One should think the destiny of this manuscript-beauty sleeping in a carved sarcophagus-binding was surprising. If for one thousand years (no less) it could be so well preserved, as it has been opened only several times - so clean are its pages, so amazingly soft is its non-deformed color of the wonderful parchment, there is not a single trace of a burnt or dampness - the constant witnesses of those misadventures and scrapes to which the overwhelming majority of the Armenian hand-written monuments got.

L.A. Durnovo

One of the most precious pearls of medieval Armenian art, the Etchmiadzin Gospel, is, perhaps, the most known manuscript not only in the collection of Matenadaran after Mesrop Mashtots of in Yerevan (where it is stored under the N2374), but also in all richest handwritten heritage of medieval Armenia. The special place which this manuscript has in history of the medieval Armenia art is due to a whole range of circumstances. Among them are uniqueness of the monument in which have united the Gospel decorated with painting which in 1989 noted its millenary anniversary, the carved ivory binding of the 6th century and simultaneous four final miniatures; high art level of the miniatures (of both the basic Gospel, and the final ones) and the reliefs of the bindings; their antiquity, and that is why also a rarity of illustrative types represented by them of not only Armenian, but also of all early Christian history of arts. And finally, perfect safety of all components of the monument.

And it is no wonder that namely this manuscript prior to the others drew attention of the first researchers of the Armenian miniature who have addressed to a rich handwritten collection of Etchmiadzin Patriarchy and namely this one among hundreds of others, has been named after the depository itself. The manuscript represents Four Gospels written in large yeerkatagir (majuscule). Like the majority of the Armenian manuscripts of the early period, it has rather large format: 34 x 27,5. It is written by large yeerkatagir on a thin and light well manufactured parchment.

Not only handwriting of the scribe is good, but also all composition of the page in a whole – successfully found, artistically experienced proportions of the columns and distances between lines.

There is little data preserved on the history of the manuscript. Memorable record of the Gospel informs of the time of its creation, year 989, the place – Monastery.
Noravank (Bgheno) in Syunik, in the area Vayots-Dzor (near the city Goris), and also names of the scribe (Hovhannes) and the donor bishop Stepanos.

From the record made almost two hundred years later, in 1173, we learn, that at that time the manuscript was in the monastery of St. Stepanos in Maghard, where it remained up to the middle of the 19th century, when it was taken therefrom to Etchmiadzin by the Patriarch (then he was still a bishop) Makar (1885-1891).

The state of this ancient manuscript is surprisingly perfect. Impurity of the pages is minimal and it has not affected the painting itself; paint layer drop outs are insignificant: the color tonality has preserved freshness and clarity, that is accounted not only for high quality of the used paints, but also laying on the painting of a thin, hardly traceable layer of a transparent varnish.

For the first time hand of a researcher touched the Etchmiadzin Gospel at the beginning of 80th of the past century. For these more than 100 years history of the manuscript studying has passed rather great and dramatic way, beginning from the fact that this monument was defined as Syrian and dated by the VI century. Such assumption was stated in 1891 by J. Strzygowski, the outstanding representative of the Viennese school of Art studies, the same person who was the first among the European historians of art to estimate value and contribution of the medieval Armenian architecture to the treasury of world architecture. The fact that Armenian book painting was not studied at all, the heritage of which was unknown to its initial researchers, gave birth to an opinion that painting was not yet known in Armenia during this period. 20 years later when J. Strzygowski learnt about other decorated Armenian manuscripts he reconsidered the initial point of view and has admitted possibility that initial miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel were pieces of art of an Armenian master of the X century who reproduced, however, the earlier Syrian sample. In addition, 10 years later F. Macler,
having studied parchment of the initial miniatures, came to the conclusion that it was made in the 10th century, i.e. simultaneously with date of the manuscript creation.6

The major milestone in history of the initial miniatures studying were researches carried out by S. Der Nersessian7 and K. Weitzmann8, issued in the same year where they, independently from each other, proved the Armenian origin of the miniatures and dated them with the 10th century. Such conclusion became possible at the beginning of the 1930s due to the fact that by that time the circle of the monuments which were included into the scientific reference was widely extended.

Further the Etchmiadzin Gospel repeatedly became the subject of the scientists attention, both national and foreign, by whom it was considered from the various points of view. Among these pieces of work it is necessary to especially note C. Nordenfalk’s research which has become classical. It was devoted to taking shape of the canon tables in late antique and early Christian manuscripts,9 where the Etchmiadzin Gospel serves as one of the key monuments on the basis of which the author comes to the conclusions and the main thing - for finding out of an early prototype of the decorated Christian codices.

The decorative cycle of the Etchmiadzin Gospel consists of fifteen miniatures united in one quire, placed, according to the early Armenian tradition, at the beginning of the manuscript, prior to the text. These are following miniatures: nine canon tables – two with Letter of Eusebius (fols.1r,1v), seven ones - with canon tables (fols. 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r), representation of Tempietto (i.e. small temple, fol. 5v) and five figure miniatures: Christ enthroned between the apostles Peter and Paul (fol. 6r), portraits of evangelists (paired, on two folios, fols. 6v, 7r), Virgin and Child enthroned (fol. 7v) and the Sacrifice of Abraham (fol. 8r).

Artistic design of the manuscript refers to one of the earliest types of the illuminated Gospel. Principles of decorative adornment of codex were laid in early Christian period, and yet at that time illumination consisted of two basic parts – from a cycle of figure miniatures and series of folios with ornamentally decorated arch constructions, in Armenia it received the name "khoran" designation of which was decorative designing of the so-called canon tables10.

7 Der Nersessian S., op. cit.
9 Nordenfalk C., Die spatantiken Kanontafeln, Goteborg, 1938.
10 These canons were compiled by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in the 4th century, who having divided the gospel texts into sections and numbered them anew, compiled summary digital tables. It is considered that manuscripts supplied with such canons, appeared as early as in the lifetime of Eusebius, for it is known that emperor Constantine requested him to compose 550 codices of the Holy Scripture for the temples erected by him. See: Ebersolt J., La miniature byzantine, Paris et Bruxelles, 1926.
Canon tables represent decoratively interpreted architectural motive borrowed by the early medieval artists from antique calendars decorated with painting, medical treatises etc\textsuperscript{11}.

To the symbolical meaning of these architecturally-ornamental constructions which are one of the major parts of decorative system of the Eastern Christian handwritten Gospel, is devoted the whole section of the Armenian church literature - symbolical interpretation of canon tables belonging to various authors from the 7th to the 17th centuries\textsuperscript{12}. The earliest of them is attributed to Stepanos Syunetsi and it could be quite known to the artist of the Etchmiadzin Gospel. As in these interpretation colors and decorative elements of each canon table are indicated together with their symbolical sense it would be seductive to think that these interpretations served as specific guidance in art practice of the miniature masters. Indeed, some elements mentioned by Stepanos Syunetsi, occur in the canon tables of the early Middle Age Armenian manuscripts (including the Etchmiadzin Gospel). But not all the ones. In addition these "instructions" are too common, conditional and insufficiently clear. An impression arises that Stepanos Syunetsi's Interpretations were based on some certain manuscripts, up to date or of earlier period which are unknown to us. And, probably, here we deal with the reverse phenomenon: both Syunetsi and other interpreters composed iconographic pattern not so much for artists than they generalized and interpreted already available types of canon tables. It was especially actual in the early Middle Age period, during the epoch of Stepanos Syunetsi: it was necessary to "legalize" decorative system of canon tables, majority of the elements and the idea of which by itself were borrowed from antique sources.

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\textsuperscript{11} C. Nordenfalk, who devoted the above mentioned fundamental study to the artistic design of canon tables in late antique and early Christian manuscripts, proved that among extant examples, peculiarities of the Eusebius prototype are most exactly reproduced in the Etchmiadzin Gospel.

\textsuperscript{12} The publication, translation and study of these texts (which have no analogs among works of other East Christian authors), are given by V. Ghazaryan (Գազարյան Վ., "Խորանների մեկնությունը", Երևան, 1995).
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Meanwhile the meaning of the canon tables, as it seems to us, is in their purely art aspect. Canon tables opened by themselves the manuscript and their function was to prepare the reader for perception of the world of the Holy Scripture emotionally. It is possible to compare the system of canon tables arcades to a temple where the reader enters through a portico (canon table with Letter of Eusebius, placed on the first page and it doesn’t have its pair on the opposite page) and, moving through rows of arcades (canon tables on both sides of the two-page opening), comes nearer to a sanctuary - Tempietto.

This analogy, undoubtedly, is conditional but dynamics of emotional perception of the reader opening the manuscript and thumbing through its page after page is in many respects similar to the sensation of a man entering a temple.

Semantic visual contents of the Tempietto with which the first part of a cycle comes to the end, is differently interpreted by researchers. Going from an architectural prototype, as well as canon tables, it is interpreted either as canopy over the tomb of Christ or as a construction over a grotto where he was born. But at all distinction of interpretations, principle semantic meaning of the Tempietto as a sanctuary and as a fountain of life remains invariable. Tempietto finishes by itself a decorative part of a miniatures cycle and prepares the spectator for perception of the basic, actually its illustrative part, which first scene - Christ on the throne between apostles Peter and Paul - is located on the same two-page opening. On the following two two-page openings portraits of grouped in pairs evangelists, the Virgin and Child enthroned and Sacrifice of Abraham come into view.

Such selection of the scenes is not casual. Its semantic value was convincingly revealed by S. Der Nersessian: the cycle opens with the image of the "hero" of the book, Christ between the disciples, further go portraits of the evangelists and, at last, two last scenes “summarize contents of the book and symbolize two basic origins of the Christian religion and doctrine: praying Virgin and Child – the symbol of its human essence, and sacrifice... - symbol of the Crucifixion and Salvation".13

Studying of the Armenian book painting monuments of the X century has revealed presence of two illustration types of the Gospel during this period. One of them tends to the narrative interpretation, the other - to symbolical.14 If in the first ones the artists

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13 S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., p. 551.
14 For details see: Ն. Քոթանջյան, Ծղրութի ավետարանը 974 թ., Երևան, 2006 (in Armenian, Russian, French).
represented sacred history in a number of separate, the most important events (and in
details adhering to the messages of evangelists), in the second one they aspired to
embody the content of the Christian dogma not in concrete episodes but in several
condition-symbolical scenes.

A series of figure miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel concerns with this second
type.

The ideological and semantic programme of these miniatures was expressed in
perfect artistic expression, and that distinguishes our monument among other
manuscripts and makes it one of the outstanding phenomena of not only Armenian, but
also of all the medieval art.

Prior to passing to consideration of the Gospel separate miniatures, let’s mention a
number of art-constructional peculiarities which are common for the cycle in a whole. Majority of images represents by itself arch design and has a configuration close to a
square; their sizes fluctuate from 25 to 26.5cm in height and from 24 to 25cm in width. Compositions are formed with arcades resting on columns, intervals between which are
filled depending on the contents of the miniatures, either with the text of Letter of
Eusebius or digital tables of canons or images of Christ with apostles or evangelists.
Unlike these images two last miniatures - the Virgin and Child and the Sacrifice of
Abraham, - located on the same two-page opening, have other design: here scenes are
confined in rectangular frameworks in the size 22x18cm, formed with three multi-colored
strips.

Images are placed in the centre of the page, leaving enough wide fields of clear
parchment round itself, the width of fields being various on all four sides: the widest is
the bottom margin, the top one is a little narrower, then comes the external one, and at
last the narrowest is the internal one (as if doubling at the expense of the margin of the
adjacent page of the two-page opening).

Beginning his work the artist first of all built arcades and rectangular frameworks,
using a compasses and a ruler, putting mark ups by slight forcing. Techniques of the
master differ by freedom and precision. During his work he almost did not make any
corrections. Outstanding skill of the artist, a masterly spontaneity of his
pictorial manner (unlike the more customary for book miniature small, detailed and
careful working out of details) give the basis to think that he worked quickly and it took
him no more than one-two days to create one miniature.

15 Interesting and on the whole convincing analogies between the miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel and
architectural memorials of the same period are given by St. Mnatsakanyan (Ս. Մնացականյան, «989 թ. էջմիածնի
ավետարանի» մանրանկարների ուսումնասիրության հարցի շուրջը, «Տեղեկագիր» ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ, 1, 1958 էջ 55-66),
who notices likeness in the character of proportions, subject reliefs and decorative motives.
Art language of the Etchmiadzin Gospel miniatures reflects the stage in the medieval painting development when its graphic system as a whole had already formed. The features of the art language connect our monument with an Eastern Christian direction of the medieval painting for which the expressed decorative effect and flatness, love to bright and intensive, little nuanced color, activity of the linear origin, absence of interest to the volume-spatial aspect which impart the underlined conditional character to the image. But, on the other hand, there haven't yet definitively vanished antique traditions in the art of the artist, on which were brought up the prototypes which served to it as samples. Moreover, this period has been marked by the revived interest to antiquity (that was especially apparently manifested in the art of Byzantium where in the 10th century developed the so-called. "The Macedonian Renaissance").

Reminiscences of Hellenizing art can be found out in treatment of variety of details, especially they are clearly traced in the image of flowers and birds implemented with exclusive freedom and spontaneity; plastic persuasiveness of accurately seized poses and movements of birds, amazingly keen color characteristic create sharply realistic images.

Other character of treatment we see in the images of the Virgin, Christ, apostles and the evangelists presented in frontal, motionless poses; their general convention and sketchiness, a stiff mimicry, absence of the individualized features and the drawing of clothes leveling the forms of a body - it all is typical for medieval art but is contrary to the realistic treatment of birds which holds lively communication with Hellenistic traditions.

At the same time some technique of Hellenistic painting, also borrowed by our master, has not been understood by him and they were used mechanically as, for example, technique of shading which gives a possibility to produce rounded character of a detail, at all inappropriate when imaging a rectangular plinth in canon tables of the Etchmiadzin Gospel.

But as a whole this way of treatment is not characteristic for graphic language of our miniatures which is defined first of all by relations of bright local colors and an active linear portrayal. Emphasizing the silhouette expressiveness of details, a contour outlining strengthens the flat-patterned character of the miniatures. And it should be noted that the artist uses lines of various colors - black, red, white, gold, - thus pulling together thereby the linear beginning with picturesque one and that also promotes integrity of the graphic structure.

Presence of various ways of treatment in pictorial system of miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel should be explained by peculiarities of the images laid in its basis which, in their turn, arose, apparently, as a result of the illustrated manuscripts use which were issued in art centers with various art traditions.

It would seem, connection of diverse art traditions should have broken stylistic integrity of the Etchmiadzin Gospel miniatures. Meanwhile it has not occurred. And it didn’t occur because art traditions of early prototypes by that time had already been thoroughly processed and they acquired a certain stylistic integrity, as well as due to
exclusive pictorial talent of the miniaturist, his bold improvisational manner of execution in many respects connected with individuality of the artist and with his brilliant skill, which reached surprising freedom and high perfection. Especially it is possible to visually trace this improvisational manner of our master by the images of capitals of columns among which there are no two absolutely identical ones. He reveals the form by means of linear drawing on freely laid patch of color, without preliminary outlining. At the same time the silhouette of a local patch does not often coincide with the linear drawing but the artist even does not think of correction: his main concern is preservation of the general balance of a composition, and the noted "negligences" are compensated with rhythmically accurate alternations of the main shapes and patches of color, their harmonious interrelation.

All graphic means play an important role in creation of this perfect and expressive art harmony, but nevertheless special significance belongs to the color, distinguished by exceptional power of emotional influence. Here is how V.N. Lazarev characterized color image of miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel: "the charming light paints, testifying to the miniaturist’s subtle feeling of color, form refined gamut – laconic and bright, full of inexpressible in words charm".16

It is remarkable, that expressiveness and colorful elegance of the Etchmiadzin Gospel painting is reached by comparatively modest selection of paints, many of which do not shine out by big brightness. The gold which is not playing a considerable role in coloring of miniatures is also used rather elegantly. Intensity and sonority of painting is created here not by the absolute chromatic strength of the used paints but by the masterly arranged coloring, selection of color combination which displays the artist’s exceptional painting abilities.

Shining clarity of colorful hues, strict rhythmic of chromatic components, decorative clearness of the color design - it all creates emotional atmosphere of celebratory joy and elevated solemnity which varies from a miniature to a miniature thus creating various emotional nuances.

Let’s consider principles of the coloring decisions of the artist on some examples.

Let’s take the first canon table with Letter of Eusebius. In the stately scope of a wide medium-blue semicircle of the arched bow associated with colorful image of an evening firmament, mystery and majesty are felt. The refined nobleness of the colors combination calls for imagination of special magnificence, creates atmosphere of resplendent festive adornment, somehow strict and constrained. An unexpected emotional nuance introduces in the miniature the shiny shades of a rose-red bud animating a little strict restraint of an image.

Large in size, an intensive violet colour of Christ’s garment in the scene “Christ among apostles” subordinates to itself all other elements of color and defines the basic character of the graphic contents of the miniature, its majestic and charged atmosphere.

16 Лазарев В. Н., op. cit., p. 99.
in which the dramatic character and internal strength are combined. Rose-red tone of the arch bow in contrast with the saturated and dense dark blue color of tympanum give an intense character to the general festivity of the miniature. These two color accents are supplemented with other patches: the orange-red pillow which heightened the tension and black columns with white drawings on it, bringing in the miniature strict, even slightly gloomy restraint. Color of the apostles attires plays a supporting role and does not influence the general character of the image. So, the compound content of this miniature symbolizing essence of Christ image, rich with emotional nuances, is created first of all by means of color.

Two pair portraits of evangelists shine out by a special lucidity and softness of emotional atmosphere. Solemn conviviality sounds in them easily and joyfully, due to somehow muffled color characteristic. Among the paints used here there are no bright active patches of red and violet color, giving a mysterious majesty to the image (as in the scene the Virgin Enthroned), there are not also black colors, giving to it austerity and strain (as in the scene “Christ between Apostles”). Here rose-red and golden-yellow colors of arcades dominate, and gentle semitones of apostles attires and easy shades of their blue nimbes surrounded with the sparkling gold border, only strengthen enlightened character of the images.

The artistic perfection which has defined power of the imagery emotional influence of miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, that high spirituality with which they are marked, stipulated, on the one hand, by exclusive endowments of the master who has decorated the manuscript, on the other – by presence of the developed art tradition.

FINAL MINIATURES

Four miniatures on two folios, sewn at the end of the manuscript, (and therefore they received the name of final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel) have been recognized by scientists a product of the Armenian art even later, than the basic illustrative cycle itself. Attribution of these miniatures done by J. Strzygowski17 at the end of the last century as Syrian, almost wasn’t disputed18 during more than half a century. In 1947 V.N. Lazarev in his comprehensive research "History of the Byzantian painting" resolutely denied this settled opinion. "There are all grounds, - he writes, - to attribute four attached miniatures in the Etchmiadzin Gospel of 989 not to the Syrian master of the 6th century as it aspired to prove Strzhigovsky, but to Armenian artist of the 7th-8th centuries", since, though there was not preserved any illustrated Armenian manuscript earlier than 887 but "old sources speak about existence in 7th-8th centuries

17 Strzygowski J., op. cit.
18 Besides the above-mentioned work by K. Weitzmann, where he expressed an opinion, that the final miniatures, were the work of an Armenian master, though not earlier than the 10th century.
Kamsarakan school of a miniature and Tatev school in the 9th century. Similarity to the Syrian manuscripts is explained by use of Syrian prototypes by the Armenian master.19

Proofs of the Armenian origin of the final miniatures was presented, a little later, by L.L. Durnovo, by revealing lines of a stylistic generality between them and lists of the Armenian churches of the 7th century (Lmbat, Aruch). She dated them by the "7th century if not earlier" and she made a very important logic conclusion that "they are not the first book miniatures on the Armenian soil as far as such high on skill products do not happen to be the first step".20 Later this observation by L.A. Durnovo was supported and developed by S. Der Nersessian who, also having mentioned affinity of the final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel and samples of monumental painting of Armenia of the 7th century, she also underlined their appreciable stylistic difference from monuments of the Syrian painting and came to the conclusion, that it is – "a piece of work of an Armenian master of the end of the 6th century or, that is more probable, – beginning of the 7th century ".21 She also mentioned that the final miniatures are outstanding art pieces of the early Christian art, displaying system of illustration of the New Testament, which hasn’t reached us in other samples.

Four final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel are located on both sides of two folios and depict: The Annunciation to Zacharias (fol. 228r), the Annunciation (fol. 228v), Adoration of the Magi (fol. 228r) and Baptism (fol. 228v).

Probably, these miniatures made only a part of the initial illustrative cycle.22 Because of absence of other preserved monuments of that time there is no sense even to do the assumption of what the full cycle was like. But the tendency by which the artist was guided, selecting subjects for an illustrative cycle, is clear and by these four miniatures, as well as in the initial miniatures it is the tendency to symbolical thorough understanding of evangelical history.

The first of miniatures, The Annunciation to Zacharias is a very rarely illustrated scene, but, apparently, in the early Middle Age period there was practice of its inclusion into a cycle (as it can be seen in some Syrian manuscripts).

Assumption by S. Der Nersessian which is rather interesting and convincing, explains occurrence of this rare scene by its iconographic and semantic similarity to the Annunciation that gave the chance to place symmetrically these two scenes opposite each other both on pages of manuscripts and in the paintings of the temples apses.23 Here, however, there is no such combination, since miniatures are drawn on two sides

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20 Дурново Л. А., Древнеармянская миниатюра, Ереван, 1952. Proofs on the Armenian origin of these miniatures and their propinquity to 7th century fresco-painting in Armenia are presented in greater detail and circumstantially in her last work: Очерки изобразительного искусства средневековой Армении, Москва, 1979, с. 157-171.
22 See: Дурново Л. А., Очерки изобразительного искусства средневековой Армении, с. 157
23 S. Der Nersessian, La peinture arménienne, p. 527.
of the same folio. Probably, the combination of these two scenes was practice of an earlier period; later, copying old samples and having borrowed from them the scene The Annunciation to Zachariah, artists of the VI-VII centuries had already lost the idea about the original principle of the organization of decorative ensemble and consequently these pair miniatures appeared not on the two-page opening but they followed one after another.

The Annunciation to Zacharias occurs in the temple interior, gold columns and arch of which are decorated by jewels. Zacharias is dressed in rich tunic (dodekakodon), bordered on the board by hand bells (verbetras). This unusual detail follows the description of the high bishop attire as it is given in the Bible.24

By the composition The Annunciation scene is similar with the previous one, with the only difference that the asymmetric architectural frame here is reversed.

In the scene of Adoration of the Magi the Virgin is presented in iconographic type of Hodegetria which was one of the most popular in Christian East, including Armenia, beginning from the 6th century.25 (We will see the same type on the relief of the Etchmiadzin Gospel binding as well). One unusual detail of our miniature is of special interest: the Virgin holds in the lap not the Child himself but a shield with his image. A similar detail can be seen in a Coptic fresco of the 6th century in the twenty-eighth chapel of the monastery in Bawit.26 This detail comes from antique practice of images on military boards and A. Grabar explains this formula by triumphal character of early Middle Age iconography.27 It’s interesting that outstanding medieval Armenian figure Vrtanes Kertogh refers to the similar image (the end of the 6th - beginning of the 7th century) in his treatise "Against Iconoclasts", citing in the Homily of the Holy Cross: "When the king is absent also its portrait takes a place of the king, princes kneel down... if peasants see him, they also kneel down, meaning portrait of the emperor; they do not see in it a human being but what is depicted in it."28

S. Der Nersessian considers that as a model for the Adoration of the Magi could serve an apsidal composition. This assumption proves to be true by a strange, at first sight, a bow-shaped strip in the basis of the miniature which speaks how we think, by mechanical transferring to the composition of a miniature of the visually passively apprehended semicircle of apsidal wall and most likely - not by the artist of final miniatures himself but an author of an earlier prototype.

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24 Exodus XXVIII, 4-39. See also Д.Д. Фрезер. Фольклор в Ветхом Завете, Москва, 1989, р. 486-487.
26 J. Clédat. Le monastère et le nécropole de Baouit - "Memoire de l’Institut fran5ais d’archeologie orientale du Caire", XII, 1904, pi. XCVI, XCVIII.
28 Der Nersessian, Une apologie des images du septieme siecie, “Etudes byzantines et armeniennes”, p. 381.
29 S. Der Nersessian, La peinture armenienne, p. 529.
In the last scene, the Baptism, the semantic content is expressed especially complicated. Already the rare portrayal of Christ in the image of the Child should "underline, that the Baptism is a birth to a new life"\textsuperscript{30}. The miniature frame also bears symbolic-allegorical sense, where in a wide frame-border, between four portraits of evangelists placed in its corners, the motive of the bird standing in a gold bowl on a gold dish is repeated. This bird is a pelican and it is not accidental that it appears here. In the Middle Ages existed belief as if a pelican to revive his nestlings tears off its breast and allows them to drink their fill. Then becomes comprehensible the analogy made by iconographs between those who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the mankind by Christ and that bird. And the bowl and a dish on which there is a standing bird, make that analogy even more direct thus reminding about full communion vessels - attributes of communicating of apostles "blood and a flesh of Christ".

The unusual border of the Baptism finds a parallel in a simultaneous monument – the manual woven icon originating from Egypt and kept in the Museum of Arts in Cleveland\textsuperscript{31}. Thus, among final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel we have already two original iconographic elements, making them related with Coptic monuments and testifying to close contacts of Armenia and Egypt in the early Middle Ages.

Final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel are of exclusive interest not only by their singularity and originality of iconographic decisions (not having parallels in early medieval art), but, in not a smaller degree, by outstanding qualities of the painting itself. And though not all the four miniatures are equivalent in the artistic aspect, each of them distinguishes by clarity and a harmony of graphic forms, compositional equilibrium of elements and high perfection of coloring.

The compositional decision of three of them is unusual: they have no framings. Configuration of these miniatures is formed with color planes which forms are defined by the character of the architectural constructions creating an effective pictorial background for the figures. The fourth scene - the Baptism, - as it has already been said, is set in a border-frame.

All the miniatures stand out in convention and flatten character: the volume-spatial qualities of figures, things and architecture are a little notable in them. In spite of the fact that in the character of figures movements there is still noticed an influence of antique statuesque poses; in their inclination towards frontality there is already something from immobility of icon images and proportions themselves are far from "classical". Rather large heads give the figures a little bit heavy monumentality; persons with a hypnotizing gaze of big eyes stand out. There is soft enlightened humanness in them which is combined with a stateliness and spiritual concentration. These faces are not

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 530.
individualized, all the characters have the same original type, neatly characterized by L.A. Durnovo as purely-national.\textsuperscript{32} Considering characteristic features of picturesque and plastic treatment of final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, we find out presence of two various art traditions on which their graphic language is based. So, in character of figures movements, in the tonal handling of color (in particular, folds of clothes), let it be even very simplified, in the absence of abrupt color and tonal contrasts there is felt the tradition of Hellenizing painting. At the same time aspiration to preservation of local definiteness of color, its dense and saturated tonality, general convention and flatness of the image treatment, interest to the linear principle point out strong communication of these miniatures with principles of the local eastern art.

From the synthesis of the two mentioned traditions the born pictorial style was on the one hand, characteristic for an epoch when process of formation of graphic system of early medieval arts had not yet fully ended, on the other, it was rather peculiar as within the limits of art language, general for the given historical period, final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel present a specific national variant.

Images form from relatively large compact forms confidently laid with dense sated paints. Working out of the particulars is not characteristic for the style of miniatures, there are almost absent completely ornamental motives in them. The painting itself testifies to the exceptionally free manner of brush-work, where the form was initially marked by contour drawing, and colors varied and specified in the course of work and that caused, to a certain extent, density and saturation of coloring. The latter as it has already been marked, is characterized by a combination of the sated colorful patches selection of which does not distinguish by a special variety: medium blue, green and orange are combined with ochre-goldish and red of several shades. There are also applied white and black tones. A very important role in the tonality of miniatures is played by the gold variously used and worked out with a transparent paint layer. Organically joining in color scale of the miniatures, it enhances the expressiveness of coloring thus enriching it with an extraordinary textual effect.

The color saturation of the final miniatures underlined almost by all researchers is reached not due to the power of color pigments (laboratory research has shown, that the majority of tones does not distinguish in brightness) but by the skill and color endowments of the artist. And it serves as one more acknowledgement of old truth: pictorial art with its coloring sonority is obliged not to absolute brightness of paints but to perfection of harmony.

One can boldly assure that in the graphic system of the final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel the main means of an embodiment of the figurative-emotional

\textsuperscript{32} “High-rising thick eyebrows; immense wide-open eyes, set near the bridge of the nose; with a mobile eye-pupil under the upper lid; a long, narrow slight aquiline nose with small nostrils; a large mouth, sometimes of somewhat non-descript outline; elongated downwards and almost proper oval of the face; accented fair complexion with light high color, ... is the peculiar type of always live Armenian face, created on real basis.” (Дурново Л. А., Очерки изобразительного искусства средневековой Армении, Москва, 1979, с. 167).
content is the color palette. Looking at the miniatures, the spectator first of all perceives color. Large planes of the sated tones fill the whole graphic field/space with dense and, in some parts even overloaded layer. The definiteness of a chromatic shade of these planes, their sizes and easily readable silhouette of the closed forms – it all together taken, subordinates other means of expression. Widely and freely laid layers of paints level the linear aspect and in this way they focus attention to the color of miniatures. Before one can manage to behold elements of the image, the eye plunges at once into element of colors and receives the first emotional charge.

The final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel represent various episodes of an evangelical cycle and express, naturally, various figurative-emotional themes. At the same time they are united by the general idea of solemnity and majesty, sounding differently in each of them: magnificently and tensely in Adoration of the Magi, quivering and joyfully in the Annunciation, reserved and mysterious in Annunciation to Zacharias, it is quiet and balanced in the Baptism. And namely the color becomes a powerful device for the treatment of the major figurative idea in our miniatures. Its expressive immediacy even today preserves its power of artistic influence, delivering us not only the masterly handling of the evangelical text, but also the originality of the spiritualized creative person of the unknown artist who has created them.

MARGINAL MINIATURES

There is a number of marginal signs and even small scenes on the text pages of the Etchmiadzin Gospel. Once namely these inept and obviously late additions Strzygowski recognized as a work of the scribe Hovhannes. Meanwhile it is impossible to agree with it, first of all because without a special studying it is clear, that these marginal signs and images could not be initials: there wasn’t left room for them - they are squeezed between the text columns, even the lateral fields are narrow for them.33 Besides, - S. Der Nersessian34 also paid attention to it - marginal signs are placed near the beginnings of the chapters (though of not all ones). But the Gospel text in the Armenian practice began to be divided into chapters only from XI - ХPi centuries and every chapter then began to open with a decorated capital letter. Meanwhile, in the Etchmiadzin Gospel there are neither divisions to chapters nor decorated initials. Further, handwriting of chapters numbers, put down on the margins and handwriting of the text body considerably differ from each other.

It’s quite obvious that both the marginal scenes themselves which are an unskillful attempt to copy some images (sometimes from the Etchmiadzin Gospel itself, as for example, the scene of Adoration of the Magi) and the marginal signs (added in later

33 See: S. Der Nersessian, The Date of Initial Miniatures, p. 537. Weitzmann K., Illustrations in Roll and Codex. Princeton, 1947, p. 113
34 S. Der Nersessian, The Date of Initial Miniatures, p. 536.
centuries when it became usual - for liturgical needs - to divide the text into these chapters) have not any relation to the original artistic decoration of the manuscript, and it is a pity that they have broken exclusively harmonious and perfect beauty of a handwritten part of the Etchmiadzin Gospel in a number of folios.

THE BINDING

For the last 100 years unlike the miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, which repeatedly drew attention of scientists, its binding was studied much less.35

Neither the main record of 989, nor the later postscripts speak of the binding, which seems strange taking into consideration the precious and rare enough material from which this binding is cut out. Possibly, it was not commissioned for the Gospel of 989 (the character of reliefs decorating the binding indicates a much earlier date) or it was adapted for it later (full coincidence of the sizes of the binding and the manuscript is hardly only a successful coincidence). Most likely both the binding and four final miniatures considered above were the survived parts of the early manuscript which came to decay or that is more probable, it was damaged for any reason by the end of 10th century. And then correspondingly to the size of the binding on hand was created a new manuscript decorated with a cycle of miniatures, executed according to art requirements of the time. And the survived illustrations of the old manuscript were filed to the new one as a precious relic.

As to the material itself from which the binding is made, stylistic character of its reliefs, and the iconography of the latter definitely enough specify time of its creation – 6th century.

During this period in Byzantium and in all Christian East carved ivory wares of various forms and purposes were spread enough: pyxydes (boxes), episcopal pulpits, diptychs. Tradition of these works of applied art traced back to its sources to an epoch of Early Rome. Diptychs, i.e. two-leaved folding covered from the inside with wax on which the text was scratched, primarily served as an original official notice on election of consuls and emperors. And content of the reliefs, decorating these diptychs, was connected with the event: thus, on the consular diptychs usually circus scenes were depicted as the consuls were bound to commemorate the election by similar amusements. The imperial diptychs having an expressed triumphal character, which have been preserved in a small amount are of a special smartness. They have central large equestrian portrait of the emperor and the scenes glorifying him. Namely these,

35 Редин Е.К., Диптих Эчмиадзинской Библиотеки - Записки Русского Археологического общества, т. V, 1891; Кондаков Н. П., Иконография Богоматери. Пг., 1914, т. I, с. 216-218, рис. 139; Ыоվսէփեան Գ., Մի էջ հայ արուեստի եւ մշակույթի պատմութիւնից, էջ 19-23: We can mention here some other works, where the reliefs of that binding are considered: Дрампян И.Р., Э.М. Корхмазян, Художественные сокровища Матенадарана, Москва, 1976, p. 134; Степанян Н., Чакмакян А., Декоративное искусство средневековой Армении, Ленинград, 1971, p. 17.34.
imperial diptychs, with their five-membered composition on each plate, with their idea of triumphalism also served as prototypes for diptych-bindings, in which they began to insert handwritten Gospels. The binding of our manuscript also refers to them. And though the secular content is replaced in the bindings with religious ones, it is difficult not to notice their genetic relation with imperial diptychs: the same five-leaved composition of the plates, the same large central portrait, the same idea of triumphalism and even - similarity of iconographic motives.

And so our binding represents two boards, with the size 36,5x29,5см, each of them is assembled from five separate plates. These plates, the sizes and forms of which are stipulated by the sizes and the form of an elephant tusk and necessity of the most rational use of this precious imported material, have various length and width. In the concept of their composition represent by themselves that ultimate constructive logic in which basis is developed in details, a well thought over system developed not by one generation of masters. The top and bottom plates have the extended form and occupy all the width along the binding. Three others settle down on the middle row and the central one - the greatest - contains the main image. On the lateral plates the scenes appear in two decks. Junctions of the plates are diligently disguised with ornamental frameworks which separate the scenes.

At an identical composition selection of the subjects itself on the upper and lower boards differ: the upper board is devoted to the Virgin, the lower one - to Christ.

On the central plate of the lower board Christ-Emmanuil (the Infant Christ) is depicted on the throne with apostles Peter and Paul standing behind. On the lateral plates – four (by two over each other) scenes of the wonderful healings made by him of a man suffering from abnormal swelling of his body and an invalid at a pool by the Sheep Gates (on the left); of the enfeebled whom he ordered to rise and carry his bed, and of two frenzied (on the right). On the lower plate there is the Entrance to Jerusalem, on the upper – two flying angels uplift a laurel wreath with an equal-sided cross (it is identified with the person of Christ). This triumphal composition of an antique origin, usual for antique sarcophagi, was perceived by early Christian art and widely spread not only on the wares of small size plastic art, but also among reliefs of temples as we see it, particularly, in Armenia, on the facade of Ptghavank

The same relief with Ascension of the Cross almost exactly repeats on the upper board of the binding as well, where the Virgin-Hodegetria is depicted in the central compartment, flanked with two angels. This relief also has analogies among art works of monumental art of the 5th-7th centuries and it is especially close to the relief on stela from Talin36.

36 See: Лазарев В. Н., Этюды по иконографии Богоматери, Византийская живопись, Москва, 1971, с. 305.
On each side of the Virgin there are presented scenes from her life: Annunciation and Trial by the Water of Conviction (on the left), Nativity and Exodus from Egypt (on the right). On the lower plate – Adoration of the Magi.

Though Etchmiadzin diptych is the only preserved binding from ivory among the Armenian monuments, there is ground to suppose that in due time there were such bindings if not many, then at least, a certain amount. Vrtanes Kertogh testifies to it in the treatise against iconoclasts mentioned above: "When we see Gospels decorated not only with gold and silver but also bound in bindings from ivory and red leather and when we worship the Holy Gospel and we kiss it we worship not the ivory and red leather brought for sale from the barbarous countries but the word of the Savior written on parchment".

This evidence by Vrtanes is fortunately confirmed by the fact of the existence of the preserved till our days binding of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, and this confirmation in its turn calls still a greater confidence of reliability of his messages based on the real facts. It’s clear that this binding was not unique and casual.

Naturally, - it is also underlined by Vrtanes himself, - that "from the barbarous countries" (probably, from the African countries and from India) were exported not bindings themselves (with Christian reliefes) but only the material – ivory. And though this remark by Vrtanes yet does not allow asserting with all definiteness that this bone has been brought to Armenia directly from these countries in the form of a material, it appears that there are serious grounds for such assumption.

Another thing could be said with confidence: the binding of the Etchmiadzin Gospel cannot be attributed to the Byzantine monuments. The tendency to flatness, eastern type, character of the figures proportions with the big heads and hands, strongly differing from "classical" proportions of the Byzantine art - all it manifests the tendency, characteristic for an eastern master, always not indifferent at all to the expressiveness of the image let even it come out at the expense of its lesser refinement. We will also add to it presence among the scenes of the diptych some motifs which are alien to the Byzantine iconography (for example, "Trial by the Water of Conviction").

37 In the basis of this depiction lays an apocryphal legend originated in Palestine, which was proved by D V. Aynalov (Айналов Д.В., "Три древнехристианских сосуда из Керчи", "Записки Русского археологического общества", V, 1892, p. 204-208?). According to that apocrypha, the Virgin was tested in accordance with the Moses law (Old Testament, Numbers, 5). Anyone who was suspected to be unfaithful in matrimony, had to drink the so called “bitter water”, and if the water didn’t injure her, she would be pleaded not guilty. This very subject unknown to Byzantine art up to later times, comes across in a number of East Christian memorials of applied arts of earlier period.

38 S. Der-Nersessian, Une apologie, p. 381.

Along with expressed eastern character, there has been clearly reflected the time of their creation in the reliefs of the binding – that early period when the early art had not yet been processed into a harmonic mature medieval style. Live movements of the figures, emphasized dynamics of their poses and free modeling testify to strong dependence of our master on the artistic principles of the antique art.

It was said above that diptychs with a five-membered composition, to which also relates the binding of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, shine out with reasonable and accurate constructive logic. Not only the general composition was worked out where the central plate with the large figure represented on it unites around itself small-figure scenes but also the character of the relief - very flat, in accordance with utilitarian function of binding: it should not be too convex so that it would be convenient to take it in hands. Therefore the volume is revealed here by simplified modeling: details of images, in particular, draperies, are created by not only working out of volume forms, but also by graphic linear cutting method. The cutter draws a line, often leaving without working out volume aspects of the image. In some cases the engraving has purely graphic character thus forming an original texture and that introduces a decorative moment in the image and enriches volume processing with decorative-graphic expressiveness.

However now fourteen centuries later, relief expressiveness of the whole is created not only by means of volume revealing. Time has wonderingly refined and more accentuated the relief structure of the binding surface: protruding parts were rubbed off, the contrast between them decreased. Not only the master but also the subsequent generations of readers "have polished up" the binding with their touches; because of that the cold ivory was "spiritualized", as if having incorporated warmth of the hands holding it, as if it has turned alive and shone with a surprising warm hue.

It is difficult to overestimate art and historical value of the Etchmiadzin Gospel and its place in a cultural heritage of medieval Armenia. Uniting in itself three first class monuments, reflecting different time stages and different art forms, this manuscript allows solving a number of important problems facing the researchers of art culture of early middle age. At the same time it has considerably expanded the idea of book art of the early medieval epoch in general.

The remarkable ivory binding, into which the manuscript is confined, represents a great interest for history of art not only by its high art qualities of reliefs and originality of the iconographic features but also by the rarity of this kind of medieval small plastic art samples of which have reached up to now in a few specimens.

Even more important for history of Armenian (and all early Christian) art is the significance of four final miniatures. The very fact of their existence confirms written evidences of existence and a high level of development of fine arts in early Middle Age Armenia, in particular mural one. Peculiarities of iconography, uniqueness of compositional orders, originality of ideological rendering give a certain notion about an overall process of art of the handwritten book formation in the first centuries of its development and not only in Armenia. And high art qualities of the final miniatures of the
Etchmiadzin Gospel allow to put this monument abreast with such widely known early Christian manuscripts, as the Viennese Dioscorides, Codex Rossanensis and Rabula Gospel.

But nevertheless it is necessary to consider the illumination of the manuscript itself as the most valuable and considerable part of the Etchmiadzin Gospel, i.e. miniatures of the year 989. The exceptional artistic perfection of these miniatures noted in works of a whole range of scientists, allows referring them to the most outstanding monuments of the East Christian book painting.

The iconographic program of miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel is not less interesting: canon tables, the closest to the early lost prototype and the cycle of figurative miniatures giving the original ideologically-semantic solution of illustration of the evangelical text.

All it puts the Etchmiadzin Gospel on an exclusive place in history of art of the medieval handwritten book.

Happily survived in a long chain of drama events of the country the Etchmiadzin Gospel, this remarkable monument of medieval Armenian art, is not only a brilliant evidence of the creative genius of the nation but also the proof of that exclusively high level which was reached by the Armenian art culture in the Middle Ages.

*English text revised by Garegin Kotanjyan*
ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS

INITIAL MINIATURES
Концевые миниатюры

FINAL MINIATURES
Annunciation to Zacharias (fol. 228r)

Adoration of the Magi (fol. 229r)

Baptism (fol. 229v)

Annunciation (fol. 228v)
ФРАГМЕНТЫ НАЧАЛЬНЫХ МИНИАТЮР

DETAILS FROM THE INITIAL MINIATURES
Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus, fragment (fol. 1v)

1st Table of the Canons of Concordance, fragment (fol. 2r)
2nd Table of the Canons of Concordance, fragment (fol. 2v)

3rd Table of the Canons of Concordance, fragment (fol. 3r)
4th Table of the Canons of Concordance, fragment (fol. 3v)

5th Table of the Canons of Concordance, fragment (fol. 4r)
Christ Enthroned Between the Apostles Peter and Paul, fragment (fol. 6r)
Head of the Evangelists John, fragment from the miniature "Evangelists Luke and John" (fol. 7v)

Head of the Evangelists John, fragment from the miniature "Evangelists Luke and John" (fol. 7v)
The Virgin Enthroned with the Infant Christ, fragment (fol. 7v)

Sacrifice of Abraham, fragment (fol. 8r)
 DETAILS FROM THE FINAL MINIATURES

ФРАГМЕНТЫ КОНЦЕВЫХ МИНИАТЮР
Adoration of the Magi (fol. 229r)

Annunciation (fol. 228v)
THE IVORY BINDING OF THE ETCHMIADZIN GOSPEL

 Binding. The upper plate. Virgin Hodegitria with scenes from her life.

 Binding. The lower plate. Christ Enthroned with scenes from his life.
Binding. The upper plate (the central compartment). The Virgin Hodegitria.

Binding. The upper plate. Detail from the Adoration of the Magi.
Binding. The upper plate. Detail from the Nativity of Christ and the Flight into Egypt.

Binding. The upper plate. Detail from the Annunciation and the Trial with the Water of Conviction.
Binding. The lower plate. Detail from Christ-Emmanuel.
Binding. The lower plate. Detail from the Healing of the Enfeebled and the Healing of the Two Demoniacs.
Binding. The upper plate. Detail from the Ascension of the Cross.

Binding. The lower plate. Detail from the Ascension of the Cross.
Fly-leaf of the manuscript.

Pages of texts
Այս դրամական կանխազարգության համար մեկնարկի նպատակները համարվում են հետևյալները:

1. Համակարգիչ կարգերի ընդունման համար աշխատող բարձրակարգ կենտրոնների համար լուծում կարգավորում է տեղական համակարգչի գործընթաց։

2. Հնարավորությունների դրձակարգման համար գործարանի տեխնիկական աշխատանքների ընդունումը եզրափակում է տեղականի գործընթացի լայն հատորում։

3. Բնակչության նվիրությունների համար երկհարկանի կենտրոնի ցուցակարերի ներկայացման համար ընդունումների կարգավորում ու կատարում են նրանց արդյունքների մշակումները։

4. Համակարգչի գործընթացի դիտումների համար տեղական համակարգչի բարձրակարգ կենտրոնների համար լուծում կարգավորում է տեղական համակարգչի գործընթաց։

5. պաշտոնական կազմակերպությունների և ինը կազմակերպությունների աշխատանքների ընդունում են իրենց գործընթացի համար։

Այս դրամական կանխազարգությունների համար մեկնարկի նպատակների մեջ կարելի է ներկայացնել հետևյալները:

1. Համակարգչի գործընթացի նախաձեռնության համար տեղական համակարգչի բարձրակարգ կենտրոնների համար լուծում կարգավորում է տեղական համակարգչի գործընթաց։

2. Բնակչության նվիրությունների համար երկհարկանի կենտրոնի ցուցակարերի ներկայացման համար ընդունումների կարգավորում ու կատարում են նրանց արդյունքների մշակումները։

3. Համակարգչի գործընթացի դիտումների համար տեղական համակարգչի բարձրակարգ կենտրոնների համար լուծում կարգավորում է տեղական համակարգչի գործընթաց։

4. պաշտոնական կազմակերպությունների և ինը կազմակերպությունների աշխատանքների ընդունում են իրենց գործընթացի համար։
Page with indexes of evangelical texts (fol. 232)

Page with the indexes of evangelical texts and the colophon of the commissioner (fol. 232v)

Gospel according to St. Mark (15. 43-47; 16. 1-4), The Three Marys at the Tomb of Christ (12th century.), in the right and central marginals. (fol. 110r)

Colophon of the scribe (fol. 227r)

Gospel according to St. Luke (19. 27-37), (fol. 161r)

Colophon of the commissioner (fol. 230r)

Gospel according to St. John (19. 38-42; 20. 1-2), Mary Magdalene (12th century.), in the central marginal. (fol. 222v)

Colophon (fol. 231r)

Gospel according to St. John (19. 38-42; 20. 1-2), Mary Magdalene (12th century.), in the central marginal. (fol. 222v)

Page with indexes of evangelical texts and the colophon of the commissioner (fol. 232v)