modifications to its *Vorlage*. Additionally, I propose that Text B is most effectively understood within the broader tradition of medieval Byzantine literary rewriting, a practice especially prominent in anonymous hagiographies and some other anonymous secular works. These findings contribute to the study of medieval Armenian literary rewriting, a field that merits further exploration.

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Cassandre Lejosne (University of Lausanne & École Pratique des Hautes Études)

Architectural Patronage and Cult of Relics: Komitas, Hrip‘simē’, and the early Armenian Church

The reconstruction of the Church of Hrip‘simē in 618 by Catholicos Komitas represents a crucial moment in Armenian ecclesiastical and architectural history. It both a religious and strategic act. By restoring the church dedicated to Saint Hrip‘simē, a foundational figure in Armenia’s Christian conversion, Komitas reinforced the Armenian Church’s theological independence and national identity during a time of heightened external and internal pressures.

This reconstruction also underscored Komitas’s leadership amid broader ecclesiastical and political dynamics, particularly following the schism with the Georgian Church and Byzantine pressures to conform to Chalcedonian orthodoxy. By establishing the Church of Hrip‘simē as a pilgrimage site, Komitas redirected Armenian religious focus inward, fortifying the Church’s autonomy and cultural identity.

Through this architectural and liturgical patronage, Komitas not only preserved key symbols of Armenian Christianity but also solidified his authority by aligning with figures like Saint Gregory the Illuminator. The restoration of Hrip‘simē’s church served as both a spiritual renewal and a political statement, embedding Armenia’s Christian heritage within its national identity.

Paolo Lucca (University of Venice Ca' Foscari)

The Conjurations against Child Stealing Demons in the Armenian Amulet Rolls. Elements of Textual and Typological Continuity and Discontinuity Compared with the Jewish, Byzantine, and Slavonic Traditions

In Armenian folklore, women in labor and newborn children must be protected from the demons *al* and *t'pgha*, who were believed to cause puerperal fever, abortion, and death. Prayers and spells against these two demonic entities are commonly found in Armenian amulet rolls from the early modern period onward. This paper offers a comparative analysis of the types, motifs, and characters in a series of Armenian texts featuring different versions of these spells. Drawing on parallels from other late antique to early modern Lilith- and St Sisinnius-related Jewish and Christian prophylactic texts against child-stealing or child-killing demons, it proposes a tentative genealogy for these Armenian types and demonic figures within the broader context of magic in the Near East and the Mediterranean.

**Caroline Macé (Niedersächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen & CSMC,
University of Hamburg)**

The *Letter on the Dormition* attributed to Dionysius Areopagita

The presence of Dionysius the Areopagite at the Dormition of the Virgin Mary was one of the very few “facts” known about the Areopagite’s life in the Middle Ages. It is based on a cryptic mention in Dionysius’ *De divinis nominibus*, which gave rise to a very long list of literature since the sixth century. In Armenian a fragment of a letter on that topic, addressed to Titus, Paul’s disciple, is preserved (CPG 6632, BHO 642). It was edited by Paul Vetter in 1895 (and previously translated by him into German) on the basis of the text preserved in P110, a *č’arāntir* copied in 1194. Recently (2020) Stephen J. Shoemaker translated that letter into English on the basis of the text edited by Garegin Srowanjteanc’ in 1874. Many more Armenian manuscripts containing that fragment could be found, not only hagiographic ones, but also *Corpus Dionysiacum* manuscripts, in which the fragment is preserved amongst Dionysius’ letters (before or after the letter to John the Evangelist). In my contribution I will show the progresses of my new critical edition of that letter for the *Corpus Dionysiacum* editorial project in Göttingen and take up again the question of the Greek (?) model of the Armenian text.

Lusine G. Margaryan (ՀՀ ՊԱՍ Հր. Աճառյանի անվան լեզվի ինստիտուտ/ նախկին աշխատավայր՝ Արցախի պետական համալսարան)

Արցախի բնականուների անվանակոչման սկզբունքները և իմաստային դաշտի կարգաբանությունը

Արցախի տեղանվանական համակարգի շրջափուլերի առանձնացմամբ տեսանելի են դառնում Արցախի տեղանվանական համակարգի յուրաքանչյուր շրջափուլի պատմական իրողությունները, լեզվական շփումներն ու այդ շփումների հետևանքով առաջացած ենթաշերտային տարրերը:

Իբրև բոլոր փուլերի հանգրվանային վիճակ և քաղաքական առումով պետական-իրավական վավերացում ստացած շրջան՝ *ԼՂ չնանսչված հանրապետության անկախության շրջանի* (1991-2020թթ.) բնականվանացանկն ենք քննելու, որը մի կողմից՝ ուրվագծում է Արցախի տեղանվանական համակարգի զարգացման ընթացքը՝ հնարավոր դարձնելով նաև տարածամանակյա դիտարկումը, մյուս կողմից՝ ամբողջական պատկերացում է տալիս տեղանվանական համակարգում գործող օրինաչափությունների մասին՝ համաժամանակյա դիտարկումով:

Ըստ քննության արդյունքների՝ Արցախի տեղանվանական համակարգում բնակավայրերի անվանակոչման 2 հիմնական սկզբունքներ են առանձնացվում.

Բնական պայմանների և աշխարհագրական իրողությունների արտահայտություններ.

Հասարակատնտեսական իրողությունների արտահայտություններ:

1. Արցախի տեղանվանական համակարգում բոլոր պատմաշրջաններում թե՛ նոր անվանումների և թե՛ վերանվանումների դեպքում բնական պայմանների ու աշխարհագրական իրողությունների արտահայտման երևույթն օրինաչափորեն գործում էր: Դասակարգելով ըստ իմաստային դաշտերի՝ քննվում են *ձոր, թաղ, քար, սար, գոմ, հող, ջուր, աղբյուր, գետ, տեղ, ծառ/քոլ/ծնակ* տեղանիշ եզրույթներով բաղադրված բնականուները, որոնց թիվն անցնում է 7 տասնյակից:⁵ Ձոր աշխարհագրական անվամբ բաղադրված է թվով 20 հին ու նոր բնականուն, քար բաղադրիչով՝ 11, թաղ եզրով՝ 14, սար եզրով՝ 7, ջուր եզրով՝ 7, աղբյուր՝ 4, գետ եզրով՝ 3, հող եզրով՝ 6, գոմ եզրով՝ 6 բնականուն:

2. Հասարակատնտեսական իրողությունների հիմքով առաջացած անվանումները հուշարձան-տեղանուններ են: Դրանք դասակարգվում են իմաստային 3 դաշտերում.

2.1. անձնանվանահիմք բնականուներ. երբ բնակավայրն անվանակոչվում է ի պատիվ հիմնադրի, կամ գաղափարի առաջնորդի, կամ հայտնի տոհմի ներկայացուցչի, կամ երևելի բնակչի, կամ բնակավայրի համար խորհրդանիշ գավակի և այլնի. ինչպես՝ *Բվանյան,*

⁵ «ԼՂՀ վարչատարածքային բաժանման մասին» ԼՂՀ 1998թ. հունիսի 26-ի ՀՕ-15 օրենքի /2011թ. ապրիլի 1-ի ՀՕ-Ն օրենքների լրացումներով ու փոփոխություններով/ հավելված թիվ 2:

Հովսեփական, Վազգենաշեն, Մաղաթաշեն, Հարությունագոմեր, Ղազարահող, Սեյդիշեն, Մխիթարաշեն և այլն :

2.2. հասարակատնտեսական երևույթները, քաղաքական իրողություններն արտացոլող բնականուներ, երբ բնակավայրի անվանակոչման հիմքը քաղաքական ու հասարակական տարածքներում տիրապետող գաղափարախությունն է. ինչպես՝ *Ճահումյան, Նոր Բրաշուր, Նոր Կարմիրական, Կարմիր գյուղ, Կոլխոզաշեն, Կարմիր շուկա* և այլն:

2.3. աշխարհագրական նկարագրի ու գաղափարական հիմքի համադրությամբ ստեղծված բնականուներ, ինչպես՝ *Վանք, Դադիվանք* :

3. Առանձին խումբ են կազմում այն բնականուները, որոնք թեև տեղանիշ եզրույթով են բաղադրված, աշխարհագրական իրողությունների նկարագրության արտահայտություն են թվում, բայց, ըստ էության, դիպվածային անվանակոչումներ են, իսկ եզրույթի իմաստային դաշտը չի աղերսվում բառական իմաստին: Այդպիսի միավորները կարելի է խմբավորել *խառն* կամ *դիպվածային* անվանակոչումներ կարգում:

Armine Melkonyan (University of Florence, ERC Project ArmEn)

Newly Discovered Armenian Interreligious Disputation: Manuscript Tradition and Textual Transmission

In an Armenian Homiliary (d. 1404), an engaging disputation entitled “Story of the Monk Holy Makar, and the Emir, and Aghtap‘ar, and the Jew, and Nestor and the Sorcerer who Believed in Christ” was recently unearthed. According to the colophons found in two other manuscripts with the same text, an Armenian king (or prince) of the Andzevats‘ik‘ province named Bardoghimēos, also called Apu Sahl, translated this work from Arabic, when he was captured by the “infidels” (Muslims).

The *Story* claims to recount a debate that took place in Ctesiphon, in 801 AD, during the reign of the Persian emir Abdlay/Abdlaziz, who is presented as a generous and God-fearing ruler. The Emir's beloved and faithful servant whose name is Aghtap‘ar, meets a monk called Makar (in one of the manuscripts the monk is named Eghishe) while hunting and takes him to the Emir. Almost the entire text is set up as a debate, a question-and-answer between the monk Makar on the one hand, and emir Abdlay, an anonymous Jew, a Nestorian, and a sorcerer on the other. At the end of the story the Emir, his servant and the sorcerer are baptized by Makar, acquiring new names: the emir receives the name Astvatsatur (Աստուծաստուծաբ, God-given), Aghtap‘ar becomes Christosatur (Քրիստոսաստուծաբ, Christ-given), and the sorcerer is named Khachatur (Խաչաստուծաբ, Cross-given).

My paper will present the manuscript tradition of this text (so far 14 manuscripts from the 12th to the 17th centuries have been identified). In addition to the mentioned colophon(s), the presence of Arabic words and expressions in the Armenian translation, some historical events reflected in the text prompt that this text must have been created in Arab-Christian environment. However, based on preliminary observations, we suppose that some passages, which will be one of the focuses of my paper, (e.g., the comparisons of Grigor Lusavorich‘ with Muhammad, the mention of the chief god Aramazd and the goddess of love and fertility Astghik from the Armenian mythology) may have been added by the Armenian translator or perhaps a later editor.

Robin Meyer (Université de Lausanne)

Hypoanalysis and aspectual diversification : the Armenian future in diachrony

The history of Armenian and its future tense has not been the subject of any major studies to date. It can be roughly subdivided into three stages: classical, middle, and modern. In the middle and modern period, dialects develop apart even as regards basic morphology; the below refers to the Eastern dialects and their precursors.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (4) *valə namak k- gr- em.*
tomorrow letter.ACC FUT- write- 1SG.IND
'Tomorrow, I will write a letter.' (DUM-TRAGUT 2009:253)

(5) *ber-em ews mek hetak'rk'ir ōrinak*
carry-PRS.SBJV.1SG yet one interesting example.ACC

‘I will / want to / Let me give you yet another interesting example.’ (DUM-TRAGUT 2009:239)

The Middle Armenian future is therefore likely to have developed by hypoanalysis of an aspectual expression: the contextual use of a present with future reference was reanalysed as a standard future form. The late Middle Armenian future accordingly presents an instance where a future did not develop by grammaticalization.

Expressions of futurity in Modern Eastern Armenian, in turn, are developing as a result of increasing use and importance of aspectually precise forms in the other, non-future systems. A small corpus study of these expressions based on the Eastern Armenian National Corpus will provide the evidentiary background for this change-in-progress, and distinguish the situation in the spoken (aspectually diverse) and formal written (aspectually underspecified) registers.

References

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Sirarpi Movsisyan (Graduate School Global and Area Studies, University of Leipzig)

Contours of Identity: Exploring Belonging Among Armenians in Germany

This paper examines the identities of Armenians in Germany, exploring various perceptions of self-ascriptions, ascriptions by the others and views on “others” to highlight the heterogeneity within the Armenian diaspora in Germany and its impact on inter- and intra-communal relations. Employing Stuart Hall's postcolonial perspective on identity as fluid and constantly evolving, the research utilizes his concepts of identity formation vectors and "presences" in cultural identity to analyse the layered nature of diasporic identities.

This study draws on 43 in-depth biographical-narrative interviews conducted between 2017 and 2020 in the largest Armenian communities of Eastern (Halle and Leipzig) and Western Germany (Cologne). Snowball and criteria-based sampling methods were used to ensure a diverse and relevant participant pool.

Findings of this research reveal a fragmented identity landscape in Germany, with subgroups (Turkish, Armenian, Iranian, Iraqi, and Syrian Armenians) asserting varying definitions of "true" Armenianness. A significant divide exists between Armenian and non-Armenian speakers, particularly regarding religious practices. Regional differences emerge, with Western German communities experiencing tensions between Turkish Armenians and those from Armenia and Iran, while in Eastern Germany, Armenians from Armenia and Syria collaborate despite mutual scepticism. Despite these internal divisions, an overarching Armenian identity persists across all groups, resulting in a dynamic, evolving sense of Armenianness. This research contributes to our understanding of the nuanced nature of cultural identity in diaspora communities, emphasizing the ongoing process of identity formation and negotiation.

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Հայկական վերածննդի նախադրյալները քերականական մեկնություններում

Հայկական վերածննդի մասին դիտարկումներ արվել են դեռևս XIX-XX դարերի սահմանագծին և հիմնականում բանասիրական հետազոտությունների ծիրում (Մեյե, Աբեղյան): Ի սկզբանե այն ընկալվել է եվրոպական վերածննդի իրողություններից էականորեն տարբեր, դրանց հետ պայմանական և խիստ ընդհանուր գուգահեռականություն ունեցող երևույթ: Խորհրդային տարիներին հարցի ուսումնասիրությունը թեև ընդլայնվեց, դրվելով արևելյան մի շարք մշակույթներում նկատված համանման իրողությունների շարքում (Չալոյան, Կոնրադ), սակայն դրա հիմնական բնութագրերն ու փաստարկային բազան տեղափոխվեցին հասարակագիտական դաշտ՝ ժամանակի գաղափարախոսական կանխադրյալներով պայմանավորված: Վերջին շրջանում առավել տիրապետող դարձավ երևույթի քննարկումը մշակույթի պատմության և արվեստագիտական հարցերի տեսանկյունից:

Կասկածից վեր է, որ հայկական վերածննդի դրսևորման առանցքային ոլորտներից մեկը հայ միջնադարյան երաժշտաբանաստեղծական արվեստն է: Այն կարևորվել է երևույթի ուսումնասիրման սկզբից և եթ, սակայն կարևոր բացթողումով: Միջնադարի երաժշտաբանաստեղծական միակառույց մշակույթային իրողությունից արհեստականորեն դուրս է թողնվել նրա երաժշտական բաղադրիչը՝ շեշտելով սոսկ բանաստեղծությունը: Պատճառը միայն միջնադարյան երաժշտական նշանների՝ խազերի անընթեռնելի լինելը և հնչող նյութի ավանդական կենցաղավարմամբ մինչև XIX դար հասած լինելը չէ, այլ հայագիտության մեջ երաժշտագիտական հետազոտությունների համեմատ բանասիրական ուսումնասիրությունների առավել կարևորվածությունը:

Հայ միջնադարյան երաժշտաբանաստեղծական մշակույթի մաս կազմող տեսական բնույթի երկերն այդ արվեստի միակառույց բնույթի մասին վկայող վավերագրեր են և արտացոլում են հայ միջնադարյան իրականության թե՛ բանաստեղծական, թե՛ երաժշտական բնութագիր ունեցող գիրքընդիսառն իրողություններ: Մասնավորաբար Դիոնիսիոս Թրակացու «Քերականական արվեստի» հայ մեկնիչների երկերում տեղ են գտել ձևակերպումներ, որ հունարեն բնագրի բացատրությանն առընթեր արտացոլում են հայ միջնադարյան երաժշտաբանաստեղծական իրականության տեղային արտահայտություններ և միևնույն ժամանակ հայկական վերածննդի երաժշտաբանաստեղծական արվեստի հիմք են, նախադրյալ՝ տեսական մակարդակում:

Վաղմիջնադարյան փուլի հայ քերականական մեկնություններից առանձնացվող որոշ ձևակերպումներ կարող են վկայել աշխարհիկ արվեստի ինքնուրույնացման մասին: Այդպիսի դրույթներ կարելի է գտնել Դավթի մեկնություններում: Ստեփանոս Սյունեցին իր քերականական մեկնության մեջ ստեղծագործական մեթոդի և կատարողական արվեստի մակարդակում թեզ է սահմանում հոգևոր և աշխարհիկ արվեստների սերտ առնչակցության

մասին՝ գուսանական արվեստի ստեղծագործական սկզբունքները կիրառելի համարելով հոգևոր երգաստեղծության մեջ և.ս:

Առաջարկվող մեթոդի ընդհանուր բնութագիրը «Հագներգություն» և «Քաջոլորակ» եզր-հասկացությունների տեսանկյունից դիտարկելիս՝ հստակվող դատողությունները պատմականորեն, ի վերջո, հանգում են հայկական վերածննդի գաղափարին:

Alessandro Orengo (Université de Pise)

Oskan vardapet Erewanc'i traducteur du et en latin

Oskan vardapet Erewanc'i (1614-1674) est un imprimeur arménien bien connu : c'est en effet à lui que l'on doit l'impression de la première Bible arménienne, parue à Amsterdam entre 1666 et 1668.

Mais Oskan a été aussi un traducteur du et en latin. Il a traduit puis abrégé un traité de grammaire écrit en latin par le philosophe italien Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639). La traduction elle-même ne subsiste que dans quelques manuscrits, tandis que l'abrégé a été imprimé en 1666 dans la même imprimerie que la Bible.

En outre, Oskan a également collaboré à une traduction latine de la version courte de la « Vie de Maštoc' » de Koriwn, un texte écrit à l'origine au V^e siècle.

Notre communication vise à présenter Oskan en tant que traducteur du et vers le latin et à discuter de ses objectifs et de ses méthodes.

Jakub Osiecki (The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Krakow, Poland)

The Polish Armenians – the biographical study

The aim of this paper is to answer the question as to whether and how often in individual biographical interviews with Polish Armenians did the question of identity play a significant role. I was particularly interested in the ethnic/national identity of Polish Armenians, and therefore their conscious identification with a separate minority group. With this goal in mind studied were the audio and audio-video recordings to be found at the Archive of Oral History of the *Karta* Foundation Centre in Warsaw. Preparing this paper I have reviewed 17 biographical interviews conducted with historical Polish Armenians (born before 1939). By way of summing up the source material appears a synthesis. Within the framework of this study it is difficult to attempt any overarching statements, but might be confirmed that typical elements of Armenian identity (religion, language, self-identification) were also visible among Polish Armenians. The most significant aspects of Armenianness remained endogamy and common territory. With no doubt endogamy was the strongest manifestation of a defence of identity in the 19th century, had within the political conditions of the Polish People's Republic lost its *raison d'être*. In the post-1945 situation of dispersal it was increasingly difficult to find a partner of the same ethnicity (rite), and so less common were marriages within the framework of a single ethnic grouping. Second most definite attribute of Armenian social identity was territory - however without the clear adjectival marker "Armenian". The lost land of ancestors, memory of former estates was recourse to the rather multiethnic expanse of the former South-Eastern Regions of the Second Polish Republic - to Kutuy, Lvov, and even the then Romanian Chernivtsi. All of the 17 interviewees have passed away. Current new generation of Polish Armenians seems to be vanishing group – not interested in the question of identity. Was it the last generation of Polish Armenians according to this survey?

Riccardo Pane (Accademia Ambrosiana, Milan)

L'emploi de la typologie dans l'*Explication de la Divine Liturgie* de Nersēs Lambronac'i

Si l'on analyse le *Commentaire de la Divine Liturgie* de Nersēs Lambronac'i, en particulier la section qui concerne la prothèse, on constate que deux systèmes théologiques coexistent : d'une part la typologie, héritée des Pères, dont il utilise le lexique ; de l'autre, l'épiclese consécatoire, conforme à la liturgie de l'époque. Nersēs, bien qu'il puise dans toute la richesse de la typologie antique, n'en comprend plus la valeur ontologique, et c'est pour cette raison qu'il doit recourir à une théologie basée sur le récit de l'institution et sur l'épiclese.

**Hamlet Petrosyan (Yerevan State University & Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography,
National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia)**

Early Christian Epigraphy of Artsakh (5-9th cc.). New Discoveries

The military-political events of the last years, along with many anti-Armenian manifestations, have also made the dispute over the ownership of Artsakh's cultural heritage relevant. The entire Armenian heritage of Artsakh, especially the medieval one, is declared to be Albanian-Udi. The most powerful antithesis of these absurd claims are, first of all, the thousands of Armenian inscriptions carved on church structures, secular buildings and various monuments. The inscriptions of the early centuries of the spread of Christianity are especially important, by examining them it becomes possible to present the pronounced Armenian face of the so-called Albanian church and the Armenian-speaking and Armenian-written image of Artsakh.

From this point of view, the inscriptions found by the excavations of Tigranakert in Artsakh and the observation of the monuments around the city are of special importance, the number of which exceeds three dozen. The inscriptions are engraved on various structures and archaeological findings. According to their function, they are political, construction, commemorative and ownership inscriptions. In addition to the Armenian inscriptions, four monograms of the name of Christ were authenticated on the walls of the rock church complex of Tigranakert and one Arabic inscription on the floor of the large church in Early Christian Square.

The two newly discovered inscriptions of Berdashen and the inscription found from the excavations of Grigor Lusavorich Monastery of Sos also join the Tigranakert collection.

The report also refers to the examination of those inscriptions in Armenian, which some "researchers" who do not know the ancient Armenian (Grabar) inscriptional language considered to be in Albanian language. The final conclusion is that apart from the above mentioned inscriptions of 5-9th centuries in Artsakh, not a single inscription or script was found in other languages, including Albanian language.

Zara Pogossian (University of Florence)

Religious foundations, Conquest, Women: Case Studies from the 11th to 13th centuries

This paper will explore evidence on the foundation of religious institutions (churches and monasteries) and the role of women, bringing together information from narrative sources and inscriptions. The engagement of women will be then placed in the context of major social transformations due to the Byzantine expansion to Armenia, followed by Seljuk conquests and, eventually the Mongols, providing some hypotheses on those factors that favoured the active involvement of women.

Ioanna Rapti (EPHE-PSL, Paris)

Armenian written sources for medieval art history: texts, contexts, and perspectives

This paper builds on the observation that although art historical methodology increasingly exploits textual sources, there is no systematic discussion of Armenian written sources for art historians. The scope of the paper is twofold: on the one hand it shall consider how Armenian texts of various literary genres can be translated and commented for the study of Armenian artistic production and iconography; on the other hand, it will attempt to argue that Armenian written sources pertaining to artworks and monuments may illuminate broader and shared art historical questions so as to contribute to an inclusive understanding of Armenian art with the framework of Medieval and Early Modern art history.

Although most major Armenian historical sources are available in good translations in Western languages, they lack proper art-historical discussion, and the related issues and evidence have often remained unnoticed. The recent compilation of *Sources for Byzantine art history . Volume 3 . The visual culture of later Byzantium (c. 1081- c. 1350)* éd. F. Spingou, Cambridge, 2022 comprises, amidst a broad selection of texts translated from different languages, only one Armenian text, the comment on Canon tables by Nerses the Graceful. This is not representative of the variety of texts about art and their input for our understanding of images and artistic production. The paper will attempt to highlight different types of texts which may be used as sources for art history and will propose tentatively thematic strands which meet concerns and issues of art historians, through three different case studies from different periods based on my recent and current research:

The ekphrasis included in T'uma Arcrcuni's continuator on the building of the church of the Holy Cross at Aght'amar and its decoration

The chronicle of Kirakos Ganjakec'i and especially the chapter about the foundation of Gošavank'

The inscription of the reliquary of the Holy Spear (surb Gelard)

The different genre, style, and purpose of the text require art historical criticism from different points of view and raise respectively issues such as description and visibility; management of the territory and modus operandi in monastic architecture; transmission and restoration of heritage.

Lewis Read (University of Vienna)

A Digital Corpus of Eleventh-Century Armenian Colophons

Colophons transmit a range of information concerning the manuscripts in which they are found. They provide crucial data about the sponsorship, dating, and production of medieval codices, offering us a window into the processes of creation behind any given manuscript and the lived reality of those responsible for their manufacture and use. That colophons themselves represent a sophisticated literary genre is being increasingly recognised by scholarship which is beginning to connect these unique sources across linguistic and disciplinary divides and illustrate the trans-regional stylistic and rhetorical patterns that they share across different traditions and historical junctures (Kiraz and Schmidtke).

The Armenian colophon tradition is particularly rich. Whilst the historical and literary value of Armenian colophons found in manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward have been well demonstrated by Sanjian and, more recently, Zakarian, a thorough and exhaustive study of the surviving corpus of eleventh century Armenian colophons remains a desideratum. Though the linguistic and historical potential of these earlier sources has been highlighted by Harutyunyan (2022), Greenwood (2017), and Matthews and Van Lint (2014), the 1988 out-of-print edition of Artashes Mat'evosyan remains the only way to access this valuable material and there are certain editorial challenges which limit its use by both a specialised and wider research audience: manuscript foliation and text metadata have become increasingly outdated, colophons are not represented in their entirety, nor are multiple colophon witnesses taken into account, there is little indication of the editorial work behind much of the transcription, which masks key linguistic and scribal patterns, and the collection does not contain a supporting commentary to facilitate the study of the material, which, to date, also remains untranslated.

In my paper, I present the *Digital Corpus of Eleventh-Century Armenian Colophons*, a forthcoming digital edition and translation of 45 eleventh-century Armenian colophons. Encoded according to TEI-XML standard, the *Digital Corpus* comprises a fully tagged and lemmatized transcription of each colophon in Classical Armenian, with an accompanying manuscript image, English translation, commentary, and manuscript description visualised in the open-source software: Edition Visualisation Technology (EVT). My paper will outline the methods behind the creation of the corpus, the editorial standards and conventions which it employs, its potential for historical, philological, linguistic, palaeographical, and data driven analysis of Armenian source material, and the future expansion of the project.

Anne Elizabeth Redgate (Newcastle University)

Light, Sound, and Space on Tenth- century Aghtamar Island

This presentation considers some conclusions of my *Royal Building Programs in Tenth and Eleventh Century Armenia: The Island City of Aghtamar* (2022), about: the size of Aghtamar island, and the amount of land available for building there when King Gagik Artsruni built its church of the Holy Cross (915-921); this church's acoustics and their relationship to those decorative motifs on its exterior that have sometimes been interpreted as 'secular'; and the roles of light and shadow in its external, sculpted, decorative programme and its presentation of particular messages/lessons.

What the sun highlights and what most catches the eye is different at different times of day. The south façade, facing Gagik and his entourage when they proceeded to the church from his palace, has, appropriately, much to say about kingship. It is here that there is the most drama during the day, regarding changing highlights. The biblical King David is dominant at a crucial time, the 'Third Hour', when the elite were up and about. The church's overall sculptural programme used light to teach political messages, and it embodied the philosophy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, that all created things were lights, and that contemplation of them would lead the observer to God. This contemplation was helped by the building's remarkable acoustics - worship was audible outside, for some distance. The church presented the whole of creation praising God, as the Bible and the liturgy call for, dominating, in sight and sound, the city that Gagik built.

City-building was perceived as a mark of a good ruler. Aghtamar, now, lacks the space for all the various building works that the contemporary *History of the House of the Artsrunik* attributes to Gagik. Calculating how much space there was, in his time, involves the measurements given in this text, the changing water levels of Lake Van, the contours of the lakebed around the island, and sedimentary cores taken from it. Gagik's city was probably where the recreation beach is now, and his harbour beyond it.

R.P. Haykazun (Vahan) Sahakyan (Գևորգյան հոգևոր ճեմարանի ասպիրանտ, Մայր Աթոռ Սուրբ Էջմիածին)

Ձեռքերի վեր բարձրացման ծիսական շարժման կիրառությունն ու իմաստը Հայ Առաքելական Եկեղեցու Սուրբ Պատարագում

Ձեռքերի վեր բարձրացման ծիսական շարժումը լայնորեն տարածված է եղել նախաքրիստոնեական շրջանում՝ ինչպես հեթանոսների, այնպես էլ հրեաների մեջ: Պատկերագրության մեջ ձեռքերի վեր բարձրացրած կեցվածքը հայտնի է «օրանտա» (լատ. orantis - աղոթող) անունով, որը մեզ հայտնի առաջին և ամենահին պատկերագրական տիպն է: Սաղմոսաց գրքում աղոթական այս դիրքն ու շարժումը հավասարեցվում է երեկոյան մշտնջենական գոհաբերությանը (Սաղմ. 140.2): Նոր Կտակարանում ձեռքերի վեր բարձրացումն աղոթքի իմաստով հիշատակվում է միայն Ա Տիմ. 2.8-ում՝ «Կամիմ զի արք կայցեն յաղօթս յամենայն տեղիս, բառնայցեն զսուրբ ձեռս ի վեր առանց բարկութեան եւ երկմտութեան»: Վաղ եկեղեցում ձեռքերը վեր բարձրացված կեցվածքն ընդհանրապես ընկալվել է որպես աղոթքի հոմանիշ:

Timothy B. Sailors (Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)

**The Earliest History and Characteristics of Ancient Armenian Translations of Biblical Materials:
A Survey of Modern Scholarship, Methods, and Critical Editions**

Over 130 years of academic research by Armenologists and biblical and patristic scholars notwithstanding, uncertainties surrounding the most ancient translations into the classical Armenian language persist. This literary activity involved complex interrelations with two neighbouring cultures and languages: Greek and Syriac, both of which had a profound religious and literary impact upon Armenia. These earliest translations included parts of the Christian Bible. The respective influence of Syriac and Greek upon the Armenian biblical tradition is both unmistakable as well as the result of intertwined processes of translation, (re)interpretation, and canon formation that took place over centuries, thereby presenting historians and philologists with a challenging task.

These uncertainties remain despite a description of the events the fifth-century Life of Mashtots. Modern attempts to account for the linguistic properties of ancient Armenian biblical translations gradually came to regard them as having two strata (the earlier Arm 1 and the later Arm 2). These models became appropriately more nuanced to adequately reckon with the complexity of the evidence. Moreover, each biblical book must be considered individually in order to determine its textual character, both internally and in relation to other biblical books and other contemporaneous translations.

In the 1980s and 1990s, critical editions of several books of the Armenian Old Testament were published: the Pentateuch, Job, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and the books of Maccabees (as well as 4 Ezra and material from Origen's Hexapla); more recently, an edition of Chronicles has been produced. Although the early twentieth century saw editions of the Apocalypse of John and various studies on the Gospels, only recently have full editions of other New Testament books appeared: the Acts of the Apostles and the letters attributed to the Apostle Paul. A great deal more work on primary texts is required. The textual character of ancient translations becomes evident only through careful, systematic, philological study of manuscripts and other direct and indirect textual witnesses. Such analyses are the tasks undertaken in the production of a critical edition. The majority of biblical books, however, lack a critical edition, rendering our assessment of ancient Armenian versions inadequate, or at least incomplete.

Anush Sargsyan (Matenadaran)

“Concerning the Sins of Adam”: The Transformation of the Iconography in the Biblical Manuscripts of the Amida Scriptorium

The majority of Armenian handwritten Bibles date back to the 17th century, a period characterized by the production of Bibles primarily in prominent urban scriptoria. These Bibles are notable for their rich illustrations, with some manuscripts featuring over 100 miniatures. The Old Testament typically opens with a cycle of Creation miniatures, the most significant of which depicts the biblical story of Adam and Eve.

One of the urban centers involved in the production of Armenian Bibles was Amida (modern-day Diyarbakır), a multicultural, multireligious, and multiconfessional city in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian scriptorium, which developed alongside the theological school, began to grow in the second half of the 16th century and became a well-known writing center in the first half of the 17th century. A notable contribution to this process was made by two Armenian clerical leaders of Amida, Serapion Urhayetsi and Barsegh Artsruni. Under their leadership, three generations of scribes and miniaturists, guided by the chief miniaturists, succeeded one another.

The illustrated biblical chronicle known as the Abridged Bible was among the early works produced in Amida’s scriptorium. Later, the entire Bible was composed in a limited number of copies, which were special orders and featured an extended cycle of illustrations. As demand for the Bible increased, however, subsequent copies were produced with a shortened illustrative cycle. Nevertheless, the scene depicting the sin of Adam and Eve appears in both versions.

By employing a microhistorical approach, this presentation will examine the development of Bible production in the scriptorium of Amida through a key study of the miniature depicting the sins of Adam and Eve. The first part will discuss the scriptorium of Amida and the composition of the Bible, followed by an exploration of the origin of the iconographic type depicting the sins of Adam and Eve and its integration with other scenes.

Sara Scarpellini (Université de Florence, projet HAI Mobility)

St George au Moyen Age : un saint à cheval entre l'Arménie et la diaspora

George, soldat romain de Cappadoce, devint saint en conséquence de son martyre à Diospolis en Palestine (l'ancienne Lydda ou Lod) dans les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. Il fit bientôt l'objet d'un culte fervent qui se répandit rapidement jusqu'en Occident, comme il le témoigne la diffusion et la variété des sources littéraires (les *Actes*, les *Martyres*, les *Miracles*, les *Hymnes*...) en plusieurs langues anciennes (grec, latin, copte, syriaque, géorgien, arménien). Les sources artistiques confirment également la circulation du culte de ce saint dans la Méditerranéenne, où nombreux édifices lui furent dédiés et multiples sculptures et fresques le représentèrent armé, à cheval, parfois tuant un dragon.

A l'époque médiévale le culte de saint George prit un nouvel essor et jouit un rôle de premier plan également dans les milieux arméniens, dans l'Arménie historique ainsi que dans les communautés diasporiques arméniennes du CAM (Caucase, Anatolie de l'est et Mésopotamie du nord).

Ma contribution vise à présenter quelques exemples de la diffusion et réception de la figure de saint George entre l'Arménie et la diaspora à l'aide principalement des sources littéraires mais aussi artistiques, dans le but de mettre en lumière les relations réciproques entre les Arméniens de la mère-patrie et ceux des communautés diasporiques du CAM.

Cette recherche s'insère dans le cadre du projet HAI Mobility qui vise à étudier ces relations dynamiques et leurs expressions à niveau matériel, textuel, artistique entre le IX et le XV s.

Arsen K. Shahinyan (Saint Petersburg State University)

Who hides under the name “Šahrbarāz, malik al-Bāb” by aṭ-Ṭabarī (839–923) under 22 A.H. (642/3)?

The paper introduces into scientific literature an almost unknown treaty between the Arab-Muslim authorities and Christian principalities South of the Caucasus quoted by the “father of Muslim historiography,” an Arabic spoken Iranian Muḥammad b. Ğarīr (Djarir) aṭ-Ṭabarī (839–923). The legal document dated by aṭ-Ṭabarī under 22 A.H. (November 30, 642–November 18, 643) is quoted in full in the extensive chapter “Conquest of Derbent” (Fath al-Bāb) of his multivolume *History of the Prophets and Kings* (Ta’rīḥ ar-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk) with reference to *The Great book of Conquests and Apostasy Wars* (Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa-r-riddah) by Iraqi historian Sayf b. ‘Umar at-Tamimi al-Kūfī (d. in 796). The document was addressed to the inhabitants of Armīniya (i. e. the Greater-Armenian, Caucasian Albanian, and Iberian Lands), and personally to the “malik al-Bāb” (king of Derbent) named Šahrbarāz, “whose origins were from the house of Šahrbarāz,” a Persian military commander who became famous in the last war of the Sasanians (224–651) with the Romans in 603–628, who conquered Syria and Palestine, including the city of Jerusalem.

We believe that by al-Bāb aṭ-Ṭabarī meant the whole of Arab Arrān (Caucasian Albania-Ałowank‘) and identify this malik (king) with the vassal of the Roman Emperor Heraclius (610–641), Varaz-Grigor, who founded a Christian principality of Ałowank‘ in 629 on the territory of former Sasanian marzpanate of Ārān. The proper name of this prince consists of two names: the first of them is an Iranian and Avestan *Warāz (lit.: “boar”), which is also present in the name of the “malik al-Bāb”, appearing in the text by aṭ-Ṭabarī. As is known, the Arabic form of the name Šahrbarāz is derived from Middle Persian Šahrwarāz (lit.: “sovereign boar”) < *Iran*. *šahr (lit.: “state”) + *warāz (lit.: “boar”).

The second name of the prince of Ałowank‘ was Christian Grigor (Gregory). Besides, Varaz-Grigor affiliated to the house of Mihrān (one of the Seven Great Houses of the Pre-Islamic Iranian state of Ērānšahr), like the famous Persian commander Šahrwarāz, and he was of Zoroastrian descent, and only after his baptism he received a second Christian name, Grigor.

Konrad Siekierski (Free University Berlin & Pazmany Peter Catholic University Budapest)

Traces of the Lost City: Ani in Yerevan

In my presentation, I look at how Ani – the ruined capital of the medieval Armenian Bagratid Kingdom – is present in Yerevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia. First, I offer a detailed description of a newly redesigned and recently opened exposition in the History Museum of Armenia, the only permanent exhibition in Armenia dedicated to Ani. Second, I survey archives and collections of other museums in Yerevan, including the Matenadaran, the Museum of Architecture, the Hovhannes Tumanyan Museum, the Martiros Saryan Museum, and the Yerevan History Museum. Finally, I discuss two temporary exhibitions presenting Ani that have been organised in Yerevan in recent years. This presentation is an outcome of an interdisciplinary research project, "Lost-but-found: Armenian Capital Ani at Contested Crossroads."

Khachatur Stepanyan (Խ. Արցախի անվան հայկական պետական մանկավարժական համալսարան)

Արցախը խորհրդային արդբեջանին բռնակցելու խնդրի արձարծումը սփյուռքահայ մամուլում (1920-1930-ական թթ.)

Ռուսաստանի կոմունիստական (բոլշևիկական) կուսակցության Կովկասյան բյուրոյի 1921 թ. հունիսի 5-ի հայտնի որոշմամբ, առանց հաշվի առնելու Արցախի ժողովրդի կամքը, հայկական երկրամասը բռնակցվեց Խորհրդային Ադրբեջանին: Այդ որոշումը դժգոհության տեղիք տվեց հայ իրականության մեջ: Եթե Խորհրդային Միությունում, հասկանալի պատճառներով, այդ դժգոհության մասին շատ չբարձրաձայնեցին, ապա արտասահմանի հայկական շրջանակներում խնդիրը հասարակական լայն քննարկման առարկա դարձավ: Հայաստանի առաջին Հանրապետության անկումից հետո արտասահմանյան տարբեր երկրներում հրատարակվող հայ մամուլի էջերում, ի թիվս Հայաստանի համար այլ կենսական և առաջնակարգ նշանակություն ունեցող օրակարգային հարցերի, ուշադրության կենտրոնում էր Արցախի՝ Խորհրդային Ադրբեջանին բռնակցման խնդիրը:

Չեկույցում ներկայացվում է 1920-1930-ական թվականներին սփյուռքահայ մի շարք պարբերականների՝ «Հայրենիք» (Բոստոն), «Դրօշակ» (Փարիզ), «Ասպարեզ» (Ֆրեզնո), «Պայքար» (Բոստոն), «Սուրիական մամուլ» (Հալեպ), «Երիտասարտ Հայաստան» (Զիկագո), «ՎԷՄ» (Փարիզ), «Յուսաբեր» (Կահիրե), «Արև» (Կահիրե), «Յառաջ» (Փարիզ), «Երևան» (Փարիզ), կատարած տարատեսակ անդրադարձները նշված հիմնահարցին:

Զնայած այդ պարբերականների միջև գոյություն ունեցող փոխադարձ անհանդուրժողականությանը, ակնհայտ էր Արցախի վերաբերյալ խորհրդային իշխանությունների ընդունած որոշման հանդեպ ընդհանուր դժգոհությունը: Նշված պարբերականները, որպես սփյուռքահայ հասարակական-քաղաքական մտքի արտահայտման հարթակ, երկար ժամանակ առարկայական փաստարկումներով քննադատում էին կատարվածը:

Սփյուռքահայ մամուլում Արցախի հարցի արձարծումը կարևոր էր ոչ միայն սփյուռքահայությանը հայ ժողովրդի հանդեպ խորհրդային իշխանությունների կողմից իրականացված խանարդարության մասին տեղեկացնելու, այլև հարցը միջազգային հասարակական հարթակներում քննարկելու առումով: Այստեղ քննարկված մոտեցումներն այսօր էլ ունեն արդիական նշանակություն: Հանդեսի էջերում առանձնացվում էին մի շարք կարևոր հանգամանքներ.

Արցախի խնդիր ասելով չպետք է հասկանալ միայն Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի Ինքնավար Մարզը, այլ ամբողջ Հայկական Արցախը, որի մի մասը խորհրդային իշխանությունները արհեստականորեն դուրս էին թողել ինքնավար մարզի սահմաններից:

Հայկական Արցախը ազգագրորեն, աշխարհագրորեն, պատմականորեն Հայաստանի մաս է: Այն Ադրբեջանին բռնակցելու տնտեսական պատճառաբանությունը արդարացում չի ունեցող:

Արդարության վերականգնման, հայ ժողովրդի համար կենսատարածքների ապահովման, ժողովրդագրական հնարավոր վտանգներին դիմագրավելու համար անհրաժեշտ է Հայաստանին միացնել ամբողջ Հայկական Արցախը:

Sipana Tchakerian (Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris) & Chahan Vidal Gorène (PSL & École nationale des Chartes)

Automatic editing of Armenian architectural heritage's 3D models using AI

Photogrammetry-based 3D modeling of buildings is now a well-established technique. This has led to a growing number of 3D models of Armenian churches, largely driven by documentation and digital preservation initiatives like those of TUMO in Armenia. However, these digital datasets remain challenging to access and analyze for both researchers and the general public due to their format, volume, and lack of descriptive metadata. This presentation highlights initial results from applying Computer Vision to these 3D models, focusing on the detection of iconographic patterns and Armenian inscriptions. These advancements facilitate model navigation and enable preliminary identification of embedded information.

Irene Tinti (University of Florence, ERC Project ArmEn)

Latin-Armenian Relations in the Medieval Caucasus through the Lens of Armenian Manuscripts

This paper will discuss the aims, preliminary results, problems, and further perspectives of an ongoing research project on Latin-Armenian relations, conducted within the framework of the ERC-funded project ArmEn (*Armenia Entangled: Connectivity and Cultural Encounters in Medieval Eurasia 9th – 14th Centuries*) led by P.I. Prof. Zaroui Pogossian at the University of Florence.

It will chiefly focus on the activity of the Dominican Peter of Aragon (d. 1347), who spent the last two decades of his life at K'ınay (Naxijewan) within the community that, between 1337 and 1344, became the order of the *Fratres Unitores* (Unitor Brethren, as they sought union with the Latin Church). Peter and his Armenian collaborators (notably Yakob K'ırec'i, known as T'argman) produced several writings for the new movement, whose members were in need of spiritual and intellectual tools to regulate their communal life and continue their missionary activity. Among these, the *Book of Virtues*, a compilation on moral theology based on Western sources, had remarkable success in Catholic and Apostolic circles alike. It also played a significant role in intellectual and doctrinal debates and controversies, as is attested by near-contemporary writers from both sides of the confessional divide (notably, *Fra Mxit'arıč' Aparanec'i* and *T'ovma Mec'opec'i*).

This contribution will address in particular the manuscript tradition of this text, copies of which were produced in both Catholic and Apostolic monasteries. Individual exemplars even crossed the confessional boundary, being used, edited, and annotated by members of both camps. By analysing text and paratext as a coherent ensemble, we will show how even minute philological data, when properly contextualised, can shed light on a tangled web of interactions linked to major theological issues and provide concrete examples of confessional and cultural entanglements in the Medieval Caucasus.

Vahe Torosyan (Deputy Director of Scientific Affairs of the Matenadaran, Ph.D. in History)

The Catholicosate of Ałuank' in the Hierarchical Structure of the Armenian Church

In 387 Kingdom of Armenia ruled by the Arsacid Dynasty was divided between Sasanian Iran and the Roman Empire. In 428 the Sasanian King deprived the last Arsacid king, Artashes IV (422-428), of power and handed over the management of that section of Armenia to a Persian governor. In the middle of 5th century the Sasanian Iran established new administrative units in the lands of Armenia, Iberia', and Ałuank' (Ałuank') under its control, forming the Iranian marzpanates of Armenia, Iberia', and Ałuank'.

By the decision of Sassanians two provinces of Greater Armenia, Utik' and Arts'akh, were included in the marzpanate of Ałuank'. With the annexation of Utik' and Arts'akh their churches also came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church of Ałuank'.

After the abolition of the marzpanate of Ałuank', the churches of Utik' and Arts'akh continued to be under the control of the Catholicosate of Ałuank', whose seat was moved to the right bank of the Kura River, the city of Partaw in Utik', in the early sixth century.

Why did the Armenian Church not oppose the transfer of the churches of Utik' and Arts'akh to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church of Ałuank'? Furthermore, why did it fail to take steps to reclaim them after the abolition of the marzpanate of Ałuank'?

The answers to this questions is closely tied to the following issues, which were examined in the report.

a) The establishment of the Church of Ałuank. The legends (both versions) about Yełisha, considered as the founder of the Church of Ałuank. b) The ordination of a bishops then a catholicoses of Ałuank' by the catholicoses of Armenian. Ordination order of the leader of the Church of Ałuank. c) Participation of the bishops and catholicoses of Ałuank' in the councils of the Armenian Church.

The examination of these issues, based on primary sources and scientific researches, shows that the Catholicosate of Ałuank, throughout its existence, operated within the hierarchical structure of the Armenian Church.

Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Les versions arméniennes de l'Apocalypse de Jean : acquis et perspectives

Le dernier livre du Nouveau Testament ne fut reçu que tardivement dans le canon de l'église arménienne : c'est seulement à la fin du XII^e siècle, sous l'impulsion de Nersès de Lampron, qu'il finit par s'imposer. Au même Nersès, l'on doit une recension du texte qui fera ensuite autorité, figurant d'ailleurs dans toutes les éditions imprimées de la Bible arménienne. L'histoire de l'Apocalypse en Arménie est toutefois plus ancienne, comme en témoignent les deux traductions pré-nersessiennes découvertes et publiées au tournant du XX^e siècle. Ni les travaux en question ni les recherches ultérieures n'ont cependant permis de résoudre de manière incontestée la généalogie des états de texte, ni d'établir définitivement leur statut entre versions, recensions ou rédactions.

Cette communication propose un état de la question sur les quatre textes publiés de l'Apocalypse en arménien (les deux anciennes traductions, la révision due à Nersès de Lampron et les lemmes du commentaire sur l'Apocalypse du même auteur) et une hypothèse quant à leurs rapports entre eux. Les progrès réalisés dans l'étude de la tradition grecque, elle-même remarquablement complexe, permettent de jeter un nouvel éclairage sur l'histoire du texte arménien. C'est maintenant à une réédition des textes arméniens qu'il faut procéder, selon les critères actuels et avec les moyens modernes de la philologie, en prenant en compte non seulement l'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite (dont le recensement est en cours) mais aussi le contexte de transmission et de réception de l'Apocalypse.

Theo Maarten van Lint (University of Oxford)

“Such a wonderful vision does not exist in all the prophets”: OXL121’s Second Text on the Throne Vision of Ezekiel

The Bodleian Library at Oxford preserves in an eighteenth-century manuscript (MS. Arm. f. 7), two texts treating the throne vision of Ezekiel reported in Ezekiel 1 and 10. The manuscript is numbered 121 in Rev. Sukias Baronian and Frederick C. Conybeare’s *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* published in Oxford at the Clarendon Press in 1918, and occupies cols. 246-250 in this publication. Conybeare, responsible for the description of this manuscript, divides the contents of the manuscript in three parts, listing the two Ezekiel texts as I.42 and III.1.

The first text (I.42) was published in Tbilisi in 2012 in the FS Aleksidze (*The Caucasus between East and West*, 422-428), and seems unrelated to the second one.

This second text (III.1) represents a piece in the puzzle that was first begun to be put together by Michael E. Stone in his “The Armenian Throne Vision of Ezekiel” in the FS Stendahl (Philadelphia 1986), treating V31 (17th-18th c.), followed by his “The Armenian Vision of Ezekiel” (in Stone, Wright, and Satran, *The Apocryphal Ezekiel*, Atlanta, Georgia, 2000, 145-155) in which he adds M10200 (17th c.) to the dossier, providing a collation of the texts, a translation and a commentary. In M750 (13th c.) a third copy of the text, considerably older than the previous two, is preserved. Here it forms part of the *Žllank*, a collection of didactic pieces written in the vernacular for Het‘um I, King of Cilicia by Vardan Arewelc‘i (c. 1200-1271), author of several texts on Ezekiel and his vision. The text in M750 is identifiable as the Սուղ ինչ բանք յԵզեկիէլէ, published by K‘osean in Erevan in 2000. OXL121 forms another, late, attestation of this same text on the miraculous vision, that remained popular, as did full-blown commentaries or briefer texts interpreting it. In the presentation questions on the textual transmission of the text, some of its peculiarities, and its spread will be asked, before it will be placed in the context of Vardan Arewelc‘i’s other texts on Ezekiel, known as Վասն կառացն Եզեկիէլի սասցեալ վարդապետին Վարդանայ (On the Chariot of Ezekiel Pronounced by Vardan Vardapet) and Սկիզբն ի մարգարէութեան Եզեկիէլի մեկնութեանն վարդապետին Վարդանայ (Beginning of a Commentary on the Prophecy of Ezekiel by Vardan Vardapet), both published by K‘osean in the same volume.

Edda Vardanyan (Université de Florence, projet HAI Mobility)

La version arménienne du *Roman d'Alexandre* et l'école monastique de Gladzor

Au XIV^e siècle, la réception du *Roman d'Alexandre* du Pseudo-Callisthène en Arménie entre dans une nouvelle phase. Le *Roman* subit des métamorphoses considérables, comme en témoigne le manuscrit 424 de Venise. Ces métamorphoses sont liées à la révision du *Roman* par Xaç'atur Keč'arec'i, qui présente une série d'ajouts au texte principal : quatre éthopées, lamentations rhétoriques sur la maladie et la mort d'Alexandre ; un texte appelé *Tnorinakan* (« Économie »), une analyse des dispositions providentielles fournissant des parallèles symboliques entre la figure d'Alexandre et la vie du Christ ; et plus de 100 *kafas*, encadrés ensemble avec des images. Ces ajouts littéraires et iconographiques transforment le roman d'un souverain païen en une œuvre de moralisation chrétienne, attribuant à Alexandre des vertus dignes d'un roi chrétien idéal. Ces innovations soulèvent des questions sur les raisons historiques de la création du manuscrit de Venise 424.

Des arguments iconographiques, littéraires, historiques et idéologiques placent ce manuscrit, et le projet global de transformation du *Roman d'Alexandre*, en relation avec les activités ecclésiastiques et politiques de l'école monastique de Gladzor.

Narine Vardanyan (Մատենադարան)

«Կանոնք ընթերցուածոց»ը Հովհան Օձնեցու երկերում

Հայերեն Ճաշոց-Տոնացույցը ձևավորվել է 5-րդ դարում: Այն եկեղեցա-ծիսական մի շարք ժողովածուների հետ թարգմանվել, խմբագրվել է գրերի գյուտից հետո ծավալված թարգմանական բուռն շարժման ընթացքում և ներկայացնում է Երուսաղեմյան Ճաշոցի՝ մեզ հասած վաղագույն թարգմանություններից մեկը: Երուսաղեմյան Ճաշոցի հայերեն թարգմանությունը համաքրիստոնեական մեծ նշանակություն ունի, քանզի դրա վաղագույն ընդօրինակությունների միջոցով ուսումնասիրողները հնարավորություն ունեն վերականգնել 4-րդ դարավերջում և 5-րդ դարի սկզբում Երուսաղեմում գործածված Ճաշոցի կառուցվածքը, բացահայտեն տվյալ ժամանակաշրջանում Սուրբ քաղաքում գործող սրբավայրերը:

Երուսաղեմյան Ճաշոցից թարգմանված հայերեն Ճաշոց-Տոնացույցի նախնական տարբերակը կոչվել է «Կանոնք ընթերցուածոց» կամ «Գիրք ընթերցուածոց»: «Կանոնք ընթերցուածոց»-ն, անցնելով զարգացման ուրույն ուղի, բազմիցս խմբագրվել է, ընդարձակվել և հետագա դարերում կոչվել Տոնամակ, Տոնանամակ, Տարեգիրք, Ճաշոց:

Սույն գեկույցում կփորձեն ներկայացնել Երուսաղեմյան Ճաշոցի հայերեն տարբերակին առնչվող հայերեն ձեռագրական և մատենագրական վկայությունները, հայկական աղբյուրներում պահպանված ավանդությունը Ճաշոցի և դրա՝ հայոց մեջ կիրառության մասին: Փոքրիկ ակնարկով անդրադառնալով Հովհան Օձնեցի կաթողիկոսի տոնացուցային բարեփոխումներին՝ նրա երկերում պահպանված վկայությունների միջոցով կփորձեն ցույց տալ 8-րդ դարում գործածված «Կանոնք ընթերցուածոց»-ի մոտավոր կառուցվածքը: Իր երկերում Հովհան Օձնեցին բազմիցս վկայակոչելով «Կանոնք ընթերցուածոց»-ը՝ ոչ միայն հիշատակում է իր ժամանակ տոնվող գլխավոր տոները, պահոց օրերը, այլև որոշ դեպքերում մեջբերում է այն ընթերցվածները, որոնք կարդացվում էին այդ տոների ընթացքում, հիշատակում Երուսաղեմյան այն վայրերը, որտեղ կատարվում էին այդ տոները: Հետաքրքրական են հատկապես Երուսաղեմյան գլխավոր սրբատեղիներին նրա անդրադարձները և դրանց նշանակության վերաբերյալ մեկնաբանությունները:

Bert Vaux (University of Cambridge)

The New Julfa dialect of Armenian since Adjarian (1919)

Linguist Hrachea Adjarian visited New Julfa for a month in 1919, during which time he collected most of the materials for his study of the New Julfa dialect (published in 1940). At the time of writing (June-August 1919) he observed that “the New Julfa dialect is gradually dying. The number of current speakers [...] barely reaches 2000. After one or two more generations this dialect will have entirely disappeared.” He added that it was being replaced in Iran by what he called “Perso-Armenian” (now called “Iranian Armenian”, Dolatian et al. 2022) and “the classical language” (by which he presumably meant forms of Standard Armenian), and by English, Hindi, Javanese, and Burmese in the diasporas of India, Java, and Burma. But what actually *did* happen to the New Julfa dialect after 1919?

Materials *written* in the traditional dialect or documenting the traditional accent continued to be published until recently (e.g. letters and stories in the Iranian Armenian newspapers Bobokh, Ts‘akhawel, and Veratsnund 1924-53, Łaribyan 1941:231-2, Allen 1951, Abgareants‘ 1965, Tēr Suk‘iasean 1963/2016, Łukasean 1976, Mkrтч‘yan and Mkrтч‘yan 1997, 1998, Margarean-Alek‘sandrecan 2006), but these were generally produced by speakers born before 1919. (Adjarian’s informants for whom we have biographical data were born between 1855 and 1898.)

Little information on the *spoken* form of the dialect after 1919 is available, making it difficult to verify Adjarian’s prediction. In this talk I present my fieldwork in 2002-24 with New Julfa Armenians born between 1913 and 1962, focusing on the question of what phonological, morphological, and lexical features of the traditional dialect described by Adjarian survived into the twenty-first century, and illustrated with audio samples. Features to be discussed include voiced aspirates and voiced h, vowel diphthongization, the change of h to kh, penultimate stress, the -man present (e.g. talman am ‘I give’), a-forms of the copula (am, as, a, etc.), the indefinite article min and preconsonantal definite article -n, and lexical items such as lev ‘good’ and almusa ‘breakfast’.

Rémy Viredaz (Chercheur indépendant, Genève)

Les traitements du *w intervocalique indo-européen en arménien

« Une “loi phonétique” bien difficile à énoncer », écrivait Robert Godel. Le *w intervocalique indo-européen est représenté en arménien par *w* (*v*), *g* ou zéro dans des conditions qui n’ont pas été élucidées.

Méthode : Cette difficulté tenait essentiellement au choix des exemples.

Quantité : il est possible de rassembler plus d’exemples que nos prédécesseurs.

Qualité : il est essentiel de bien *trier* les exemples (screening).

D’une part, il faut (ré)examiner les exemples afin de distinguer les étymologies sûres, probables, douteuses ou fausses. D’autre part, lorsqu’on tente de grouper les (bons) exemples par conditions et par résultats, les exemples qui font exception (outliers) sont à examiner de plus près : peut-être admettent-ils une explication particulière ou au contraire leur étymologie présente-t-elle des faiblesses qui n’avaient pas été remarquées.

Résultats : Deux lois phonétiques distinctes. L’une, plus ancienne, concerne la chute (ou non) de *w entre voyelles. L’autre concerne le durcissement (ou non) des *w restants en *g*. Toutes deux sont antérieures aux emprunts iraniens.

Seconde loi : En syllabe finale (avant l’“apocope”) : *w > *g* devant *e (peu d’exemples) et p.-ê. devant *a, ainsi qu’après diphtongue ; *w reste *w* (~ *v*) devant *o, *u (compte tenu de la loi phonétique *-wi > *-wu) ainsi qu’après *u*.

Interprétation : *w devient *g*, sauf lorsqu’il peut être considéré comme Hiatusstilger.

Exemples : *arége ‘soleil’ (gén.), á^wo ‘aïeul’, *á^wu ‘oiseau’, *leyzú^wa ‘langue’.

Cas particulier : les noms en -ewr < *-i^wur < *-ēwōr; cf. grec *-ēwr.

En syllabe intérieure, *w intervocalique devient *g*, sauf devant ou après *u*.

(Les dénominatifs du type *jewem* ‘former’ peuvent être analogiques ou récents.)

Cas particulier : *ti^wunĵ-ían, adjectif devenu génitif supplétif de tíw ‘jour’.

Première loi : Sauf exceptions, il semble que *w intervocalique soit conservé dans les mots “courts” (dissyllabes, trisyllabes sans consonne initiale), perdu dans les mots “longs” (trisyllabes avec consonne initiale, quadrisyllabes).

Nous donnerons une liste complète des exemples recueillis et discuterons les quelques exceptions.

Ani Yenokyan (Matenadaran)

Hardship and Craftsmanship in Unstable Times: Grigor Marzvaneci, the Master of Woodcut Art

The 18th century marked a significant period for Armenian book printing in Istanbul, fostering literary and religious developments within inter and extern-Armenian communities. Predictably, a substantial part of urban Armenian intellectuals, actively involved in confessional problems and cultural patronage, became integral to adopting and spreading print media. One of the masters of Armenian printing at the beginning of the century is the hero of this paper, Grigor dpir Marzvanetsi. He simultaneously tested and mastered almost all the links of multi-layered printing and book production functions. He owned a printing house, was a painter, and an engraver of letter types and woodcuts; he also worked as a scribe, manuscript restorer, and binder. The study of Grigor Marzvanetsi's creative legacy and life, including his collaborations and disappointments, reveals the broader turmoil and struggles of the Armenian community during his time.

The presentation will mainly analyze distinctive syncretic woodcuts and title pages created by Marzvanetsi with the iconography artistically integrated the Crucifixion of Christ with the symbolism and imagery of salvation through the Eucharistic divine Communion symbols as well the references to the Lord's tomb and Resurrection temple.

Lilit Yernjakyan (Institute of Arts, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia)

Interpretation of Armenian Musical Culture in Foreign Sources

Ethno-cultural origins of Armenian music in some Turkish and western musicological studies are presented in a distorted and inaccurate way. The historical role of Armenian folk professional music in Near eastern cultural heritage is generally ignored. Moreover, interpretations of the Armenian gousan and ashough art tend to misrepresent the national characteristics of Armenian music.

The highlighted issues have their historical background in the cultural policy originated in the last stage of the Ottoman Empire.

Many studies are ordered to draw certain pre- designed conclusions. The culture of multiethnic and multi-faceted Ottoman Empire was presented as belonging to one-nation, excluding the possibility of Armenian, Greek, Kurdish and other co-authorship to it. The main tendency of the music project and policy of the newly created Turkish Republic was the denial and dismissal of non-Turkish musical legacy of Anatolia on the one hand and its Turkification, on the other.

Virtually the focus in worldwide publications on the Armenian identity is the founder of the Armenian national school of music, Komitas Vardapet, whose insightful and genuine search for cultural interaction and general music characteristics have been subjected to biased interpretations and sited in various works as “scientific” explanations of the Turkish influence.

His vision of national identity paradigm, based on folk and church music in accord with dominating national, ideological theories in the 19–20th centuries, was incompatible with the activity and creations of multilingual Armenian ashoughs. Nevertheless, his research priorities did not limit the wide range of his creative interests, which include samples of gousan and ashough songs.

The misleading denial discourse prevailing in the historical records of the time is still, regrettably, echoed in the contemporary musicological research.

The coverage of these contentious issues in the light of the identity discourse developed in modern ethnomusicology may help to understand the role of integration of Armenian music in a broader matrix of Near eastern multi-voice sound space.

Andranik Yesayan (Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia)

Demographic Transformations in Northeastern Armenia in the Early Modern Period (16th - 18th Centuries)

This study examines the demographic transformations in northeastern Armenia during the Early Modern period, with a particular emphasis on the interplay of geographic, political, and social factors that shaped the area's population. Given their location as a contact zone, these provinces shared boundaries with the Georgian kingdoms to the north and Muslim tribes across the Kura River, serving as a crossroads of cultural and political interaction. The region's strategic location was underscored by the presence of main roads connecting major cities, which facilitated both trade and conflict.

The policies of the Safavid Empire had a profound impact on the demographic composition of the territory, particularly through the settlement of Muslim tribes. Additionally, the prolonged conflicts between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires resulted in significant devastation of the region, compounded by the occurrence of famines and pandemics. Repeated incursions by the *Lezgins* further destabilized local communities.

By the late 18th century, the Iranian Shah Agha Mohammad launched a destructive campaign in Northeastern Armenia, culminating in the capture of Tiflis. These events had a profound impact on the population, leading to significant depopulation and migration. This study employs a range of primary sources, including tax registers, chronicles, and travelogues, to reconstruct the region's demographic trends and analyze the historical dynamics of this transitional era.

Maxime Yevadian (Laboratoire CNRS d’HiSoMA, UMR 5189, Lyon)

Le voyage de Step’annos Siwnec’i à Rome, vers 710-720, considérations à la lumière de nouvelles sources

La question voyage de Step’annos Siwnec’i à Rome, dans les années 710-720, reste une question ouverte de l’histoire de la littérature arménienne. Stephen Gero a contesté la réalité de ce voyage, d’une part en soulignant que les sources qui la rapportent sont tardives et d’autre part, que les textes qui auraient été traduits sont des textes grecs et non latins. Nous montrerons que cet argumentaire est d’une portée limitée.

D’une part de nombreuses sources arméniennes relatent valablement des événements historiques vérifiables antérieurs de plusieurs siècles. D’autre part, un mouvement de voyageurs arméniens vers le monde latin existe tout au long du Moyen-Âge, il débute au V^e siècle est renforcé par les conquêtes sassanide et surtout musulmane au Moyen-Orient et connaît une apogée aux X^e-XI^e siècles, (ex. l’évêque arménien Syméon à Tours en 591, cf. Grégoire de Tours, *Histoire des Francs* X, 24). Le voyage de Step’annos, s’inscrit donc dans une tradition bien attestée. De plus, la conquête musulmane de la Terre sainte amène un mouvement de migration de moines et même de communauté religieuse entière qui est clairement attestée autour de la ville de Rome. Ainsi l’examen de l’ouvrage Guy Ferrari sur les monastères de Rome à l’époque paléochrétienne et médiévale a montré que près de 15 % des communautés monastères romaines sont d’origine gréco-orientale. Un monastère arménien, celui des Renati, est indubitablement attesté à Rome par les actes du Concile de Latran en 649, dont l’abbé était alors Thalassius. De même, la lecture du *Liber Pontificalis* montre que pas moins de 17 papes des VI^e-VIII^e siècles sont eux aussi d’origine gréco-orientale. Ce mouvement s’est traduit par une forme hellénisation des bibliothèques romaines comme de la pratique du grec au sein de la curie. La conséquence est que tous les ouvrages que Step’annos Siwnec’i serait venu chercher à Rome y sont attestés par les florilèges patristiques des VII^e et VIII^e siècles.

En conclusion, le voyage de Step’annos Siwnec’i à Rome s’insère dans une tradition de pérégrination bien attestée, il y avait un monastère pour l’accueillir et les œuvres qu’il venait y chercher étaient effectivement présentes à Rome au VIII^e siècle.

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David Zakarian (California State University, Fresno)

A Visionary or a Renegade: Revisiting Catholicos Kostandin Vahkac‘i’s Life and Work

The tenure of Armenian Catholicos Kostandin VI Vahkac‘i (r. 1430–1439) remains obscure due to the scarcity of substantive evidence, which has led to diverse interpretations of the surviving material. Accusations against Vahkac‘i include involvement in the poisoning of his predecessor, Catholicos Pawłos Gaṛnec‘i, and efforts to align with papal authority by endorsing a union with the Catholic Church, disapproved by the Apostolic Armenian clergy. Conversely, he is also credited with supporting prominent Armenian ecclesiastics Mkrtič‘ Nałāš, bishop of Diyarbakir and the Armenian spiritual leader of Mesopotamia, and Sargis Kafayec‘i, the vicar of the Catholicos in Crimea.

Little is known about Vahkac‘i’s earlier life as bishop of Caffa and his almost decade-long tenure as the Catholicos of All Armenians. Colophons of Armenian manuscripts are the most significant sources of Vahkac‘i’s life and work. In this respect, important sources are the two commemorative poems and a lengthy colophon inscribed by Vahkac‘i in the thirteenth-century Jerusalem Armenian Gospel, J 251, authored by Toros Roslin in 1260 in Hromklay. The colophon recounts Vahkac‘i’s forced departure from his bishopric in Cilicia, detailing his hazardous sea voyage to Caffa in Crimea, his sojourn and activities in Caffa, and the circumstances of his purchase of the Gospel. It also provides the names of the members of his family. Moreover, the two poems inserted at the beginning of the manuscript are pleas for remembrance, which shed some light on his poetic endeavours and talents.

There is also circumstantial evidence about the activities of Vahkac‘i, which provides valuable insight into his work and legacy during a period of political turmoil and uncertainty for the Armenian nation that was stateless and scattered across Europe and Asia.

Although the limited evidence precludes a definitive evaluation of Kostandin Vahkac‘i’s catholicate, this paper aims to examine all the extant evidence and suggest a new evaluation of this Catholicos’s tenure.

Emiliano Zanelli (Université de Genève)

Tcharents et la *Weltliteratur* : notes à partir du « Չարենց-Նամե »

En 1922, Tcharents compose le « Tcharents-Name », un poème autobiographique qui, loin de nous donner une image objective de sa trajectoire biographique, place cette-ci à l'intersection de trois axes différents : l'axe 'nairien', donc arménien au sens large, ouvert sur une identité mythique et, peut-être, encore à construire ; l'axe 'moscovite', révolutionnaire et communiste ; l'axe 'iranien', centré sur la ville de Maku, patrie fantasmée du poète, jamais réellement vécue mais garantissant une réserve inépuisable de sens (et cela à partir du titre, qui reprend celui du « Livre des Rois » de Ferdowsi).

Dans cette perspective, le poème constitue un prisme qui nous permet d'observer l'entièreté du parcours de Tcharents en accordant une attention particulière aux ouvrages dans lesquels le poète a essayé de moduler sa voix à travers un répertoire de formes issues de la tradition lyrique arabo-persane : des *ghazelner* du 1916-1917, aux *rubayat*' publiés en 1927, jusqu'au « Livre de la sagesse » placé au cœur du « Livre du chemin » (1934), c'est également l'identité arménienne qui est sans cesse remodelée par Tcharents.

Le but de notre relation sera de croiser ce regard porté sur Tcharents avec celui – témoigné par des nombreuses traductions – que le poète arménien portait sur Goethe. L'auteur allemand, dont le célèbre *Divan occidental-oriental* était aussi une tentative de s'approprier de thèmes et formes de la tradition arabo-persane, constitue ainsi la médiation qui nous permettra de faire dialoguer Tcharents avec certaines réflexions ultérieures (formulées notamment par Erich Auerbach et Edward Said) autour du concept goethéen de *Weltliteratur*, l'enjeu étant une compréhension du fait littéraire capable de dépasser le cadre national.

Marta Zerbini (Université de Florence)

The classical heritage in the land pattern of the ancient Tashir region in northern Armenia

The paper fits into the field of Armenian studies through the reading of the architectural landscape variations still traceable in the territory of northern Armenia, formerly known as the Tashir region.

The region of Tashir, within the Armenian province of Lori, is characterised by many religious buildings, churches and monasteries, which, according to scholars, were built between the 6th and 12th centuries. They are all located on a large plateau that marks the area along the Dzoraget River.

The highland has an agricultural tradition, while the infrastructure system is clearly hierarchical. It is bordered to the west by Lori Berd, a medieval fortress with archaeological evidence of a Roman oppidum, and to the east by the Akhtala Monastery, built on an ancient fortified settlement dating from the Byzantine era. The route between these fortified vertices is marked by a monastic-type architectural infrastructure within an agrarian environment, whose design of the fields is still visible and seems to re-propose the principles of the Roman centuriation. Monastic centres mark out the territory by isochrones and constitute a real network along the route serving the agricultural vocation of the place. In the early Christian period, this region was an active centre of architectural experimentation that remained alive for centuries. In fact, the diachronicity expressed by these churches and monasteries testifies to the vitality of the whole area and to the monastic activity that settled in the Middle Ages on older foundations, while their diversity suggests a medieval reorganisation in response to new agricultural needs.

The historical layering of the Tashir settlement, made up of the above-mentioned buildings and the secular agricultural use of the land, which has remained its vocation for centuries, is today a repository of the intangible values and cultural constants of the place. A complexity that has changed over the centuries, but whose substance has been preserved and can still be read today.

The paper proposes a multiscale reading of the region, offering a change to retrace the development of the territory managed according to urban principles of the classical period and confirmed by implementations in the medieval period.



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