

Flora Ghazaryan

**WESTERN ICONOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES ON ARMENIAN
SILVER BOOK BINDINGS FROM OTTOMAN
CONSTANTINOPLE (EIGHTEENTH-NINETEENTH CENTURIES)**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

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(Armenia)

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Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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External Supervisor

I, the undersigned, **Flora Ghazaryan**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 18 May 2017

Signature

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to analyze art historical objects in a new framework. By its interdisciplinary character the current research tries to show the silver book bindings, which are the central focus of the research, as part of their environment. In this analysis, the silver bindings connect religious history with secular one, showing the intertwined object maker, object commissioner, and object recipient relations. The central focus of this thesis is to show how the sixteenth-seventeenth century Western Christian iconographic influences transferred to the eighteenth-nineteenth century Armenian silver bindings from Istanbul and to explore the overlooked role of Catholic Armenians in this West-East iconographic transfer.

The results of this thesis indicate that Western iconographic influences came to the Armenian silver book bindings from the woodcuts of Dutch engraver Christoffel van Sichem via Catholic Armenian printing press founded in Istanbul *ca.* 1690. In Istanbul, these engravings were copied by an Armenian printer and engraver Gregory of Marzvan in the beginning of the eighteenth century, forming the “Constantinople style:” a unique mixture of European baroque style, Western iconography, and symbols of Apostolic doctrine. These “Constantinople style” engravings together with van Sichem’s originals became the main source of inspiration for silversmiths who authored the silver book bindings analyzed in this thesis.

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This work is dedicated to the Armenian silversmiths of Istanbul who authored luxurious liturgical objects during periods long gone and whose descendants are still keeping alive their profession in present days in the bazaars of Istanbul.

TABLES

Table I. Used Western Armenian-English Transliteration System

Ա ա-A a	ժ ժ-Zh zh	Ճ ճ-J j	Ռ Ռ-Ր ր	և-ev
Բ բ-P p	Ի ի-I i	Մ մ-M m	Ս ս-S s	Օ օ-Օ օ
Գ գ-K k	Լ լ-L l	ԅ Ե-Y y	Վ վ, Ի ի-V v	Ֆ ֆ-F f
Դ դ-T t	Խ խ-Kh kh	Ն ն-N n	Տ տ-D d	
Ե ե-E e	Ծ ծ-Dz dz	Շ շ-Sh sh	Ր ր-R r	
Զ զ-Z z	Կ կ-G g	Ո ո-O o	Յ յ-Ts' ts'	
Է է-Ē ē	Հ հ-H h	Չ չ-Ch' ch'	ՈՒ ու-W w	
Ը ը-Ě ě	Ձ ձ-Ts ts	Պ պ-B b	Փ փ-P'p'	
Թ թ-T 't'	Ղ ղ-Gh gh	Ջ յ-Ch ch	Ք ք-K'k'	

Table II. Armenian Numerals

Ա-1	Ճ-10	Ճ-100	Ռ-1000
Բ-2	Ի-20	Մ-200	Ս-2000
Գ-3	Լ-30	Յ-300	Վ-3000
Դ-4	Խ-40	Ն-400	Տ-4000
Ե-5	Ծ-50	Շ-500	Ր-5000
Զ-6	Կ-60	Ո-600	Յ-6000
Է-7	Հ-70	Չ-700	ՈԻ-7000
Ը-8	Ձ-80	Պ-800	Փ-8000
Թ-9	Ղ-90	Ջ-900	Ք-9000

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INTRODUCTION

The term silver binding refers to all metal plaques attached to manuscripts and printed books. The tradition of embellishing the original leather or wooden bindings of Christian manuscripts of sacred scripture with luxurious plaques goes back to the early period of Christianity throughout Europe and the Christian Near East. In the Armenian book binding culture silver was the frequently used metal. There are only two examples of solid gold bindings, though many of the silver bindings were parcel gilt.¹

The silver double-bindings were added to manuscripts or printed books right after they were sewn and bound with leather cover or decades after. In both cases, it should be remembered that the double-bindings were done by silversmiths who had no role in the creation of books. There are cases when the scribe of the manuscript was at the same time also illuminator or sometimes binder of the book. This applies also to printed books, where the printer could be at the same the author and the editor of the book. However, as stated, silver bindings were done by different specialist silversmiths or jewelers, bringing new craftsmen into the chain of book production.² These craftsmen in most cases did not have a theological education and were responsible only for enhancing books with precious double covers. As Kouymjian puts it, “they were decorators rather than binders.”³

There are very few silver bindings dating before 1600. The oldest two dated silver bindings were made in the kingdom of Cilicia in 1254 and 1255, based on stylistic similarities most probably in the same workshop. An organized workshop of Armenian silversmiths existed

¹ Dickran Kouymjian, “Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork, Part III. Silver Silver Bindings” in *The Catholicosate of Cilicia: History, Treasures, Mission*, ed. Seta Dadoyan (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2015), 218.

² Ibid, 218-9; Sylvie Merian, “The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” in *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, ed. Richard Hovhannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda publishers, 2013), 117.

³ Dickran Kouymjian, “Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork, Part III. Silver Silver Bindings,” 218.

in the city of Kayseri in the Ottoman Empire, which was one of the important trading cities of Anatolia and had a significant Armenian community. The last dated binding from this workshop is from 1741, whereas the first known dated silver binding from Istanbul is from 1746. Armenians migrated from different cities in the empire to the capital and the other way around in all periods. The Istanbul workshop could have been a continuation of the Kayseri one, or simply had artisans from this workshop.⁴

However, the central focus of this thesis are the silver bindings from Ottoman Constantinople where Armenians had their community starting from the Byzantine times. The corpus of bindings selected for this research consist of ten examples, chronologically presented in the catalogue (Appendix II). The catalogue starts with a binding created in 1746, which is so far the earliest dated example from Istanbul at my disposal. It should be noted here that even though presented silver bindings are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their iconography and style originates from the previous centuries, i.e. medieval Armenian miniatures and early modern engravings.

The secondary literature on the silver book bindings from Constantinople is very limited. Usually it is confined to the art historical analyses of bindings and their connection to the printed book history. A separate research dedicated only to the silver book bindings from Istanbul does not exist. Certain bindings are described in the catalogues of different collections, which include examples from various Armenian communities. On the other hand, a large corpus of secondary literature is dedicated to the research on the history of printing presses. However, the authors of these studies, such as Rafayel Ishkhanyan and Qnarik Korkotyan, do not include silver book bindings in their analysis.⁵ The third corpus of literature deals with the

⁴⁴ Stylistically the silver bindings from both cities are very similar.

⁵ [Rafayel Ishkhanyan] Ռաֆայել Իշխանյանի, *Հայ գիրքեր 1512-1920* [The Armenian book 1512-1920] (Yerevan: Academy of Science Press, 1981); [Qnarik Korkotyan] Քնարիկ Կորկոտյանի, *Հայ*

history of Armenian community in Istanbul starting from their appearance in the city up to the present. Even though authors, such as Albert Kharatyan, tried to include in their analysis all the aspects of the community, silversmiths and especially material culture were overlooked.⁶

A monumental research was published lately by Roland Marchese and Marlene Breu on the collection of Istanbul's Armenian Patriarchate.⁷ Published in 2015, the book touches upon all the aspects of the community and turns to the description of the material objects. However, the book presents only sacred objects kept in the collection of the Patriarchate, and thus does not show the artistic development of the Constantinopolitan Armenian bindings per se.

Therefore, the pages that follow try to combine all the mentioned disciplines, i.e. history, art history and material culture, and show the development of Western iconographic influences on the Armenian silver book bindings from Constantinople in the historical context. In particular, this research draws on Sylvie Merian's approach to and analysis of the Armenian silversmiths' workshop from Kayseri, and combines her approach with emphasis on the printing presses in Istanbul.⁸

The present thesis intends to answer the following questions: How did Western Christian iconography come to influence the Armenian silver book bindings of Istanbul? What was the role of Catholic Armenians in this West-East iconographic transfer? There are three primary aims of this thesis: First, to present the problem in question in its historical context, second, to explore the overlooked role of the Catholic Armenians within the scope of the

Տպագրված Գիրքերը Կոստանուպոլիսում (1567-1850) [The Armenian Printed Book in Constantinople (1567-1850)] (Yerevan: Public Library Press, 1964).

⁶ [Albert Kharatyan] Ալբերտ Խարատյան, *Կոստանուպոլիսի հայ գաղթական շրջանը 15-17-րդ դարերում* [The Armenian Community of Constantinople in the 15-17th centuries], (Yerevan: YSU Press, 2007).

⁷ Ronald T. Marchese and Marlene R. Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul* (Istanbul: Çitlembik Publication, 2015).

⁸ Merian, "The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

proposed subject, and lastly, to investigate iconographic influences on the silver bindings. The thesis is divided into three chapters accordingly.

First Chapter presents the historical context in which silver bindings were created. It concentrates on those members of the Armenian community in Istanbul who are related to the central questions of the current research. Thereby, it discusses Armenian migrants who in different periods came to the Ottoman capital, bringing with them their cultural background and traditions. The number of Armenians in the city led to the need to create an institution responsible for them in front of the Ottoman authorities. Thus, the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul was founded in 1461. The chapter represents this debate in detail and moves to the discussion of the churches which were given to Armenians by Ottoman authorities. Most of them were Greek churches or parts of Greek monasteries from the Byzantine period. In a couple of the churches Armenians shared the liturgy with Dominicans. Discussion of religious organizations of the Armenian community is vital for this research, as this is the institution to which silver book bindings were donated.

Moving from the religious institutions of the Armenian community, the chapter then concentrates on artisans and their workshops, in other words, people who created silver bindings. This part of the chapter tries to reconstruct the organization and moral codes of Istanbul's silversmiths' guilds based on the comparison of existing artisans' law codes from various Armenian communities. Eventually, from artisans the chapter moves to the patrons of silver bindings. It represents the honorific titles of wealthy Armenian individuals who donated manuscripts and printed books with their silver bindings to the church institutions. These honorific titles and names of certain wealthy persons appear in the colophons of manuscripts and printed books, as well as in the inscriptions on silver bindings, which are translated and included in the catalogue.

Chapter Two analyzes the characteristics of transition from manuscript to printed book and discusses the history of Armenian printing press in Istanbul. It mainly concentrates on the under-researched question of Catholic Armenian printing press existence in Constantinople in the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. Previous scholarship eliminates Catholic Armenians from the history of Armenian community in Istanbul. There are several lines dedicated to the Catholic Armenian subjects of Ottoman Constantinople in Kharatyan's monumental research on the history of this community. Perhaps the only work that touches upon the question of Catholics is Charles Frazee's now classic monograph.⁹ However, here also only two chapters are dedicated to Catholic Armenians. In terms of printing press, up to recent times there was only Davtyan's article discussing the existence of Catholic Armenian press in Istanbul. Recently, the article of Kharatyan was published also, where he analyzes the same question, without citing Davtyan's article.¹⁰ However, the authors of both articles arrive to the same conclusion that indeed in the end of the seventeenth century a hidden Catholic Armenian printing press started to operate in Istanbul.

The establishment of the existence of Catholic Armenian printing press in Istanbul leads to another assumption that the printers of this press played a role in the transfer of Western engravings from Armenian printing press operated in European cities (Amsterdam, Livorno, Marseilles). The chapter lastly discusses the transformation that the Western engravings took in Istanbul by Armenian engraver Gregory of Marzvan and the formation of the so-called *Constantinople style*. The main point of the chapter, which connects it to the main research

⁹ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹⁰ [H. Davtyan] Հ. Դավթյան, “Կ. Պոլսի հայ-կաթոլիկ կնիքի գաղտնի տպարանը” [The secret operating Armenian Catholic press of Constantinople], *ՀՄՄԴ Գիտությունների հանձնաժողովի Միջազգային համաժողովի Տեղեկագրեր*, 1 (1965): 29-39; [Albert Kharatyan] Ալբերտ Խարատյան, “Հայ գրատպության Պոլսի և Սմրնայի հայտնի տպարանները (1567-1860-ական թթ.)” [Armenian printing in Constantinople and Smyrna: 1567-1860], *Լրաբեր Հայաստանի հանձնաժողովի հանձնաժողով*, 4 (2012): 3-11.

question, is identification of the printers from Catholic press as persons responsible for the Western engravings' and Western iconography' transfer to Istanbul.

Chapter Three of this thesis is an art historical analysis of the silver book bindings from Constantinople and their iconography. As it is shown in this chapter, the authors of silver book bindings used as a source those engravings that were transferred to Istanbul (by Catholic Armenians, as I argue) as well as modified versions created by the local engraver and printer Gregory of Marzvan. The first part of this chapter touches upon the question of survival of silver bindings, as the earliest example used in this research is from the mid-eighteenth century. The analytical part of the chapter is based on the iconographic scenes. Namely, the analysis is not divided into the discussion of each binding, but rather it describes certain scenes from the cycle of Christ's life or from Armenian saint's life, which are featured on the bindings, and shows their sources. Meanwhile, physical descriptions, applied metalworking techniques and other necessary information on each binding are incorporated in the catalogue.

In such a way, trying to answer to the raised questions, this thesis at the same time goes out of the traditional framework of looking at the material culture in general, and silver book bindings in particular. By its interdisciplinary character, current thesis tries to show silver book bindings as part of their environment. Incorporating them into the history of the community helps to look at its various aspects from a new viewpoint. The central material of this research, i.e. silver bindings, connect religious history with secular one, showing the intertwined object maker, object commissioner, and object recipient relations.

CHAPTER 1

ARMENIANS IN OTTOMAN CONSTANTINOPLE: COMMUNAL DYNAMICS AND CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

This chapter is an introduction to the history of the Armenian community in Istanbul, focusing in particular on issues of Armenian migration into and out of the city, foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate, organization of artisans' workshops, and formation of elite classes. Using relevant existing primary and secondary literature the chapter concentrates on the events, institutions and people without which the in-depth analysis of the silver book bindings, which are the key primary material for this thesis, cannot be undertaken. The chapter consists of three parts, describing different yet interconnected aspects from the vast history of Constantinopolitan Armenians.

The first sub-chapter provides a background for the origins of the community, i.e. from which Armenian cities the migrants arrived in Istanbul either voluntarily, or by forced resettlement in different periods. This helps to trace the Western cultural impact that the migrants brought with them to Istanbul from their original settlements. This sub-chapter also discusses the question of the Armenian Patriarchate, as this was the institution around which the community gathered. It also sheds light on the question of Catholic Armenians whose role was important in the community yet often overlooked in scholarship.

The last two sections examine the background to the supply and demand of silver book binding production. As for the suppliers, almost nothing is known about artisans themselves, apart from their names written in the colophons, or in rare cases, inscribed on the bindings. To garner information about them, this part examines the organization, regulations and moral customs of the professional guilds where the bindings were created. Lastly, chapter focuses on

the demand side of the market for bindings: the people who commissioned them within the community. I will shed light on these individuals and their place in the Armenian community of Istanbul by a brief survey of honorific titles given to them.

1.1 The first Armenian migrants, their patriarchate and churches in the age of confessional polarization

After nearly four centuries of Byzantine resistance to various Turkic armies, on May 29, 1453, the Ottoman army, headed by Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446; 1451-1481), seized the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. Upon the conquest, the city became the capital of the Ottoman Empire and the sultan started to rebuild and repopulate it. This was a necessary step in order to restore vital activities of an almost deserted town.¹¹

A great number of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians were resettled in Constantinople. In addition, the sultan sought to surround the city with farmers and expand agricultural production. He intended to make Constantinople a self-sufficient capital, which would be capable of taking care of its own needs. According to traditional historiography, the resettlement program of Sultan Mehmed II led to the creation of the *millets*, which was a system of religio-ethnic groups. The sultan established three state-recognized *millets*: Greek Orthodox (which included Slavic, Albanian, and Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians), Armenian Apostolic, and Jewish *millets*.¹² Recent historiography challenges the existence of a stable *millet* system before the nineteenth century.¹³ During the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, the people

¹¹ Cigdem Kafescioglu, “The Urban Program and Mehmed II’s Foundation,” in *Constantinopolis /Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009); Halil Inalcik, “The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 23/24 (1969-70): 229-49.

¹² [Kharatyan] Ալբերտ Խարատյան, *Կոստանուպոլիսի և Կոստանուպոլիսի հայ գաղթը 15-17-րդ դարերի ընթացքում*, 135-36; Benjamin Braude “Foundation Myths of the Millet System,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1: The Central Lands (London, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), 65-87.

¹³ I agree with the recent historiography on the question of *millet* system and therefore in my research instead of *millet* I use terms “ethno-confessional group” or simple “community”.

in the capital were divided into groups. They were brought together in the same neighborhood based on the same occupation, ethnicity, religion, and other commonalities. The Armenians of the city between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries were known as *altı cemaat* (six communities) and were living in their respective neighborhoods. Afterwards, with the appearance of the new Armenian migrants in the city, Armenians spread to different neighborhoods of Constantinople and were gathering around local churches.¹⁴

Historically, the Armenian community of Constantinople was composed of peoples originally from the eastern and western parts of Armenia, as well as from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Analyzing late fifteenth-century works of Armenian historians and historiographers of Constantinople, Albert Kharatian wrote that there were almost a thousand Armenian households in the city.¹⁵ In the 1478 Ottoman survey of the population of Istanbul and Galata there were 818 households of Armenians counted.¹⁶ Their number continued to grow because of the abovementioned program of Sultan Mehmed II. Firstly, there were Armenians of Ancyra (Ankara), who moved to Constantinople five months after the conquest of the city. They are considered the oldest Armenian immigrants of the city after its conquest by the Ottomans. Afterwards, Armenians came from Crimea, Caesarea (Kayseri), Adrianople (Edirne), Sebastia (Sivas), Tokat, Tabriz, Cilicia (Karaman) and other places. Information about the first Armenian settlers in Ottoman Constantinople and their professions can be inferred from the inscriptions preserved on their gravestones. In the oldest Armenian Cemetery of *Pangaltı*, for example, there are sixteen graves (1530-1550s) with inscriptions showing

¹⁴ [Harutyun Berberyan] Հարսն թյունն Պերպերյան, “Իսթանպուլի հայ բնակչությունը քաղաքի նվաճումից նվաճված Ֆաթիհ Սեհմեդ II-ի մահը. 1453-81” [The Armenian population of Istanbul from its seizure till Fatih Mehmed II’s death (1453-81)], *Հանդես* 9-10 (1962): 404, 423.

¹⁵ [Albert Kharatian] Ալբերտ Խարատյան, “Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ գաղթօջախի կազմավորումը (15-րդ դարի 2-րդ կես-17-րդ դարի 1-ին կես)” [The formation of Armenian colony in Constantinople (from the second half of fifteenth century to the first half of seventeenth century)], *Պատմա-քաղաքական հանդես*, 2-3, (1999): 131-33.

¹⁶ Halil Inalcik, *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren Yayincilik, 1998), 356-57.

names of the deceased, their profession, and the date of their death.¹⁷ In 1461, Armenians from Bursa moved to Constantinople with their leader Yovakim, who is considered to be the first Armenian patriarch of the city.¹⁸

The question of the date of the Armenian Patriarchate's foundation in Constantinople is a matter of debate in the historiography of the Armenian community in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire. Thus, examining the question of the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate is in order, since researching the Armenian community and its crafts in the Ottoman Empire cannot be done without understanding the patriarchate's role in it. The Armenian church was one of the main patrons and recipients of manuscripts and printed books. In his article, Bardakjian questions the accepted foundation year (1461) of Armenian Patriarchate. Based mostly on primary sources from the eighteenth century as well as on secondary literature, Bardakjian claims that neither Yovagim nor his immediate successors bore the title of "patriarch." He also argues that this rank with certain rights was given to Armenian religious leaders of Constantinople around the first half of the sixteenth century (c. 1526-1543). Bardakjian then cites Armenian colophons from 1462 to 1487 which do not make any reference to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople as a higher institution recognized by them. At the same time, colophons from the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century manuscripts recognize the patriarch as 'The Patriarch of Constantinople' and not of all Armenians. Finally, Kevork Bardakjian claims that only during the reign of patriarch Yohannes Golod (1715-1741) did the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople rise as a universal patriarchate and was recognized as the patriarchate of "all" Armenians. It is notable that except Arshak Alpoyacian (1879-1962),

¹⁷ [Albert Kharatyan] Ալբերտ Խարատյան "Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ առհեստավորականության և առևտրականության ձևավորումը (15-18-րդ դարեր)" [The formation of Armenian craft-trade *esnaf* in Constantinople (from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century)], Պատմագրական հանդես, 3, (1998): 47.

¹⁸ [Kharatyan], "Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ գաղթած աղաների ձևավորումը", 133-34.

none of the scholars dealing with the history of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire argues about the universal role of the patriarchate.¹⁹ Additionally, the foundation of a patriarchate does not necessarily mean that it claimed a universal role. “The universal role” and “wider control” were assumed by higher institutions, such as the Catholicosates of Etchmiadzin and Cilicia. Since mid-fifteenth century, these institutions were the ones that tried to take over control of certain patriarchates, such as those in Constantinople, Akht’amar, Jerusalem, and New Julfa. When speaking about relations between Istanbul’s Armenian Patriarchate and other Patriarchates, as well as Catholicosates, one should keep also in mind, that Istanbul’s Armenian Patriarchate was not created by Armenian religious authorities, but by the Ottoman State to regulate Armenian subjects of the Empire. It is true that during the reign of Patriarch Yohannes Golod Patriarchate rose in power and afterwards tried to become independent from Catholicosates, but never functioned as a universal one.²⁰

Bardakjian’s article lacks primary sources on the early period of Constantinople’s Armenian Patriarchate foundation, as well as a linguistic explanation of the title given to Yovagim, which are presented in Albert Kharatyan’s book, based on fifteenth-century colophons.²¹ These colophons suggest that even prior to 1447 a religious institution already existed in Constantinople (Arachnortwt’ywn, “leadership” in Armenian). This leadership spread its influence at least to Constantinople, Bursa, Pera, Kütahya and Filibe. The title patriarch, Kharatyan states, was used by Armenians constantly. Before and after the conquest of Constantinople the chroniclers referred to the Catholicos by this title. As for the patriarch as an ecclesiastic rank, Armenians used the term *hayrabed*, a basic translation of Greek: patri=hayr (father) and archis=bed (leader, chief). Armenians of Constantinople started to use

¹⁹ Kevork Bardakjian, “The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1: The Central Lands (London, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), 87-99.

²⁰ [Kharatyan], *Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայկ. առաք. թոշակաւոր 15-17-րդ դ. դարեկրն*, 92-96.

²¹ Ibid.

the Greek equivalent of *hayrabed* later.²² Based on these arguments, I accept Albert Kharatyan's dating on the foundation of the patriarchate, which is *ca.* 1461.

Coming back to the first migrants, one of the first resettlement places for Armenians was Samatya, the territory of Peribleptos (Sulu) Monastery. Quoting Evliya Chelebi, Apatchyan mentions Armenians from Tokat and Sivas who after their migration to Istanbul settled near the Saint Kevork church in Sulu Monastery.²³ In the second half of the fifteenth century, half of the Armenian migrants from Crimea also found shelter in Sulu Monastery. They migrated together with Greek and Genoese population when Ottomans conquered Crimea in 1475.²⁴ Before the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans, starting from the second half of the thirteenth century Genoese had a strong community in Galata, which gave them a chance to keep in their hands the trade roads of Levant. Starting from the fourteenth century, and especially during the resettlement program of the Ottoman sultan, Galata became another main center where Armenians gathered around the St Gregory the Illuminator church.²⁵

The third important district where early Armenian immigrants from Crimea settled is Kömrük (or Karakömrük). They supposedly got the church of Saint Nikolas from sultan, Mehmed II in 1475. During the Byzantine period the church was known as the Monastery of Manuel. One half of the church belonged to Armenians while the other half was held by Crimean Dominicans who came to the city together with Armenian migrants.²⁶ Simeon of Poland writes that “they [Dominicans] are offering the liturgy and Armenians taking it with

²² Ibid.

²³ [Gr. Apatchian] Գր. . Ապաճյան, “Ուր և ինչպե՞ս զե տեղումն է ցանց արարվել և վերջ Իսթանբուլ քաղաքումն արարված հայ գաղթականները” [Where and how were placed Armenian migrants after the conquest of Constantinople], *Շնորհալույս*, 9-10, (1953): 258.

²⁴ [Vardges Miqayelyan] Վարդգես Արքայեան, *Ղրիմահայոցի Պատմությունը* [The History of Crimean Armenians] (Yerevan: Hayastan, 1989), 133.

²⁵ [Kharatyan], *Կրեմլում և Կոնստանդուպոլսի հայ գաղթը 15-17-րդ դարերում*, 108-9.

²⁶ Ibid, 114.

them in peace and with love.”²⁷ Another shared church in the same Karakömrük district was the Byzantine Saint Teotokos Petras where Armenians shared the space with Latins.²⁸

By the time when Simeon of Poland was in Constantinople, which is the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were five Armenian churches, out of which two in the Kömrük or Karakömrük district were shared with Europeans. Simeon of Poland mentions three churches in Vlanca district, Saint Nikolas, Saint Virgin and Saint George (Kevork) churches, one in Balat district (unnamed) and Saint George Church of Sulu Monastery in Samatya.²⁹

Simeon of Poland’s note about shared liturgy raises the question of confessional affiliation of those Armenians who took the liturgy “in peace and with love.” Were they Apostolic or Catholic Christians? If they were Catholics, when did they convert? The question of Catholic Armenians’ presence in Constantinople is under-researched by previous scholarship. However, certain historical facts point to their presence in the city during the seventeenth century. Charles Frazee mentions a report of an Apostolic visitation of Istanbul in August of 1700 which recorded eight thousand Catholic Armenians in the city.³⁰ Such a significant number of Catholic Armenians, even if it is grossly exaggerated, as missionaries often did, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century suggests that they migrated or directly converted to Catholicism in Istanbul much earlier. Most probably the first generation came to Istanbul from Cilicia (migrants from Karaman), Crimea (Kaffa) and Persia (Nakhichevan’s Unitor Brothers order), where Catholic Armenians existed since the fourteenth century.³¹ Rafayel Ishkhanyan

²⁷ Simeon of Poland refers to Dominicans as *Franks*, see [Simeon of Poland] Միսկոնիսի հայտնի, *Միսկոնիսի զարկի Լեհացու յ Ռուսիոյ գրքի թիւն, Տարեգրքի թիւն եւ Յիշատակարանք* [The travel account chronicle and colophons of Simeon of Poland], ed. [Nerses Akinian] Ներսիսեան, (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1936), 25.

²⁸ [Kharatyan], *Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ կաթոլիկ շրջանի 15-17-րդ դարերի մասին*, 121.

²⁹ [Simeon of Poland], *Միսկոնիսի զարկի Լեհացու յ Ռուսիոյ գրքի թիւն, Տարեգրքի թիւն եւ Յիշատակարանք*, 7.

³⁰ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, 178.

³¹ Sis Catholicosate of Cilicia was in close relations with Western knights who shared their distaste for Turks and Greeks. Since both Rome and Sis also needed help against Muslims they were co-operating. In such a way Sis

also suggests that there was a secretly operating Catholic Armenian printing press in Istanbul in the second half of the seventeenth century, which most probably is responsible for the spread of Western-influenced engravings in the Armenian community of Istanbul.³² This question is the central thesis of the following chapter, as analysis of silver book bindings is closely related to the history of manuscript production and printing press.

1.2 Armenian guilds of Constantinople and the question of their artisans' law code

The repopulation policy of the sultans in the Ottoman capital created circumstances for the creation of guilds (*esnafs*), organized mainly on ethno-confessional basis. According to their social status Armenians, like other ethno-religious groups of the Ottoman Empire, were organized in these *esnafs*. These were organizations where people gathered according to their craft. *Esnafs* included artisans and traders of cities or village areas, but not farmers. Thus, the Armenians, who were settled in Istanbul almost from the time of its foundation, acquired the traditions, skills and experience in different crafts and arts of the Ottoman capital. It was in these guilds where Armenian masters managed to combine their experience of the newly established Ottoman traditions and style with the practice obtained from Europe.³³

Catholicosate operated within a Catholic community for several centuries before the fall of the Cilician Kingdom in the fourteenth century. Many Crimean Armenians and especially those of Kaffa in the end thirteenth beginning of the fourteenth century converted to Catholicism due to the propagation of faith by the Genoese population of the city. By 1316 Armenians in Kaffa had three churches, one of which was Catholic. Nakhichevan's Unitor Brothers order was founded in the fourteenth century and followed the Rule of St Dominic. During the Persian-Ottoman wars of the sixteenth century and especially after the conquest of Tabriz a great number of Armenians migrated to the Ottoman capital. For more on these see Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, 46-8; Krikor Maksoudian, "Armenian Communities in Eastern Europe," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, Vol. 2 Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard Hovhannisian (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), 52.

³² [Ishkhanyan], Հայ Գիրքեր 1512-1920, 74.

³³ [Kharatyan], Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ գիրքագիրներ 15-17-րդ դարեր, 247-9.

The regulations of the Armenian guilds or *esnafs* in the Ottoman Empire based their regulations on those of medieval Armenian cities. The most significant example for this is the city of Erzincan and its Brothers' Union's law code written in 1280. This is the earliest surviving regulation of this kind. The law code of the Union, called "The Rules and Regulations," was written by Yohannes of Erzincan. In 1280 the Union gathered non-married Armenian artisans and traders of the city. The Union had a hierarchical organization. The hierarchy started from a cell of ten people regulated by a person called "the head of ten" (*dasnabed* or *dasin glukh*). Four such cells together formed the second cell which was regulated by "the elder of forty" (*k'arasunin medz*). On the top of this hierarchy was a body called "the chief brothers" (*klkhavor eghpark'*) with a leadership of "the head of the Union" (*klukh egh[ayrut'an]*).³⁴

Such Brothers' Unions existed also in other medieval Armenian cities as well as in Armenian communities of Poland, Romania, Crimea, and Persia. Levon Khatchikyan compared the 1280 law code with those from the Armenian diasporas, mostly from the seventeenth century, and concluded that majority of the regulations are repeated in all of them.³⁵ This is a case also for Istanbul's Armenian guilds, which had three-level hierarchical organization consisting of "masters" (*usta* in Turkish, *varbed* in Armenian), "assistant masters" (*kalfa* in Turkish, *ent'avarbed* in Armenian) and "apprentices" (*çrag* in Turkish, *ashagerd* in Armenian).³⁶

³⁴[Levon Khatchikyan] Լևոն Խաչիկյան, «Երզնկայի քաղաքի «Եղբայրաց Միության 1280 թվականի օրենք» (1280)» [The Law Code of Erzincan's Brothers' Union from 1280], *Բանբեր Մատենիկ* 6 (1962): 366.

³⁵ Ibid, 367-8.

³⁶ [Nikolay Todorov] Николай Тодоров, *Балканский город XV-XIX веков* [The Balkan city between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries] (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 116; [Kharatyan], *Կնուսանդունի պալատի հայ գաղթած շահյուն 15-17-րդ դարերի մասին*, 255-6.

These regulations or law codes had more moral connotations and, according to Hasmik Hmayakyan, have similarities with *Akhi* brotherhoods, which originated in thirteenth-century cities of Asia Minor.³⁷ *Akhis* also consisted of artisans and traders; these organizations, in turn, were influenced by Middle Eastern *futuwwa* institutions.³⁸

The organization and regulation of Armenian guilds hardly changed up to the nineteenth century. A law code from nineteenth-century jewelers' guild from Tbilisi stands as a proof for this point. Published in 1898, this law book repeats its predecessors. The guild has a hierarchical composition similar to Erzincan's Union, with "chief artisan" (*ustabaşı* in Turkish, *arhesdabed* in Armenian) as a head of the organization. The moral principles are also the same, such as the prohibition for artisan to steal an apprentice or a customer from another artisan of the guild, or regulations on assigning an n apprentice to a master artisan.³⁹

The insignificant variations in the guilds' law codes can be explained by the fact that they were operating in various Armenian communities under the reign of different countries' rulers. In Istanbul, for instance, Armenian *esnafs* used Ottoman rules in addition to their own regulations. With this the state controlled artisan's manufacturing activity such as obtaining of raw material, its distribution and other related conditions.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Armenian community of Constantinople underwent many changes and permutations, which was due to the community life and also the

³⁷ [Hasmik Hmayakyan] Հասմիկ Հայկյանի «Հայկական արհեստակցական միությունների կանոնները . . . կանոնակարգերը, բարոյական սկզբնականությունները և սովորությունները» [Armenian artisan unions: Regulations, moral principles and customs], http://www.noravank.am/upload/pdf/53_am.pdf (accessed April 19, 2017).

³⁸ [A. Khatchatryan] А. Хачатрян, «Трехязычная надпись из Егегиса» [Trilingual inscription from Eghegis], *Кавказ и Византия*, 3 (1982), 124-34.

³⁹ [A. G. a. q.] Ա. Գ. ա. թ., «Կանոն նսկերիչ արհեստանրաց» [Regulation for Jeweler Artisans], *Հռւմիւյ* 1 (1898): 328-33; [A. G. a. q.] Ա. Գ. ա. թ., «Կանոն նսկերիչ արհեստանրաց» [Regulation for Jeweler Artisans], *Հռւմիւյ* 2 (1898): 193-209.

economic and political development of the Ottoman Empire. The state began to directly control the crafts, as well as the production and sale of raw materials. Armenians of the empire gathered under the authority of the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, which reached its peak under the reign of Patriarch Yohannes Golod (1715-1741).⁴⁰

In order to be able to keep their rights inside of their guilds, leaders of *esnafs* started to make close connections with Ottoman authorities as well as with Janissaries, which lead to the incorporation of Janissaries into *esnafs*. This incorporation was not typical only for Armenians. During the eighteenth century, many of Muslim *esnafs* started to incorporate Janissaries. The main reason behind this is that by this time Janissaries ceased to be purely military group and began to be involved in the market economy, thus infiltrating trade and artisan guilds. In the same time, there was an interest by artisans to use Janissaries in tax collection as well as supplying cities with food.⁴¹ These new connections to the ruling hierarchy led to changes inside of the Armenian *esnafs*: the old Armenian elite class of *khojas* and *ch'elebis* gave its place to a newly forming *amira* class.

1.3 Armenian honorific titles, their usage in Istanbul's Armenian community and the question of elite classes

From the second half of the eighteenth century a new elite class of Armenian *amirs* or *amiras* appeared in Istanbul. They replaced the already existing classes of *ch'elebis* and *khojas*. The origin of the word *khoja* is Persian and in various times it was used as a synonym to Turkish words *efendi* (gentleman), *agha* (master) and *katip* (secretary, scribe, writer). It was also used

⁴⁰ [Albert Kharatian] Ալբերտ Խարատյան, “Դնստանդնուպոլսի հայ գաղթը 18-րդ դարի սկզբից — 1923թ.” [Armenian colony of Constantinople (from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1923)], *Պատմության հարկերի հանդես*, 2-3 (2009): 25-26.

⁴¹ [Mikhayil Meyer] Михаил Мейер, “К характеристике экономической жизни городов Османской империи в XVIII” [On the characteristics of eighteenth-century economical life in Ottoman cities] in *Проблемы генезиса капитализма* [The Problems of the Genesis of Capitalism], ed. Aleksander Chistozvonov, (Moscow: Nauka, 1978), 263.

in Ottoman Turkish to refer to merchants. The word *khoja* was used by Armenians first time in the thirteenth century and in some cases it also became part of individuals' last name. The *Khoja* title was widely used among Persian Armenians although they existed also in Ottoman provinces as well as in Istanbul. Armenians used this title to refer mainly to the established merchants of their community. *Khojas* played an important role in both the financial activities of the Ottoman Empire as well as in influencing the dynamics inside of the Armenian communities. For instance, they sought to gain a popularity in the community by rebuilding churches and monasteries, commissioning manuscripts and other liturgical objects.⁴²

Khojas were not the only wealthy part of the Armenian society. There were also *ch'elebis*, Armenian notables in Istanbul as well as in the Ottoman provinces. As Hagop Barsoumian notes, the origins of the word *ch'elebi* are not well established. *Çeleb* as a term was used to refer to the men of upper classes in Turkish societies from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was a title mainly given to men of letters.⁴³ Among the Armenians the word was used according to the Ottoman Turkish custom. Both titles originated and were used among the Armenians simultaneously starting from thirteenth century. As for the origin of the individuals themselves, Barsoumian suggests that both *khojas* and *ch'elebis* are successors of the old Armenian feudal nobility as well as artisans who rose in the ranks and wealth.⁴⁴ Similar to *khojas*, *ch'elebis* also tried to gain popularity in the community by patronising church constructions and manuscript commissioning.

According to Barsoumian, it is possible that in the early seventeenth century boundaries became blurred between the two titles: in some colophons prominent Armenians bore both

⁴² Hagop Barsoumian, "The Armenian Amira class of Istanbul", (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 1980), 21-3.

⁴³ Ibid, 29.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 30.

titles together.⁴⁵ However, these sources do not describe the circumstances in which either of the titles was acquired.

Armenian scholarship maintains two opposing views about the co-existence of these titles. According to the first view, put forth by Hagop Anasyan, each title represented a separate class which constantly struggled for the control over the community. The locus of their clash was the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople as the control over this institution meant a dominance over the Armenians within the borders of the empire.⁴⁶ The second view, by Hagop Sirouni, rejects both the existence of two separate classes, and the idea of inter-class struggles.⁴⁷

The competition, rivalries and struggles between Armenians of Istanbul are historical facts, but the battle line stretched between two confessional groups, i.e. the Catholic and Apostolic Armenians, and not between two social groups. Among all Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire in general and Constantinople in particular, Western missionaries converted to Catholicism mostly Armenians. Wealthy Armenian families were easily converting to Catholicism in order to send their children to the best religious schools of Europe. These schools were Rome's Urban College and around 30 colleges founded by Mekhitarist Congregation in different cities of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In these colleges, Catholic Armenians were divided into two parts: *Qoletcheans*, students of Urban or College of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and *Abbaeans*, students of Mekhitarist colleges.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Ibid, 35.

⁴⁶ [Hagop Anasyan] Հակոբ Անասյան, *17-րդ դարի Արևմտյան Հայաստանի շարժումները* [Seventeenth-century liberation movements in Western Armenia] (Yerevan: National Academia Press, 1961), 62.

⁴⁷ [Hagop Sirouni] Հակոբ Սիրունի, *Պոլիսը և իր դերը* [Constantinople and its role], vol. 1 (Beirut: Mesrop Press, 1965), 491.

⁴⁸ [Maghakia Ormanean] Մաղակա Օրմանյան, *Ազգայնություն* [National history], vol. 3 (Beirut: Sevan Press, 1961), 43, <http://armscoop.com/2012/03/armscoop-ormanyan-azgapatoum/> (accessed January 3, 2017).

Barsoumian points out that Catholic Armenians mostly preferred the title *ch'elebi* and referencing Aslanyan he writes that “after securing the support of the Armenian masses, *khojas* looked for outside help: Papal diplomacy and French capital,” adding that “as a result, *khojas* were trying to convince their clerical allies in the Armenian church to make concessions to the Catholic church in Rome.”⁴⁹ Unfortunately, Charles Frazee’s book on Catholics in the Ottoman Empire came out three years after Barsoumian’s dissertation, so Frazee’s detailed description of the struggles between the two Armenian confessional groups is not considered in his argument.⁵⁰

Another title circulating among Armenians was *mahdesi*, a person who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Sirouni suggests that *mahdesis* represent a separate class in the Armenian community.⁵¹ However, Barsoumian’s suggestion that in the Armenian colophons the use of the term *mahtesi* only indicates that individuals were pilgrims is decidedly more convincing.⁵²

By the mid-eighteenth century *amiras* (Arabic *emir*, which means “chief”, “commander”) became a dominant class in the Armenian community. These individuals took the control over the community and the Patriarchate. They were intermediaries between the Ottoman state and Armenian subjects as most of them also had significant positions in the royal court of the sultan. *Amiras*, taking the role of patriarchs, were collecting taxes from *altı cemaat*, spearheading material, financial, and charitable works concerning *vakfs* (pious foundations), commissioning churches, manuscripts, printed books and precious liturgical objects.⁵³ The

⁴⁹ Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira class of Istanbul,” 34, 38-9.

⁵⁰ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*.

⁵¹ [Sirouni], *Պոլսի հայերի պատմություն*, vol. 1, 492.

⁵² *Mahdesi* was a title also used by women and unlike *khojas* and *ch'elebis*, being *mahdesi* did not require wealth. It was a title used also by common people. See Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira class of Istanbul,” 43-5.

⁵³ [Stephan Papaziants] Ստեփան Փափազեանց, *Կէնսկայի թիւն Յարութիւն Պէգճեան Ազգային Սրբաբարոյն* [The biography of Harutyun Bezciyan: A unique national benefactor] (Constantinople: Hovhannes Myuhentisean Press, 1864), 54-66.

only similarity the class of *amiras* had with the class of *ch'elebis* and *khojas* was that they were both part of the certain *esnafs*, although compared to *c'helebis* and *khojas*, *amiras* were more prominent because of their position and power. It is necessary to stress that even though all these titles were typical for the ruling class of the Armenian community in one period or other, their “rule” was subjected to the limitations imposed by the sovereignty of the Ottoman state.⁵⁴

Regarding the names of these elite persons, luxury objects, such as the silver book bindings, figure as an important source. There are couple of biographies written at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century about both Catholic and Apostolic Armenian elite families.⁵⁵ However, the occupation of most of these people is not clear. Recently digitized manuscript from Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana helps to shed light on this question. The Borg. Arm. 65 manuscript is a collection of documents written in different Armenian communities. For this research two letters are important written in 1761 and 1762 by the Armenian community of Istanbul to the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem (App I, Fig. 1, 2). Documents have stamps of all respective representatives of six Armenian neighborhoods of Istanbul. Under each stamp one can find a brief note written by each person, which contains their honorific title, occupation and name. For the silversmiths and jewelers more significant is the letter written in 1762. The letter states: “...we, from Istanbul’s six *cemaats*’ (neighborhood) priests, authorities and elders of the *esnafs* (guilds)...” From the words “elders of the *esnafs*” it can be assumed that the master artisans of each guild signed the letter. Thus, in 1772 there were eleven jewelry guilds in Istanbul. Among these silversmiths who signed the documents, one was a deacon, another one had a title of *khoja*, five were *mahdesi* and four signed as *us(d)ta* (master).⁵⁶ A detailed analysis of this and other similar documents will

⁵⁴ Barsoumian, “The Armenian Amira class of Istanbul,” 46.

⁵⁵ More sources preserved about late nineteenth-early twentieth century history of wealthy Armenians from Istanbul.

⁵⁶ Borg. Arm. 65, 5r, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.arm.65 (accessed 13 May, 2017).

further develop the research on artisans and their position in the society. It will also deepen the knowledge on the wealthy Armenian families and their occupations in the Ottoman capital.

The chapter has shown that starting from the first emigrants Armenians settled in the neighborhoods, which they occupied for centuries and built their community. They gathered around churches in these neighborhoods and built new ones over time. In certain cases, Armenians shared churches with Catholics, while in other cases they were converts to Catholicism. The inter-confessional struggle between Catholic and Apostolic Armenians affected all the sectors of the community, starting from the clashes for the patriarchal throne to the competition between wealthy families. These unrests affected also printed book production and indirectly the silver binding production and their iconography, as through Catholic presses Western iconographic influences were transferred to the Armenian engravings and from them to the silver bindings.

CHAPTER 2

FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINTED BOOK: THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL CONTINUITY IN BOOK PRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the manuscript and printed book production in Istanbul in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Using primary and secondary sources the chapter provides a general overview of Istanbul's manuscripts production, development of the printing presses, and their influence on each other as well as on the creation of a *Constantinople style*. The chapter has three parts, describing interconnected aspects of the book production.

As such, the first two parts examine the relationship between manuscript and book, arguing that the Catholic Armenians were the first ones in Istanbul to use the engravings of the Dutch woodcutter Cristoffel van Sichem and that via these engravings the new iconography spread among the Armenians of the Ottoman capital. These engravings of Sichem appeared for the first time in the Armenian printing press founded in Amsterdam. It is in this Protestant city that the first printed Armenian Bible was published in 1666-8. Lastly, the chapter focuses on the mixed style created by Armenian printer and engraver Gregory of Marzvan, which is called in the relevant literature *Constantinople style*. The chapter thus provides the historical and historiographical basis for understanding the origins of the book engravings that influenced the iconography of the silver book bindings which are analyzed in the following chapter.

2.1 The characteristics of transition from manuscript to printed book

The tumultuous political situation between the Safavid Persia and the Ottoman Empire during the long first half of the sixteenth century reduced literary and artistic activities of Armenian communities in the territories of both empires, but a notable revival can be seen

during the seventeenth century. This is a period when for the first time the vast influence of Western tradition arriving with Latin printed books is detectable. As Ishkhanyan states, the books arrived in Izmir by ships and from there by different roads to the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire, Asia Minor and Armenia Proper.⁵⁷ In their efforts to improve outdated style of painting and text production, Armenian artisans and scribes turned their attention from classical miniatures to the West and the “products” that were brought by missionaries. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Cilician manuscripts were often imitated and sometimes directly copied by the Constantinopolitan artisans. In contrast with Byzantine manuscripts, in which the date and place of creation is rarely written, most of the Armenian scribes had the habit of leaving exact date and place of the creation. In most cases manuscript colophons contain detailed information about their scribe, miniaturist, binder, and patron. The other significance of these colophons is that they reflect on the contemporary political situation and respond to them in the form of comments. The colophons are the part of the text where the authors in a way were “free to express their opinion” in their writings. Hence, such colophons make it possible to classify the manuscripts by time, scriptorium and even artist.⁵⁸

To date, there is no separate study on the Armenian manuscripts from Istanbul. The codicological analysis of Armenian manuscripts in general is a relatively neglected field. Most of the scholars concentrate on the analysis of manuscripts written between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and especially on their illuminations.

⁵⁷ Most significant examples are Istanbul and Kayseri, where based on the themes on silver book bindings this statement can be proved. [Ishkhanyan], *Հայ Գիրքը 1512-1920*, 66-7.

⁵⁸ More on Armenian manuscripts and miniature paintings see in Thomas Mathews and Alice Taylor, *The Armenian Gospels of Gladzor: The Life of Christ Illuminated* (Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2001); Alice Taylor, *Book Arts of Isfahan: Diversity and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Persia*, (Malibu, CA: Paul Getty Museum, 1995); Sirarpie Der-Nersessian, *L'Art Armenien* (Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques, 1977); [Irina Drampyan] Ирина Дрампян, [Emma Korkhmazyan] Эмма Корхмязян, *Художественные сокровища Матенадарана* [The Art Treasures of Matenadaran] (Moscow: Iskusstwo, 1976).

However, the manuscript creation in almost all Armenian communities followed the same pattern and style established by the Cilician artists.

Even though the first Armenian printed book dates to 1512, the manuscript production continued to grow until 1675 and existed until the mid-nineteenth century. By this time around 100 different titles were published in approximately thousand copies in Armenian.⁵⁹ For more than three centuries two text production techniques coexisted in some sort of “eclectic” relationship, influencing one another. Sylvie Merian mentions in her article some examples of such mutual influences. For instance, she describes a manuscript from the seventeenth century which has title page similar to those of the printed books.⁶⁰ It is mostly during the seventeenth century as well that many manuscripts started to have table of contents.⁶¹

It should be noted here, that although nearly all Armenian early printed books are digitized and available at the National Library’s website, there were errors in the process of digitization. Books of the same title and produced at the same press were not compared and only one exemplar was scanned. In other cases librarians did not pay attention to reprints, which often have different colophons and information about their patrons.⁶²

2.2 Armenian printing presses in Ottoman Constantinople

Starting from 1512, Armenian printing presses began operations in various cities with Armenian diasporic communities, with the first press in Armenia Proper (Etchmiadzin)

⁵⁹ Dickran Kouymjian, “Notes on Armenian Codicology: Part 1, Statistics Based on Surveys of Armenian Manuscripts” in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, 4 (2012): 21.

⁶⁰ Sylvie Merian, “Illuminating the Apocalypse in Seventeenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts: The Transition from Printed Book to Manuscript” in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Kevork Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 603-40.

⁶¹ During an informal discussion, Matenadaran manuscript library associate Dr. Anna Ohanjanyan, informed me about two earlier examples of Armenian manuscripts that have table of contents.

⁶² More on this in [Flora Ghazaryan] Ֆլորա Գազարյան, “Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ արծաթագործներից մեկի նմուշ” [One Example of Armenian Silversmithing from Constantinople] in *Էջմիածին*, August (2015): 118-36.

opening only in 1772. Istanbul was among the first cities where Armenian incunabula were printed. In this respect, among Istanbul communities Armenians were second only to Jews who established the first printing press in the city already in the late fifteenth century (1493). The Armenian press in Constantinople started in 1567 with the efforts of Hot'(d)or and Apkar dpir Tokhadets'i (Apkar the Clerk of Tokat). This was an extension of the rising Armenian publishing movement in Europe at the beginning of the century. After publishing two books in Venice, Apkar the Clerk moved to Istanbul. Initially, he and his son Sult'anshah went to Rome as diplomatic envoys of the Armenian Catholicos in 1562.

The main purpose of Apkar's delegation was to establish relations with Roman Pope for the liberation of Eastern Armenia from Persians. Apart from this, Apkar had his own interests in going to Italy, which was to leave his son in Rome to be educated in Catholic doctrine. This is known from Sult'anshah's letter to the Armenian Catholicos written in 1583. After Apkar left Rome to go back to Etchmiadzin, Sult'anshah stayed in Rome, where as he states, "he was adopted by Roman Pope and given a name Mark Antonio."⁶³ On his way back, Apkar the Clerk stopped in Venice. According to Ishkhanyan and Korkotyan, by this time the Ottoman state was already informed about Apkar's political mission and the authors, based on Sult'anshah's 1583 letter suggest that Apkar's printing activity was accidental and meant to be an explanation in front of the Ottoman state for his travel to Rome.⁶⁴

Reaching Istanbul, Apkar Tokhadets'i negotiated with the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople and founded his press in a building near a church of Saint Nicolas. According

⁶³ The photocopy of Sultansh'ah's letter as well as its printed version can be found in Vahan Zardarian's research on Armenian benefactors, [Vahan Zardarian] Վահան Ջարդարյան, *Յիշատակարարներ շարքի վրա* [The record book of Armenian benefactors with biographies, photographs, manuscripts, writings etc., etc. 1512-1912] vol. 2 (Constantinople: Zardarean Brothers' Press, 1911), 256-8, 266.

⁶⁴ [Ishkhanyan], *Շարքի վրա* [The record book of Armenian benefactors with biographies, photographs, manuscripts, writings etc., etc. 1512-1912] vol. 2 (Constantinople: Zardarean Brothers' Press, 1911), 256-8, 266.

second possible explanation is that during the confessional struggles between Armenian clergy for the Patriarch's throne in the sixteenth century the printing press became a target of conservative Apostolic monks' prejudices, who saw the printing as "Catholic innovation," and the press was closed.⁶⁸ Zardarian suggests that in 1569 Apkar the Clerk moved to Etchmiadzin and Mesrop Ughulrian states that in 1572 Apkar the Clerk died, without specifying the place.⁶⁹

After Apkar the Clerk, a hundred-year period of inactivity followed, which was ended by Eremia Ch'elebi K'yomurchyan. Although his printing activity did not last long (1677-78), it was a starting point for an extensive line of further printers. At the very end of the seventeenth century, in 1698, a person named Asdvadzadur Akuleats' Tashdets'i published a single book named *Book of Confessions* and then seemingly disappeared, leaving the field to the most significant printer and engraver, Krikor dpir Marzvanets'i (Gregory the Clerk of Marzvan) and his partner Asdvadzadur of Constantinople whose printing press was the longest existing one in Constantinople.⁷⁰ A whole generation of printers followed Gregory the Clerk, such as Asdvadzadur of Constantinople, Sarkis the Clerk, Apraham T'ragats'i and Apraham T'erzyan who mainly used engravings created by Gregory the Clerk.⁷¹

Gregory the Clerk based his prints and engravings on those of the Dutch engraver and printer Christoffel van Sichem, Dutch woodcutter with German origins. He copied engravings of Albrecht Durer, Rembrandt and other authors and created his own works. He left on almost all his works his own initials, as well as the initials of original authors. First time Sichem appears in the history of Armenian printing is in the Amsterdam's *Saint Etchmiadzin and Saint*

⁶⁸ [Korkotyan], Հայ տպագրիչ գիրքը Կոստանդնուպոլսում (1567-1850թթ), 15.

⁶⁹ [Zardarian], Յիշատակարան Հայ Երեւելիներու Կենսագրութիւնները, Լուսանկարները, Ձեռագրերը, Գրութիւնները եւլն, եւլն, 1512-1912, 262, [Mesrop Ughulrian] Մեւրնպ Ուղիւնը Եւն, Պատմութիւն հայոց գաղթականութեան եւ շինութեան եկեղեցւոյ նոցա լիւննոյ քաղաքի [The History of Armenian Migrants and the Construction of their Church in Livorno] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1891), 223.

⁷⁰ [Korkotyan], Հայ տպագրիչ գիրքը Կոստանդնուպոլսում (1567-1850թթ), 9-18.

⁷¹ Ibid, 15-31.

Sarkis Armenian printing press. It was founded in 1660 by Madt'eos dpir Dzarets'i (Matthew the Clerk) who went to Europe in 1656 by the order of Catholicos Hakob The Fourth of Julfa (r. 1655-80). Matthew the Clerk then bought engravings of Cristoffel van Sichem the Second (1581-1658), whose woodcuts were famous in Amsterdam at that time and were included in majority of books printed in Dutch in Amsterdam.⁷² Some of these Dutch books, for example the *Biblia Sacra* (1657) circulated in the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire. As Sylvie Merian argues, Western books were brought to the Empire either for sale or as a gift by Catholic missionaries.⁷³

Another book that travelled to the Ottoman Empire and particularly to Istanbul, is the first Armenian Bible printed in 1666-8 by Bishop Oskan Erevants'i in Amsterdam's *Saint Etchmiadzin and Saint Sarkis* press. As Ishkhanyan notes, this was the realization of delayed Armenian dream. For long time Armenians tried to print their Bible in Italy but got rejection from Roman Pope as Armenian Apostolic Bible did not correspond with Catholic version of the Bible. In such conditions the only way for Armenians was to print the Bible in a Protestant country. Therefore, Amsterdam was chosen. The original text of the printed Armenian Bible is a Cilician manuscript from 1295 (Matenadaran no. 180) with Oskan's notes in margins. As Suren Qolanchyan and Rafayel Ishkanyan state, these notes of Oskan were adjustments and changes to bring the Armenian version of the Bible closer to the Latin Vulgata.⁷⁴

This Bible was identically printed in Istanbul by Bedros Ladinats'i (Peter the Latin) in 1705-7.⁷⁵ Not much information is known about this publisher. The reprinted Oskan's Bible is

⁷² [Ishkhanyan], *Հայ Գիրքեր 1512-1920*, 58-9.

⁷³ Sylvie L. Merian, "The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 132.

⁷⁴ [Suren Qolanchyan] Մուրեկ քննարկում, "Հեթանոսականության հանդեպի Մատթեոսյան առաքելության լատինական թարգմանության մասին" [The Bible of king Het'wm the Second and Oskan's edition], *Etchmiadzin*, 23(11-12), (1966): 98-129; [Ishkhanyan], *Հայ Գիրքեր 1512-1920*, 61. [Qolanchyan], "Հեթանոսականության հանդեպի Մատթեոսյան առաքելության լատինական թարգմանության մասին", 19.

the most prominent book produced in his press, which operated from 1705 to 1718. In the colophon of his edition the publisher writes that he “reprinted identically Oskan’s Bible, only with smaller letters.” In the same colophon, Peter also claims to be a relative of Oskan Erevants’i.⁷⁶ However, this is not the first instance of van Sichem’s engravings appearing in Istanbul.

The engravings of the Dutch master were groundbreaking not only for Istanbul’s Armenians, but also for Armenian artisans of other cities, especially for those from Kayseri. By the eighteenth century, when Istanbul became the main printing center of Armenians, it borrowed traditions of Oskan’s press. A lot of books published during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Istanbul have engravings and matrix of letters from Oskan’s press.

Iconographic innovations coming from Europe to Istanbul are mostly connected with these woodcuts of printed books. Then, as was stated, van Sichem’s engravings were copied by Apostolic Armenian Krikor of Marzvan in Istanbul. Gregory had a printing press where he was cooperating with Asdvadzadur until 1698. As Korkotyan writes, in 1698 Asdvadzadur suddenly decided to separate his business from Gregory and found his own press.⁷⁷ The same night Gregory’s press was destroyed by fire which, as Gregory himself writes in a colophon of a Synaxary published in his second printing press in 1730, “destroyed all engravings, matrix of the letters, leaving him with nothing.”⁷⁸ The engravings after a short time appear in the books from Asdvadzadur’s press and, as Korkotyan puts “the question of the intention of fire occurring in Gregory’s printing press leaves no doubts.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ [Bedros Ladinats’i] Պէտրոս Լադինատցի, *Աստուծոյ Կրօնի Յիշատակը* (Istanbul, 1705) 647, http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsd/collect/armenian/Books/astvacashunch1705_index.html (accessed May 3, 2017).

⁷⁷ [Korkotyan], *Հայ տպագրութեան պատմություն* (1567-1850թթ), 31-45.

⁷⁸ [Gregory of Marzvan] Գրիգոր Մարզպանացի, *Գործքն ի Յայտնիք* [A book called Synaxary] (Constantinople, 1730), 719-20.

⁷⁹ [Korkotyan], *Հայ տպագրութեան պատմություն* (1567-1850թթ), 31-45.

According to Ishkhanyan, already before Gregory of Marzvan Catholic Armenians engaged in printing activity in Istanbul. The author suggests that in order to avoid repressions from the Ottoman state Catholic Armenians mis-stated the printing place in their publications, citing Amsterdam, Livorno or Marseilles, when the book was actually printed in Istanbul. In some cases they were even keeping the name of the printing press. This was the same printing press of Oskan, which after Amsterdam moved to Livorno and then to Marseilles. Based on this, the author assumes that equipment of Marseilles printing press was moved to Istanbul in 1686, where Catholic Armenians led by Sarkis Evdokats'i started their printing.⁸⁰ This printing press worked until 1718. According to Ishkhanyan, a part of the Catholic printing press, or even the same press, was used by Bedros Ladinats'i. Starting from 1700 Mekhitar Sebastats'i (the founder of Mekhitarist Congregation) was cooperating with this Catholic printing press where he published textbooks for his Congregation.⁸¹

Other historians have also speculated that a clandestine Armenian printing press functioned in Istanbul in the 1680s. The most significant research on this clandestine press was done by Davtyan. He notes that at the end of the seventeenth century Catholic Armenians of Istanbul with the help of Rome's Latin clergymen founded a secretly operating Catholic printing press in Pera neighborhood. In this press, Catholic Armenians published around 50 titles. Most of these books do not have a colophon, and in cases where they do, the information is very short. In most cases the names of publishers are not mentioned or only initials of the names are written.⁸² A close look at the title pages and colophons of books printed in this press shows that the authors tried to hide their identity in every conceivable way. In couple of books, Marseilles or Livorno are mentioned as a place of creation on the title page, while in the colophon Istanbul is written as a printing place. Both Davtyan and Ishkhanyan assume that

⁸⁰ [Ishkhanyan], *Հայ Գրքեր 1512-1920*, 73-4.

⁸¹ Ibid, 74.

⁸² [H. Davtyan] Հ. Դավթյան, “Ե. Պոլսի հայ-կաթոլիկ հրատարակչական գործունեությունը,” 29.

because of the inter-confessional struggles between Catholic and Apostolic Armenians this press functioned secretly. The Ottoman authorities were backing Apostolic Armenians in these struggles, therefore Catholics were acting carefully, and in certain cases, such as printing, even clandestinely.

Based on the physical comparison of printed books from this Catholic press and presses functioning in Amsterdam, Livorno and Marseilles, Davtyan concluded that the Istanbul Catholic press was founded in 1691-2.⁸³ Recently Albert Kharatyan also published an article about Catholic Armenian press operating in Istanbul in the end of seventeenth century.⁸⁴ The reason behind hiding the printing press, Kharatyan explains, was the risk of drawing attention of the Ottoman state towards Catholic Armenians.⁸⁵ In the mid-seventeenth century relations between the two Armenian confessional groups were sharpened mainly because of the struggle to put their own candidate on the Patriarchal throne. Elite *amira* families of two confessional communities turned elections of the Patriarch into a battlefield. This caught the state's attention, which saw Armenians as subjects of the Patriarchate and the latter one as a responsible institution for all Armenians of the Empire in front of the state. Hence, the very fact that the destabilization inside of the Armenian community was created by Catholic part of it predisposed the state against them.⁸⁶ Davtyan states that in 1714 one of the founders of this press was arrested and escaped death penalty after converting to Islam.⁸⁷

During the reign of Patriarch Yohannes Golod (1715-41), most of the Catholic Armenians got arrested. Those who did not, escaped the city. The Ottoman State prohibited Catholics' activity, the press was closed and all equipment, including the engravings were

⁸³ Ibid, 33; [Ishkhanyan], Հայ Գրքեր 1512-1920, 74-5.

⁸⁴ [Kharatyan], “Հայ գրատպութիւնը Կ. Պոլսում և Ջմյուքիքում (1567-1860-ական թթ.),” 4-5.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 5-6.

⁸⁷ [Davtyan], “Կ. Պոլսի հայ-կաթոլիկներին գաղտնի տպարանը,” 38.

given to Apostolic presses.⁸⁸ Most probably they were given to the first printing press of Gregory of Marzvan.

If the clandestine printing presses in Istanbul operated by Catholic Armenians indeed exist, they must have been the cause of the Western iconographic transfers to Istanbul. By moving Oskan's matrix of letters and van Sichem's engravings to Constantinople and using them Catholics consciously or unconsciously spread a new typographic and iconographic style among printers, and from there onto silver bindings, since the latter's artisans mainly used contemporary engravings as a source. The engravings of Apkar the Clerk's and Eremya Ch'elebi's presses afterwards were not used and could not have served as a source for the iconographic and stylistic shifts. In the entire corpus of Istanbul's Armenian printed books with engravings only four authors can be found: van Sichem, Gregory of Marzvan, a certain Luccesini and Yakop.⁸⁹ Thus, majority of books used Sichem's and Marzvanets'i's engravings. As stated, Gregory of Marzvan copied woodcuts of van Sichem changing only Sichem's initials with his own during the first period of his printing activity. Afterwards, Gregory developed his own style, which was a mixture of Armenian iconography with European baroque ornaments and Western iconographic details.

2.3 The “Constantinople style”

In the beginning of the twentieth century, referring to the style of Armenian silversmiths from Istanbul, Armenak Sakissian pointed out that between the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries they bore mainly Persian influence. Thereafter, starting from the eighteenth century the style of artisans changed to baroque.⁹⁰ The author explains this transition by stating that

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Last two appear only in one book each. Luccesini with one engraving in the *Crook of Priests* from 1792 and Yakob in a critical edition of Gregory of Narek in 1834.

⁹⁰ The author mentions two chalices created by Constantinopolitan Armenians in the twelve-thirteenth centuries and a silver book binding from the sixteenth century, which now are lost. [Armenak Sakissian] Արմէնակ Սակիսիան, “Հայ երկու գեղարվեստական գործունեությունը Իսթանբուլում և Մոսկվայում”, “Հայ երկու գեղարվեստական գործունեությունը Իսթանբուլում և Մոսկվայում”, “Հայ երկու գեղարվեստական գործունեությունը Իսթանբուլում և Մոսկվայում”

Persian-style ornaments and decorations ran out of fashion after two centuries of constant repetition and finally gave way to a new wave coming from Europe.⁹¹ Soviet Armenian scholar Hayk Ter-Ghevondyan and later Hovsep Tokat as well, came to the same conclusion in their research. For the eighteenth-century style of Istanbul Armenian silversmiths, they specifically point out the influence of the French baroque art of Louis XIV's period.⁹²

However, the term “Constantinople style” was put into wide academic use by Ronald Marchese and Marlene Breu.⁹³ After the disappearance of the last independent principalities in Greater and Lesser Armenia and the fall of Cilician Kingdom, Istanbul became the center of revival for Armenian religious art. Wealthy Armenian families of *amira* class invested substantial amounts of money in religious art and played an essential role in its revival. The colophons of manuscripts and printed books as well as inscriptions on silver book bindings stand as a proof of *amiras*' role in the art revival.⁹⁴ Many examples were donated to the Patriarchate of Istanbul or sent as a present to Etchmiadzin Catholicosate and Jerusalem Patriarchate. These presents enhanced the prestige of Istanbul's Armenian Patriarchate as well as of patrons and artisans producing the objects. As Marchese and Breu point out, objects were commissioned and donated to individual churches by different patrons for whom these objects were personal statements of faith and manifestation of wealth as elite Armenian families of Istanbul. The “Constantinople style” is defined by Marchese as “cosmopolitan in its form and

Պոլսի արվեստի գործունեությունը” [The artistic activities of Armenians during the reign of Konya's and Istanbul's sultans], *Արվեստի օրագիր*, 1-4 (1933): 26-36.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² [Hayk Ter-Ghevondyan] Հայկ Տեր-Ղևոնդյան, “Հայկական արծաթագործությունը դիасպորայի արվեստի օջախներում” [Armenian silversmithing in Diaspora communities], *Հայկական արվեստի օջախներում*, 6 (1966): 97, [Hovsep Tokat] Յովսէփ Թոքատ, *Հայ արծաթագործական արվեստի օջախներ* [Armenian Master Silversmiths] (Los Angeles: Van Publishing, 2005), 252-3.

⁹³ Roland T. Marchese, Marlene R. Breu, “Sacred Textiles: The Hidden Wonders of the Armenian Orthodox Church Collections of Istanbul”, *Logos: A journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, 7.2 (2004): 93.

⁹⁴ Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 91.

content” with a usage of various externally influenced ornamentations, yet rooted in indigenous Armenian culture.⁹⁵

The mixture of Armenian artistic style with external influences Kevork Bardakjian describes as “modern Armenian Renaissance” initiated by Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice. The author states that the Congregation transmitted Western thought to Armenia Proper and Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire, serving as a bridge between East and West in the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ Indeed, in the nineteenth century the Mekhitarist Congregation served as a bridge between East and West due to its scholarly publications, location and connections to Istanbul, as Constantinople Armenians were the target audience of many of their publications.⁹⁷ However, the shift from the Persian-influenced to the Western or Baroque-influenced “Constantinople style” happened in Istanbul mainly due to the transfer of Western engravings to the city in the end of the seventeenth century. Consequently, by the mid-eighteenth century the “Constantinople style” became an elaborate movement, mirroring the social and cultural changes taking place in the Ottoman capital. Istanbul with its diverse population and culture, assimilation of Armenian craftsmen from the Eastern Anatolia, as well as Western-educated Armenian families with their appreciation of European culture, created this unique “Constantinople style.”⁹⁸

Starting from the eighteenth century, the Istanbul’s Armenian silversmiths started to widely use the “Constantinople style” together with Western iconography. These are mainly decorations on the edges of silver bindings in the shape of angels, frames composed by acanthus leaves surrounding the central composition of the binding. The artisans also changed the

⁹⁵ Ibid, 91-2.

⁹⁶ Bardakjian, “The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople,” 96.

⁹⁷ Majority of literature for Catholic Armenians of Istanbul during after the foundation of Congregation’s press was published in Mekhitarist press.

⁹⁸ Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 93.

material they worked with. Instead of solid silver plaques nailed onto the original cover, Istanbul's silversmiths started to use more velvet textiles on which only certain parts, such as edges, frames and central compositions are from silver and separately glued or nailed onto the velvet.

For this research, I have at my disposal only one silver binding that displays the Persian-style influence from the mid-eighteenth century. The usage of this "retrograde" style in the eighteenth century was spread mainly among the Armenian artisans in Anatolia and mostly in the regions of Van, Sivas and Tokat. It is highly possible that the silversmith of this binding also migrated to Istanbul from Anatolia. As it was stated in the first chapter, such migrations from different Armenian communities to the capital were usual for artisans. Other bindings from mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries feature Western influence. The absence of silver bindings from Istanbul up to the mid-eighteenth century raises the question of survival which is discussed in the next chapter. It is also highly possible that certain bindings are not accessible or simply not known. The study of Armenian-produced silver bindings is a long-term research which includes numerous collections in distinct parts of the world and inclusion of all collections as well as bindings in one research is not possible.

CHAPTER 3

THE ICONOGRAPHIC REPERTOIRE OF THE ARMENIAN SILVER BOOK BINDINGS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

The specific objective of this chapter is to show the Western influences discussed in previous chapters on the example of ten silver book bindings from Constantinople. The chapter concentrates on certain iconographic scenes featured on these bindings and shows the sources of Western-influenced details and in some cases entire scenes. Colophons of manuscripts and printed books which have dating of the bindings discussed in this chapter are translated and included in the catalogue. As all the bindings are from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the first part of the chapter deals with the question of survival of the bindings from earlier periods. It discusses the accepted views of previous scholarship and brings new argument to the discussion.

The chapter illustrates how the engravings of the mentioned Dutch engraver van Sichem changed and were adopted by Gregory of Marzvan, and from the engravings of the latter moved to the silver bindings. As it is shown in the chapter, some of the Western iconographic details were already known to Constantinopolitan Armenians and can be seen in the miniatures. However, these miniatures are also from the seventeenth century, which can be called the formation period of the “Constantinople style.” Westernized scenes appear mostly in the frontispieces of manuscripts and not as self-standing, full-page miniatures, whereas in engravings Western-style iconography is dominant right from the beginning of both Catholic and Apostolic printing presses operation in Istanbul. Meanwhile, in order to establish his belonging to the church of Gregory the Illuminator (i.e. Apostolicism) and put into circulation engravings that correspond more to the doctrine of the Armenian church, Gregory of Marzvan

created Western looking engravings that were, nevertheless, full of Apostolic-Christian symbolism.

3.1 The question of survival of silver book bindings from the seventeenth century

It is difficult to determine with certainty the date of those silver book binding which do not have a specific date inscribed. In most cases dating is made based on the stylistic comparison of undated bindings with dated ones, as well as assumptions based on the dating of manuscripts and printed books to which these silver bindings were attached. However, these are not accurate methods, since many elements in religious art are standardized into accepted patterns that are copied by successive generations.

Religious art is conservative in its nature and stylistic changes that take place in secular culture tend to affect the religious culture much later. This is also the case with the silver bindings under discussion in this thesis. It is mostly from the eighteenth and nineteenth century that bindings start to have a date inscribed on them. For this analysis, I chose ten bindings out of which seven have certain date either on the binding, or in the colophon of the manuscript or printed book. Other three bindings are similar in style and iconography to the dated bindings and are attached to books printed in Istanbul. It is worth to mention here that secular objects made from precious metal often have the Ottoman *tuğra* marks on them.⁹⁹ However, in case of silver book bindings I did not encounter any example bearing a *tuğra*, which would have been helpful with dating. Analyzing silver book binding from Kayseri, Sylvie Merian also notes that they do not have this sultanic hallmark.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ *Tuğras* are marks of the reigning sultans. In case of objects from precious metals, these *tuğras* apart from the name of the sultan and dating had also number-proof of the fineness of the used metal.

¹⁰⁰ Sylvie Merian, "The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 149.

Unlike other items of material culture, especially those made of non-valuable materials, objects made from silver or gold had value beyond their religious symbolism. Marchese states that such objects were perceived by the Ottoman authorities as bullion and could be easily converted into currency in times of economic crisis or during times of conflict.¹⁰¹ This is directly related to the question of survival of golden and silver objects. The research on silver book bindings from Istanbul shows that the first dated and known one is from the mid-eighteenth century. This raises the question of whether there were silver bindings from earlier periods which did not survive or are not known. It can also be that before the mid-eighteenth century Armenian silversmiths of Istanbul just did not produce bindings. An organized workshop of silversmiths is known from Kayseri, which produced silver bindings at least from 1653 onwards.¹⁰² Trying to answer these questions, Garo Kürkman and later also Marchese noted that from the beginning of Ottoman state “more silver left Turkey than entered the country,” thus stable silver market was never achieved.¹⁰³ According to the authors, this fact undermined the currency. The scarcity of silver meant rationing to artisans, however this did not improve the situation and the problem of paying for foreign goods stayed. In order to solve it, Ottoman authorities organized periodic seizure and confiscation of silver. Marchese states that this included also artefacts, which were melted and reused as coin.¹⁰⁴ Kharatyan adds to this that in order to save religious artefacts, Patriarch Yohannes Golod in the beginning of the eighteenth century separated Jerusalem’s Armenian Patriarchate from Constantinople’s one, and moved to Jerusalem majority of religious objects kept in Istanbul.¹⁰⁵ This might explain why Armenian

¹⁰¹ Marchese and Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 365.

¹⁰² Sylvie Merian has a detailed analysis of these silver book bindings and their iconography. See Merian, “The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 117-87.

¹⁰³ Marchese and Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 365; Garo Kürkman, *Ottoman Silver Marks* (Istanbul: Mathusalem publications, 1996), 37.

¹⁰⁴ Marchese and Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 365.

¹⁰⁵ [Kharatian], “Կոստանդնուպոլսի հայ զառթոցալիքը (18-րդ դարի սկիզբ — 1923թ.),” 25-6.

silver book bindings from Istanbul are missing for the period prior to the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth century, since it is difficult to believe that all silver bindings in the seventeenth century were produced in the Kayseri workshop that functioned, according to dated bindings, from 1653 to 1741. It is, thus, possible that rare examples of Constantinopolitan Armenian bindings from the seventeenth century are in the collection in Jerusalem, which is not open to public access. Research in such collections in the future will shed more light on this question that is impossible to answer at the moment.

3.2 Sources of imagery

The tradition of decorating Christian manuscripts with bindings from luxurious metals has a long history in Christian cultures. These luxurious bindings had double function: first of all, to glorify the God and second of all, to demonstrate the power and wealth of the commissioner. Forming part of the church treasury, these precious plaques were also called treasury bindings. It was an Armenian tradition to patronize the creation of manuscripts, to repair the damaged ones and embellish new or existing ones with metal covers. Apart from the mentioned intentions, the patronage of liturgical objects was understood as a pious gift to ensure the salvation of the donors and their relatives. All silver plaques are decorated with Christian themes as they are made for sacred religious books. However, the craftsmen were not theologians, nor experts on theological meaning or iconography of the crafted scenes. Thus, they needed an example of scenes to depict. Such sources for scenes were miniatures in manuscripts and engravings in printed books they encountered. The clients, on the other hand, were mainly clerics and wealthy donors, who at least in case of clerics knew Christian iconography.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Merian, "The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 117-30.

The Armenian iconography did not appear in a historically or culturally closed environment. A strong interchange with other Christian communities, especially in the Byzantine Empire, majorly affected the face of Christian Armenian art in medieval period. Afterwards, especially during and after the Cilician Kingdom, Armenian artistic canon changes and orientates itself towards the Crusader art. While maintaining traditional Christian iconography, Armenian artists also added motifs and formats reflecting Islamic styles around them.¹⁰⁷ In the seventeenth century Armenian artisans started to combine elements taken from other repertoires with their own traditional schemes to create new iconographic designs. As Marchese puts, it “situated on the frontier between eastern and western worlds, Armenians were subject to a variety of influences that augmented the unique character of their native culture.”¹⁰⁸

Apart from the mentioned general acculturation between cultures, certain subtle differences also exist between various Armenian communities. In the context of Constantinople, Byzantine-style Biblical narratives were re-defined in greater detail.¹⁰⁹ The themes were rendered with more acting figures, scenes developed inside of more elaborated background, with realistic models of existing buildings. The illuminations of Gospels were devoted to the life of Christ and included narrative cycles of various sizes. The bindings of these illuminated books followed the same decorative conventions. In most cases the origin of the iconography on the silver binding can be found in the manuscript or printed book the binding was attached to. This is not the case only for Istanbul’s silver bindings.¹¹⁰ The bindings of Kayseri, Tokat, Van and other Armenian communities followed the same logic.

¹⁰⁷ Marchese and Breu, *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*, 229.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 230.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 238.

¹¹⁰ Kouymjian, “Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork, Part III. Silver Silver Bindings,” 220.

The iconographic scenes on book bindings were supposed to reveal the content of the book, therefore in case of Gospels, for example, the upper cover as a rule was reserved for the Crucifixion, and the lower cover for Resurrection (Cat. Fig. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9). As Marchese points out: “the Crucifixion and Resurrection present a complete portrayal of the essential elements of Christian historiography and iconography.”¹¹¹

In some cases, instead of the Resurrection another scene could be found on the bindings. This is Christ Enthroned or Christ in Majesty (Cat. Fig. 5), representing the moment after his Resurrection. Another widely used combination of scenes was Crucifixion and Virgin with Christ (Incarnation) (Cat. Fig. 2, 3).

By the period the first binding under discussion in this research was created in the mid-eighteenth century, the Crucifixion on the upper cover of the Gospel was already considered the most appropriate scene for a book. In its minimalist representation in Armenian art, besides the Christ on the cross the scene includes his mother Mary and Apostle John, on either side of the cross. Other features of this scene in Armenian iconography are representations of the sun and the moon, Adam’s skull at the bottom of the cross and the banner on the cross. On the banner (titulus), the Armenian equivalent of INRI, *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*, was usually engraved. INRI in Western iconography comes from the passage in the Gospel of John: “Christ Nazarene The King of Jews.”¹¹² In the Crucifixion engraving by Gregory of Marzvan instead of widely spread INRI equivalent Յ ՆԹՀ, Յ ի ն լ ա Ն ա զ զ ի թ ա զ ա լ ի զ ի չ ի թ զ, what is written is ՄԻԹՀ, Մ ա ի թ ա զ ա լ ի զ ի չ ի թ զ, which comes from Luke’s Gospel: “This is the King of the Jews.”¹¹³ Even though Gregory of Marzvan’s engravings served as a source for many book bindings in Kayseri and Istanbul, the artisans still used the Armenian equivalent of Western tradition for the titulus.

¹¹¹ Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith*, 235.

¹¹² John 19:19-21.

¹¹³ Luke 23:28.

The unusual additions to this scene are *Arma Christi* and depiction of Mary Magdalene kneeling next to the cross.¹¹⁴ It was not common to show the agony of Christ's death in the scene of Crucifixion in the Armenian tradition. It is through Western influences that Christ's Passion entered the Crucifixion scene (Ill. 1). In most of Constantinople silver bindings the *Arma Christi* was used to symbolically illustrate the agony of Passion (Cat. Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9).¹¹⁵ As it can be seen from the catalogue, six out of eight Crucifixion scenes on the silver bindings under discussion have depiction of *Arma Christi*. In most of them the spear and sponge accompany the main scene (Cat. Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5), while on the other bindings the weapons are moved from the main centered scene to the corners of the bindings. On Cat. Fig. 3, 7 and 9 the angels are holding the weapons in the corners. Moving angels with symbolic attributes as well as evangelists with their symbols is a usual arrangement for silver book bindings and comes from the Byzantine manuscript binding tradition.¹¹⁶ Although neither the exact Western source, nor the Armenian copy from which this iconography was borrowed is known, it is tempting to assume that it was transferred to Istanbul along with other influences. As it can be seen from the collection of Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul, the *Arma Christi* theme was widely used by the eighteenth-nineteenth century Armenian community of Istanbul not only on silver bindings, but also on other liturgical objects, such as reliquaries, processional crosses, textiles to mention some.¹¹⁷ Contrary to this, there are no representations of *Arma Christi* so far known from Kayseri's silver bindings.

Kneeling Mary Magdalene appears on two silver bindings under the discussion (Cat. Fig. 7, 9). The textual source for her depiction in a scene is Mark's Gospel.¹¹⁸ A close look at

¹¹⁴ *Arma Christi* or Weapons of Christ. The cross surrounded by the elements of Christ's Passion: spear, crown of thorns, titulus, sponge, torch, ladder, tongs, nails, pillar and flail. In the Catholic Armenian printing press in 1701 a book was published, titled *The Torturing Weapons of Christ*. Hence, the appearance of this detail on most silver book bindings is not surprising.

¹¹⁵ Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith*, 248-9.

¹¹⁶ Kouymjian, "Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork, Part III. Silver Silver Bindings", 223.

¹¹⁷ Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith*, 229-250.

¹¹⁸ "Some women were watching from a distance. Among them were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joseph, and Salome," Mark 15:40.

both silver bindings shows that the binding (Cat. Fig. 9) from 1820 is a later copy of the binding (Cat. Fig. 7) from 1804, with an added frame over the main scene. Engravings of both Christoffel van Sichem and Gregory of Marzvan have kneeling Mary Magdalene in the scene of Crucifixion (Ill. 2, 3). As the engravings of both of these authors were the main source for the silver book bindings of Kayseri and Istanbul, it can be assumed that the silversmith of 1804 binding used one of the mentioned engravings.

Another significant aspect of the Crucifixion scene, which is absent from all the silver bindings under the discussion, is the stream of blood coming from the pierced side of Christ. In contrast to the silver bindings, this motif can be found in the engraving by Gregory of Marzvan (Ill. 3), where he follows the Armenian Apostolic tradition by showing two streams of blood. This symbolizes the Armenian church doctrine, that water should not be mixed with the wine (symbol of Christ's blood) of the communion. It also emphasizes the separation of Christ's two natures, a doctrine which was at the core of the Catholic versus Apostolic Armenian confessional struggle during the seventeenth-nineteenth century (Ill. 4).¹¹⁹ The emphasis on this doctrine was very strong in various Armenian communities. This symbolic representation can be found on other liturgical objects from Istanbul, as well as on silver bindings from Sivas, Lim, Van and other cities inhabited by Armenians.¹²⁰

Another scene represented on most of the silver bindings is the Resurrection (Cat. Fig. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9). The scene is presented by the late iconography of Christ rising from his tomb, instead of the medieval version with open cave. On all bindings, apart from Cat. Fig. 1, Christ is in a V-shaped cloud, with radiating rays in case of Cat. Fig. 4 and 8 bindings. On all bindings, the stone cover of the tomb is removed, except the Cat. Fig. 8 binding. The number of figures on bindings vary. On the Cat. Fig. 1 there is only resurrected Christ, whereas on the Cat. Fig.

¹¹⁹ Kouymjian, "Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork", 233.

¹²⁰ Kouymjian, "Some Iconographical Questions about the Christ Cycle in Armenian Manuscripts and Early Printed Books," *Orientalia Ambrosiana* 4 (2015): 128-31; Kouymjian, "Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork", 233; Marchese, Breu, *Treasures of Faith*, 236.

7, 8, 9 the angel and two Marys are depicted. The richest iconography is featured on Cat. Fig. 4, with the angel, three women and guardian soldiers in front of the tomb. On all the bindings Christ holds a cross-shaped staff with a banner decorated with cross *pattee*. On the Cat. Fig. 4, 7 and 9 bindings, the Resurrection scene is framed by figures of the Evangelists with their symbols, while Cat. Fig. 8 is framed with Gabriel to the left holding a lily (a wand in Armenian tradition) and the Virgin before an open book with a Holy Spirit above.¹²¹ This is the Annunciation type used in Armenian book engravings, borrowed originally from Flemish engravings (Ill. 5). At the bottom left corner of the binding deacon-martyr Stephan is depicted and on the right corner John the Baptist and the Lamb of God. This type of Resurrection scene was not common for medieval Armenian illuminations. Usually an angel was depicted showing women the empty tomb of the Christ (Ill. 6). It is mostly starting from the seventeenth century miniatures and due to the Western influence that this iconography of Resurrection started to be used and was transferred from there into engravings and finally on the silver bindings (Ill. 7, 8).

On two silver bindings under discussion, Virgin with the Child or Incarnation is also depicted (Cat. Fig. 2, 3). The enthroned Virgin on the Cat. Fig. 2 extends her hand towards the Christ who makes the sign of benediction with two fingers of his right hand. The second example, Cat. Fig. 3, has richer decoration. In this version, the Virgin holds a lily in her right hand, which is a sign of her purity, and Christ is holding the earthly sphere in his hand instead of the benediction sign. On the right side a symbolic representation of Jerusalem is visible with a reversed V-shape dome. Both figures have crosses apart from the halo above their heads. These crosses later turn into crowns in various depictions of this scene on silver bindings, as it can be seen in the engraving from 1745 printed *Exegesis of Gregory of Nareg* (Ill. 9). In four corners of the binding four Evangelists are represented with their symbols.

¹²¹ Kouymjian, "Catalogue of Liturgical Metalwork", 227.

The depiction of Christ Enthroned was largely in use in the tradition of Cilician miniature painting. However, it never appears separately, but rather as part of such scenes as the Last Judgment or the *Deisis* (Ill. 10). In the Cilician tradition, Christ always has an open book in his hand, while in the scene on the silver binding it is replaced with the earthly sphere. His throne is surrounded by the symbols of Evangelists. The replacement of the book with earthly sphere is not surprising as it was widely spread via engravings of both van Sichem and Gregory of Marzvan (Ill. 11). In one miniature from an Armenian Bible written in Istanbul in 1654-60 on folio 348 r., similar depiction of Christ could be found in the frontispiece of the Canon Table (Ill. 12).

Another widely spread scene via engravings is the Holy Trinity of the New Testament, which is depicted on two bindings under the discussion (Cat. Fig. 6, 10). The sizes of figures in the scene on Cat. Fig. 6 are in a hierarchical order; the most important ones are presented bigger than other figures. The composition consists of two parts which are separated from each other with angels' class surrounded by intertwined spiral-shaped clouds. In the upper part the Holy Trinity of the New Testament¹²² is depicted according to the Western iconography. This type of depiction with a figure of God the Father was formed in the art of twelfth-century France and northern-Italy. God the Father is either above the crucified Christ, or is sitting next to him.¹²³ The last version, with God the Father sitting next to Christ, master Apraham chose to depict on the front plaque of this silver binding. God the Father is represented with a triangle halo, on the upper left side of the composition. On the right side, Christ is sitting with a cross-shaped halo and the scepter. Between them and a little bit up the Holy Spirit is depicted as a dove. The dove holds its hands in a praying position which makes it a unique representation of the Holy Spirit in this scene, as in no other place such a depiction is found. An earthly sphere,

¹²² The colophon of this Gospel as well as most of the colophons both handwritten or printed Armenian books from Constantinople start with a dedication to the Holy Trinity.

¹²³ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (Moscow: Kron-Press, 1996), 564-5.

depicted between God the Father and Christ, has an inscription with names of the patron and the artisan.¹²⁴ From all the bindings under the discussion this is the only one for which the name of the artisan as well as the persona of the patron can be documented.

Under the angels' class, four evangelists are sitting with their symbols next to them. They are depicted under arches and separated from each other by columns. Armenian miniature painters used similar type of representation of evangelists during the first half of the eleventh century (Ill. 13, 14). This representation was forgotten afterwards and starting from the second half of the eleventh century the figures of evangelists decorate a page in manuscript preceding the text of their gospel. Under the figures of evangelists is the inscription of donation.¹²⁵

The French-Italian way of depicting the Holy Trinity was not usual for Armenian art. The earliest example known is from Four Gospels (MS 44) created in Constantinople (1651). The scene is depicted on folio 16 v., inside of the Canon table (Ill. 15). Two years later, in 1653, the scene can be seen on a silver cover produced in Kayseri (Caesarea). This silver binding is one of the oldest known covers produced in the Kayseri silversmith workshop (Ill. 16).¹²⁶ Here the scene has more space for additional details. Another miniature from a manuscript attributed to Constantinople school has the same style and iconography as the MS 44 miniature. A close look and comparison of details of two illuminations as well as other miniatures from these manuscripts shows that the second miniature is a later copy of the first one.¹²⁷

Despite the existence of mentioned examples, the iconography of the Holy Trinity scene in Cat. Fig. 6 and 10 bindings derives mostly from printed books. Perhaps, the most influential

¹²⁴ Translation of the inscription is included in the catalog: page 75.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Thomas Mathews and Roger Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1994), 115.

¹²⁷ The manuscript does not have entry number. It is in a private collection in Armenia. I want to thank Mariam Ajapahyan for providing me with the illustration. I have not seen the colophon of the manuscript as it is not digitized, but according to Ajapahyan's personal notes, the manuscript is from 1656.

book was the 1666 Bible printed by Oskan Yerevants'i in Amsterdam with van Sichem's engravings. Sichem created two scenes with the iconography of Holy Trinity. The first one is printed in *Biblia Sacra* in Antwerp in 1657, and the second one in *Jesus the Son* in Amsterdam, 1660-1 (Ill. 17, 18).¹²⁸ Both engravings depict New Testament's Holy Trinity in its classic western iconography: God the Father with the earthly sphere in his hand and Christ with cross-shaped crook are sitting in the sky and above them is the Holy Spirit as a dove.¹²⁹

The earliest Armenian copy of van Sichem's Holy Trinity of *Biblia Sacra* is from 1698 *Hma'il* (roller book). This *Hma'il* has four engravings and all of them copy the works of the Dutch van Sichem (Ill. 19). It is unknown who is the author of the roller book and in which printing press of Constantinople it was published, as the book does not have an original colophon. A later inscription from 1975 informs us that the roller was brought to Yerevan from Skyutar (Üsküdar)¹³⁰ and attributes it to the printing press of Asdvadzadur of Constantinople. The copied engraving is very similar to the prototype, yet it is weaker in artistic performance.

Afterwards, the scene appears in books printed in 1706-8, 1729 and 1746-7 in the press of already mentioned Asdvadzadur of Constantinople. First time in 1706-8 Synaxary Armenian version of van Sichem's engraving has the name of the artisan. The initials appear in the right lower part of the composition. The initials "ԳՐ (KR)" mean Krikor, which is Krikor Marzvanets'i (Gregory of Marzvan). Shortly after, the engravings appear in the books printed in Asdvadzadur's, as well as in Sarkis the Clerk's presses. The composition of the engraving from Sarkis the Clerk's press stylistically is the closest one to the Cat. Fig. 6 binding's scene: the proportions of figures are similarly shaped, earthly sphere moved to the center of the composition and the angels are added to the scene. The way in which the apostles and prophets

¹²⁸ This book was printed in the same printing press as Oskan's Bible.

¹²⁹ Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 564-5.

¹³⁰ Üsküdar is a neighborhood in Istanbul.

are presented under the arches is also similar to the way of evangelists' representation on the silver binding.

Perhaps the most unique scene in the cycle of Christ's life featured on Constantinople's silver book bindings is the one created by silversmith Apraham on the back cover of the Cat. Fig. 6 binding. It depicts the Adoration of Magi. The composition of the scene develops by steps from the bottom to top and has the same hierarchical organization as the front cover. At the lower part, the procession of the Magi to the cave with their retinue is presented. The upper part of the composition depicts the moment of adoration. Descending angels, rollers with inscriptions as well as the depiction of Virgin with child Christ inside of the Bethlehem star are all Western iconographic additions to the scene of the Adoration.¹³¹ The origin of this iconography is an engraving made by Gregory of Marzvan in *ca.* 1706 (Ill. 20). The works of Marzvanets'i can be divided into two groups: early period, when he copied van Sichem and tried to make his own works, which artistically are not yet so professional and do not have the artist's initials, and later period with initials on engravings. During the late period, Gregory of Marzvan did not copy other artists, but created unique iconographical scenes based on the texts of printed books the engravings were included in. He is the only Armenian engraver who come up with his own interpretations of Evangelical themes. The Adoration of Magi is of the later period, as it is accompanied with a long explanatory inscription at the bottom of the scene. Most of Gregory's unique iconographic scenes, such as this one and already mentioned Crucifixion with two blood streams and incorporation of Baptism into the same scene form the unique Constantinople style and iconography noted in the previous chapters.

As stated, Apraham, the artisan of the binding, used Gregory of Marzvan's engraving as an example for his silver plaque. However, there are differences. First one is that the textual description which Gregory of Marzvan attached to his engraving in the lower was excluded by

¹³¹ Hall, *ibid.*

Apraham from his composition. Second, the artisan of the silver binding reduced the number of figures in the scene to make it more easily perceivable by the eye. Apraham also excluded some explanatory inscriptions from the central part of the scene. Perhaps, the only detail he added is the figure of the Virgin with child Christ inside of the Bethlehem star.

Both the colophon of printed Gospel and the inscription of the silver book binding preserved the name of the same patron, Babayean *mahdesi* Garabed. Combined information from both sources gives an overall idea. Hence, Babayean Garabed ordered a Gospel in 1797 for the memory of his deceased relatives and for his own. The Gospel was published in Asdvadzadur's press by the time when Asdvadzadur was already dead.¹³² Afterwards, in 1798 *mahdesi* Garabed hired master Apraham to double bind the Gospel by adding decorated silver plaques and in the same year dedicated the Gospel Book to Etchmiadzin.

As for the identity of this Babayean Garabed, he was one of the most influential Armenian merchants in Istanbul's bazaars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He was importing silk from Europe to Istanbul and exporting products created by Muslim and Christian artisans to Europe. Babayean was in close relations with both leaders of the Catholic Armenian and Apostolic Armenian communities.¹³³

The last iconographic scene under the discussion is taken from the life of the medieval Armenian clergyman, theologian and philosopher Saint Gregory of Nareg. The scene on Cat. Fig. 10 binding represents the Dream of Nareg and his miracles. In the upper part the kneeling saint Gregory is depicted in front of the Virgin and Child. Above him in the sky surrounded by clouds is an angel. Virgin with Child is depicted twice: in front of Saint Gregory and for the second time, smaller, in front of a church representating of the monastery of Nareg, after which Saint Gregory was named. In the bottom of the composition, three miracles of Saint Gregory

¹³² A little inscription at the bottom of the title page says: "In the printing press of deceased Asdvadzadur".

¹³³ [Papazeants Stephan] Ստեփան ֓ափազ ի աճ , *The Biography of Harutyun Bezciyan: A National Unique Benefactor* (Constantinople: Hovhannes Myuhentisean Press, 1864).

are depicted inside of the columned arches, similar to the representation of Evangelists on Cat. Fig. 6 binding. Although there are manuscript copies from different periods of Gregory's *Book of Lamentations*, not a single similar miniature is known. He is usually depicted in the miniatures in a Byzantine tradition of depicting saints or as Evangelist (Ill. 21, 22). The source engraving for this binding is from 1745 *Exegesis of Prayers and Odes of Gregory of Nareg*, printed in Istanbul in the press of Gabriel (Ill. 23). Even though the engraving has Armenian-lettered explanation, a close look and comparison with previous engravings shows a different hand than Gregory of Marzvan's. It can be assumed from the skilled work of the artisan on figures' faces as well as from other details that the engraving is not a work of an Armenian artisan. Probably it was specially ordered from Europe, as the rest of the engravings are those made by Gregory of Marzvan.

It can be concluded that the European printed books, or at least their engravings in Armenian books, were available for Istanbul's Armenian silversmiths. Merchants, such as Babayean and his predecessors and successors who had trade connections with Europe certainly imported printed books for their community. A significant number of European books also came to Istanbul via Catholic missionaries who had a targeted audience among the existing Catholic community of the city. As for the Apostolic Armenians, the Western illustrations by van Sichem and other unidentified artist must have been new, fresh interpretations of Christian themes. Their baroque style decorations must have attracted wealthy patrons for whom donations of silver bindings with such royal decorations could have been another confirmation of their elite status. Likewise, the fact that silversmiths copied scenes from books printed decades earlier in Europe or from their modified Armenian version does not mean that they had lack of imagination or originality. Silversmiths added and removed certain details of iconography according to their own taste. Another assumption that is worth mentioning here is that possibly each artisan or workshop had a printed book or books as a sample for bindings

decorations to show their clients. There are also cases, such as Cat. Fig. 6, where the silver plaques on the back cover of the binding are directly copied from the engraving of printed book to be bound. In such cases, it should be concluded that the patron was directly dictating artisans his taste and the way how his order should be done.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have shown that Western iconographic influences came to the Armenian silver book bindings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the woodcuts of Dutch engraver Christoffel van Sichem via Catholic Armenian printing press that functioned in Istanbul starting from 1690s. I have outlined the ways of transfer, the transformation of engravings, and contextualized these events in the history of the Armenian community of Constantinople.

I have emphasized the fact that Armenian community of Istanbul was divided in two confessional groups: Catholic and Apostolic Armenians. These confessional groups were in constant doctrinal debates and struggles for the Patriarchal throne. The conflict between them sharpened in the mid-seventeenth century. This is right during the period of the Armenian printing press expansion. There was already some experience of printing activity in Istanbul's Armenian community undertaken by Apkar the Clerk in the sixteenth and Eremya Ch'elebi in the seventeenth century. Understanding that sacred texts are one of the main tools in the inter-confessional struggle, and that Apostolic Armenians widely used it, Catholic Armenians founded their own press, which published books according to their doctrine. Meanwhile, the Ottoman authorities who were concerned with the instability inside of the Armenian community, supported Apostolic Armenians by imposing restrictions against Catholics. This is why the Catholic printing press operated secretly in Istanbul, usually showing as a printing place cities in Europe. These were cities where the printing press of Oskan once operated and from which Catholics got printing equipment and engravings.

As stated, before Catholic press started to operate there were other Armenian printing presses in Istanbul. Their engravings, however, did not circulate in the upcoming presses and as a source for silver book bindings under research here. The engravings used in the Catholic

printing press, which were authored by a Dutch engraver, van Siche, were spread in all subsequent Armenian presses. In the first period of his activity, an Armenian printer and engraver Gregory of Marzvan started to copy engravings of van Siche and put his own initials in the same places on woodcuts where van Siche used to. Afterwards, when he was already skilled in this art, Gregory started to create his own iconographic scenes, which correspond more to the Armenian sacred texts printed in his press. These new engravings were mixture of European baroque style, Western iconography and symbols of Apostolic doctrine. This unique mixture of East and West is known as “Constantinople style” in the current scholarship.

After Gregory of Marzvan’s death his engravings together with Siche’s copies as well as still existing originals were circulating in all the printing presses in Istanbul. Most probably silversmiths who were creating silver bindings had copies of printed books with these engravings, which they used as a catalogue to show their customers when the latter ones had to choose a scene for the silver plaques they ordered.

Transferred onto silver bindings these scenes changed their shape for the third time. In most cases silversmiths kept the main organization of the scene. In other cases, however, based on the difficulties created by metalworking techniques, or for the sake of the composition, craftsmen added or excluded persons from themes. One of their favorite details was the incorporation of *Arma Christi* in the scene of Crucifixion.

This thesis based its analysis on the silver bindings from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, as there are no dated earlier examples known at this moment. This, however, does not mean that before the eighteenth century there were no workshops of silversmiths in Istanbul or that they did not create silver book bindings. Armenian material culture is spread in various monastic or private collections around the world. And almost every year new digitized examples of sacred objects appear.

This thesis is an attempt to analyze art historical objects in a different framework than the previous scholarship did. It incorporates different disciplines and shows objects in their historical *milieu*. Such way of working with material culture, on the one hand, brings up additional information on Armenian religious history. It helps to discover pious activity of wealthy Armenians which is usually overlooked by historians in their research. It also contributes to the history of printing press, as bindings were part of the same chain of production. On the other hand, incorporated disciplines help to answer questions which are not possible only in the frame of art historical analysis of objects. Further investigation based on the same methodology will help to recreate a more detailed history of Armenian community and their activities in the Ottoman capital, which due to the limitations of this research is not possible.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I.

Letters by Istanbul Armenians to Jerusalem Patriarchate.

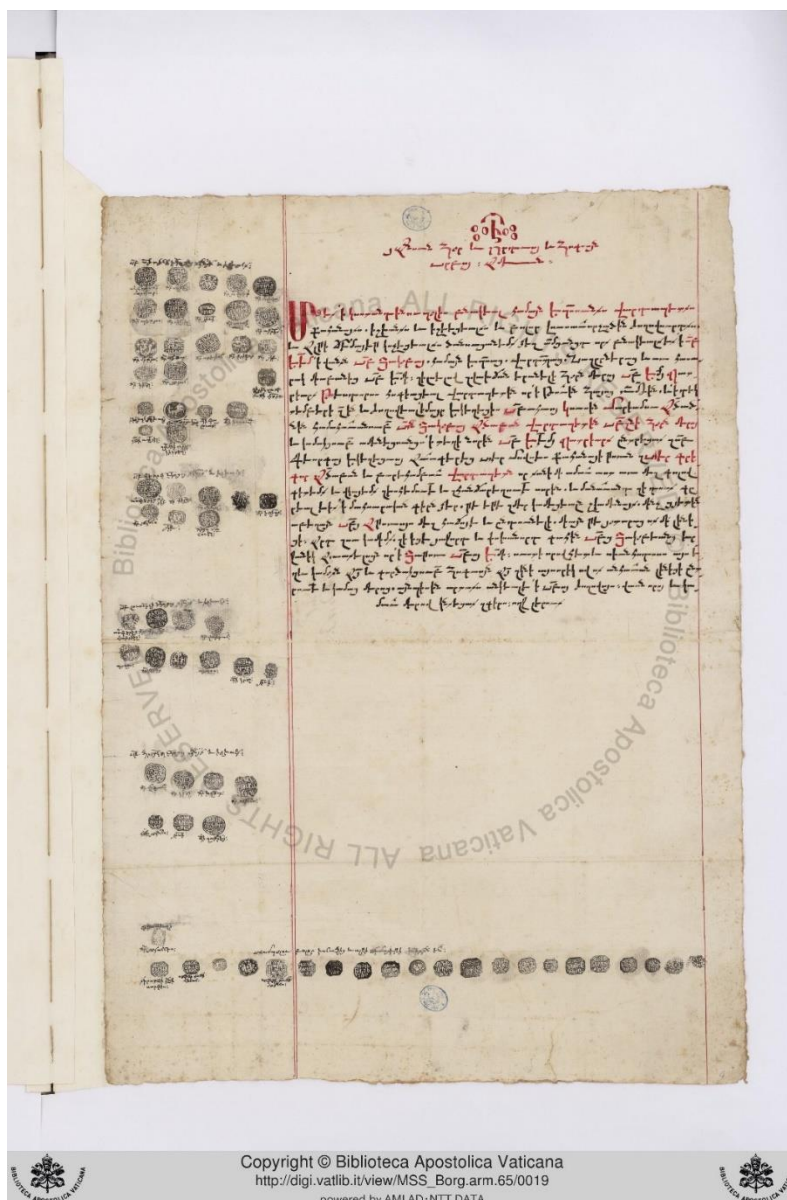


Figure 1. Barg. Arm. 65, 4r. Condolences for Patriarch's death and consensus regarding new elections.

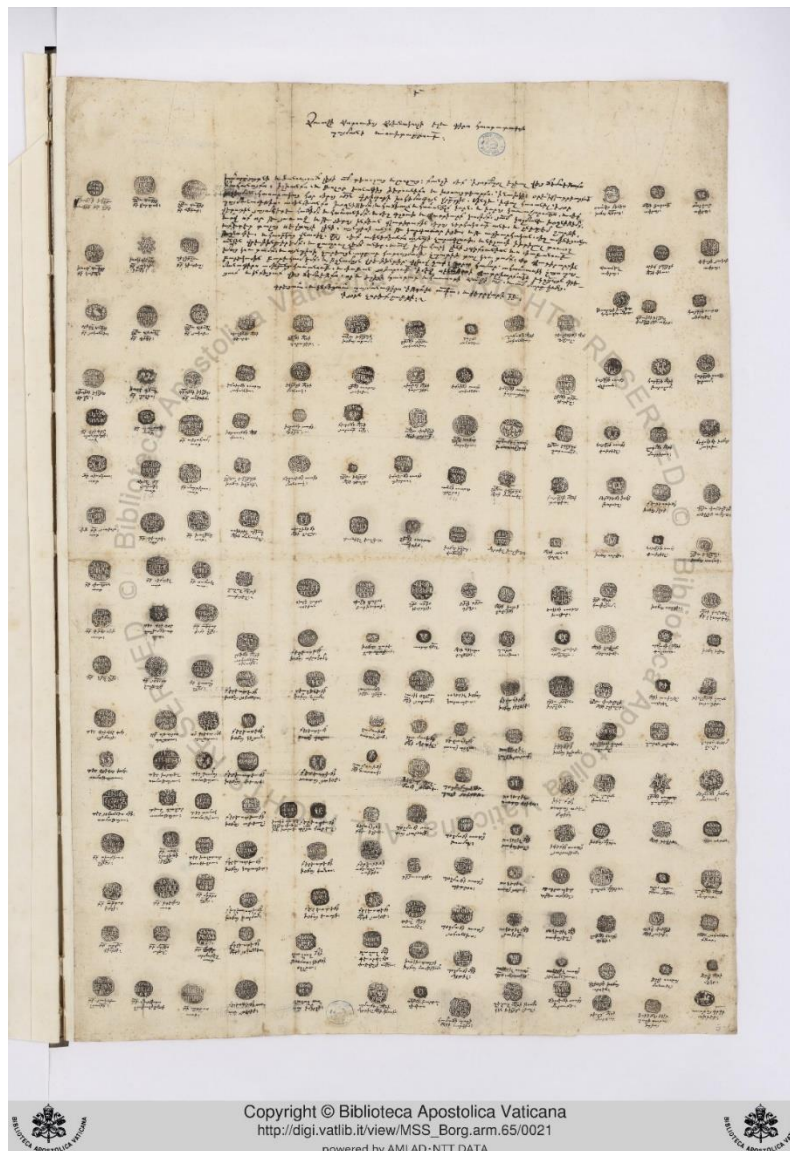


Figure 2. Barg. Arm. 65, 5r. Letter of support for the candidacy of Krikor the Third (r. 1764-73) as a Patriarch.

Appendix II.

Catalogue of Silver Bindings.



Cat. Fig. 1 Etchmiadzin, Treasury Museum, No 40. Patron: *mahdesi* Apraham.

Book: Manuscript, Gospel book, ink on paper, Atana, 1292.

Physical description: According to the colophon of the manuscript the silver binding was added to the 1292 Gospel's second leather cover in 1746. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book and a solid spine with floral ornamentation. The bindings feature the Crucifixion on the front and the Resurrection on the back.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used the *repousse* technique and carving for figures' clothes, the inscriptions, and the backgrounds.¹³⁴

Inscriptions: Front cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (Armenian equivalent for *INRI*).

¹³⁴ In this technique metal, in the case of this binding gilded silver, is shaped from the reversed side by hammering. Afterwards, details on the plaques are designed from the front side.

Back cover, on the cover of the grave: “Ē” (abbreviation for Armenian Essence).

Colophons: “This Holy Gospel is in memory of the souls of Dōlvēt’s son *mahdesi* Apraham’s parents and his living relatives, which is the reason for commissioning this silver binding, who with his (Apraham’s?) spiritual activity, who worked in Saint Kework Church (in Sulu monastery) and was commissioned to newly repair this holy Gospel...Amen. In the Armenian era Թ Յ Ժ Կ Է (1195+551=1746), August Ē (7).”¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Armenians use letters as equivalents of numbers. In order to have the year in Gregorian calendar, 551 year adds to the year from the Armenian era/calendar. For Armenian numerals see Table 2.



Cat. Fig. 2 Yerevan, Matenadaran collection, No7676. Patron: Avedis.

Book: Manuscript, Gospel book, ink on parchment, Constantinople, 1653.

Physical description: According to the colophon the silver binding was added in 1758 to the original wooden and velvet cover of a Gospel written in Constantinople in 1653. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel, the spine of two paired chains, and clasps.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used encrusting and *filigree* to create an ornamental background on both sides of the binding. Eight semi-precious stones are mounted on both sides which together with curved ornaments create a shape of cross with figurative plaques in the center. There are enameled cherubs in the four corners of both sides of the binding. For the central plaques *repousse* and carving techniques are used. On the central plaque of the front plate the Incarnation is depicted and on the back is Crucifixion scene. The entire silver binding is parcel gilt to create chiaroscuro and depth.

Inscriptions: No inscriptions

Colophons: Fol. 278v: “Here is written this holy Gospel in the city Constantinoplis, in the year Թ Յ Բ (1102+551=1653) of Gregorian and Japhetic era. By the hand of sinner and unworthy Yohanēs the Clerk.”

Fol. 278v (later added colophon): “Bound with silver and bought [last two words are added above the main line of the text] this holy Gospel by the hand of the leader of Karin (city) Avedis Vardapet the Theologian, by the equal endowment of people and to the memory of the Saint Illuminator Monastery in Mudurgu. In the Armenian era Թ Մ Է (1207+551=1758) and the beginning of April month.”



Cat. Fig. 3 Bucharest, Archangels Michael and Gabriel Armenian church, no N/A. Patron: Manug.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1769.

Physical description: According to the inscription the binding was added to the wooden and velvet original cover of a Gospel printed in 1769 in Constantinople in the printing press of Yohannis and Yakop. The silver binding consists of two silver plaques on each side: the central medallion and the frame which has a triangle shape on each edge of the rectangular. The spine of the binding consists of five-line single chains. On the back of the binding the traces of missing clasps are visible. The tablet with the inscription on the front cover most probably is a later addition.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique. The artisan also used the technique of carving to shape the figures' clothes, and the background buildings. The Crucifixion is on the front plate and the Incarnation is on the back.

Inscriptions: Front cover, on the titulus of the cross: “YNT’H” (abbreviation for Armenian equivalent of INRI).

Tablets on both sides of the central mediation: “This Gospel is a memorial of Manug’s helpmate (wife) Zanzan from Psd (ԲՍ ՍՅ Ի - the abbreviation for the name of a city), who gave/presented it to the Holy Virgin Church in K’ot’ishan in Ռ Մ Լ Բ (1232+551=1783).”

Colophons: In this example of the printed Gospel the colophon is missing. It is available online on the website of the National Library of Armenia, but as the colophon does not contain any information about binding its translation is not relevant here.



Cat. Fig. 4 Bucharest, Archangels Michael and Gabriel Armenian church, no N/A.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1796.

Physical description: The silver binding was added to the original leather cover of a Gospel printed in Asdvadzadur's press in Constantinople in 1796. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book and the spine of four paired chains.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan used *repousse* and carving techniques. The Resurrection is depicted on the front cover and the Crucifixion on the back.

Inscriptions: Back cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (INRI).

Title page of the Gospel: "published [...] in Constantinople in the year 1796. The Armenian era Թ Մ Կ Ի Ե (1245+551=1796). In the printing press of Asdvadzadur."

Colophons: The colophon does not contain any information about binding and its translation is not relevant here. The colophon is available on the website of National Library of Armenia.



Cat. Fig. 5 Bucharest, Archangels Michael and Gabriel Armenian church, no N/A.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1797.

Physical description: The silver binding was added to the original leather cover of a Gospel reprinted in Asdvadzadur's press in Constantinople in 1797. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book. The spine consists of intertwined chains.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan used *repousse* and carving techniques. The Christ Enthroned is on the front and the Crucifixion on the back.

Inscriptions: Back cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (INRI).

Title page of the Gospel: "published [...] in Constantinople in the year 1796. The Armenian era Թ Մ Կ Ի Ե (1245+551=1796). In the printing press of the late Asdvadzadur." In 1797, the 1796 Gospel was reprinted in the same printing press. The reprinted version is identical to the previous version, except from the word "the late" in the title page and the sentence "In the year

1797 and Armenian era Ռ Մ ԿԻ Շ (1246+551=1797, March A (1))” added to the original colophon on page 363.

Colophons: The colophon does not contain any information about binding so its translation is not relevant here. The colophon is available on the website of the National Library of Armenia.



Cat. Fig. 6 Etchmiadzin, Cathedral Museum, no 879. Patron: Babayean Mahdesi Garabed.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1797.

Physical description: According to the inscription on the front plaque, the silver binding was added in 1798 to the original leather cover of a Gospel reprinted in Asdvadzadur's press in Constantinople in 1797. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book, the spine of six paired chains, and clasps, which are now missing. According to Armen Makhasyan the binding had two hand-shaped clasps.¹³⁶

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique and carving to make the ornaments on figures' clothes, inscriptions, and the background of compositions. The Holy Trinity of New Testament is on the front and the Adoration of the Magi is on the back.

¹³⁶[Armen Makhasyan] Մը ւ է ն Մալ խաւ յ աւն , “Metal Book Bindings of the Museums of Holy Mother See of Etchmiadzin,” *Etchmiadzin* (2009): 130.

Inscriptions: Front cover, inside of the Christ's halo: "Y S", "K' S" (abbreviation for Armenian Jesus Christ).

Front cover, inside of God's halo: "Ē", "D R", "A DZ" (abbreviation for Armenian Essence, God the Father).

Front cover, on the earthly sphere between Christ and God: "For Babayean Mahdesi Garabed, by the hand of Master Apraham."

Front cover, under the four evangelists: "This Holy Gospel is in memory of Babayean's bride Andaram, and her husband Mahdesi Hayrabed unto Christ deceased, and his parent Sdep'an, (dedicated) to the door of Holy Etchmiadzin, by the hand of *nvirak*¹³⁷ Master Kalusd, in Թ Մ KH Ē (1247+551=1798), from the great Constantinople".

Back cover, left corner on the roller: "Here the Virgin will conceive and give a birth to a son and he will be called Emmanuel."¹³⁸

Back cover, the line of text on under the upper edge of the binding: "The angels descending from sky were singing: Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favors."¹³⁹

Colophons: Page 363: "Colophon on the Creation of my holy Gospel. In the name of supreme Holy Trinity and a single God the Father and God the Son and Holy Spirit and by the pleading of Saint and ever Virgin Mariam Mother of God, now here my printing of Holy Gospel is done, which is according to the holy evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Therefore, with endless glory and blessing gratification be worshiped in the highest heaven the humane, merciful and gracious God, the Creator of everything existing from nothing. In the year 1797 and Armenian Թ Մ KH Z, March A (1). During the reign of Ghugas (Luke) of Saint Etchmiadzin's supreme and sacred Catholicos of all Armenians,"

¹³⁷ *Nvirak*: position in the Armenian Apostolic church, whose duty was to collect gifts for Etchmiadzin from different churches in the territory of Armenia Proper as well as communities.

¹³⁸ Isaiah 7:14.

¹³⁹ Luke 2:14.

Continuing on page 364: “and Bedros (Peter) Patriarch of Jerusalem and Zak’aria patriot and renovator Patriarch of Constantinople. In the memory of easterner baba’s (Babayean?) son *mahdesi* Garaped and all his deceased [...]”¹⁴⁰ No one has the right to buy or sell as my colophon was printed for free. Once meet (i.e. read the text), remember in your pure prayer, so with my Gospel will give God peace and paradise to the deceased and abundance of sun to the living. Those who will remember (in their prayers) remember also in the name of Jesus Christ our Savior, Amen.”

¹⁴⁰ The long line of the patron’s deceased ancestors inserted here is unnecessary for the analysis, so it is omitted from the translation of the colophon.



Cat. Fig. 7 Etchmiadzin, Cathedral Museum, no 883. Recipient: Srpuhi.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1732.

Physical description: According to the inscription the silver binding was added to the 1732 Gospel's cover in 1804. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book, spine of three intertwined chains and two clasps which are in shape of hands.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique and carving to make the figures' clothes, inscriptions, and background of compositions. The Crucifixion is on the front and the Resurrection is on the back cover.

Inscriptions: Front cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (INRI).

Both covers, starting under the Crucifixion scene, ending under the Resurrection: “This holy Gospel is in memory of Apraham's daughter Srpwhi, who [ED DR PAESZĚDYI]¹⁴¹ Der Vartan priest, in Թ Մ Ը Զ Կ (1253+551=1804) year.

Colophons: Page 2: “In the year Թ Մ Լ Ե (1231+551=1782) January Ի (20) Ի, P'ap'azoghli Mgrdich', wrote, so the *bey*¹⁴² make (it?) mine. Whoever reads say with Ե (1=one) voice may God bring joy to the announcers and may God lead, Amen.”

¹⁴¹ This part of the inscription is illegible, the letters are transliterated here as they appear on the binding.

¹⁴² *Bey* is a Turkish military and administrative title.



Cat. Fig. 8 Antelias, Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, no 15P (74)/202. Recipient: Father Garabed.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1796.

Physical description: According to the inscription on an identical binding from the Istanbul Patriarchate's collection the silver binding in 1807 was added to the original cover of the Gospel printed in Asdvadzadur's press in Constantinople. In both cases the book inside the binding is this 1796 Gospel. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques attached to both sides of the Gospel book, solid silver spine and two clasps which are missing on both bindings.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique and carving to make the figures' clothes, inscriptions, and the background. The Crucifixion is of the front cover and the Resurrection is on the back.

Inscriptions: Front cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (INRI).

Spine of the binding: “This holy Gospel is a memento from Father Garabed Bolsets’i (of Bolis=Constantinople), the servant of the Holy Grave to the door of Saint Garabed (church) in the year Թ Մ ԺԶ Չ (1256+551=1807).

Colophons: The colophon does not contain any information about binding so it is not relevant here. The colophon is available on the website of the National Library of Armenia.



Cat. Fig. 9 Etchmiadzin, Treasury Museum, no 156. Recipients: Mariam, Katerine, Eva.

Book: Printed Gospel, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1805.

Physical description: According to the inscription on the binding, it was added in 1820 to the original cover of the Gospel printed in Constantinople in 1805. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the Gospel book, solid silver spine and two hand-shaped clasps.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique and carving to make the figures' clothes, inscriptions, and the background, as well as incision for the frame decoration. The Crucifixion is on the front cover and the Resurrection is on the back.

Inscriptions: Front cover, on the titulus of the cross: "YNT'H" (INRI).

Front cover, under the Crucifixion scene: "(This) is in memory of Mariam, the wife of Tavit Agha from Filibe, of Gadarinē, the wife of T'akawor Agha, and of Ewa, the wife of Mirijan

Agha, who gifted this Saint Gospel to the Holy Chair of Echmiadzin, in the year Թ Մ Գ Դ
(1269+551=1820).”

Colophons of the Gospel: None.



Cat. Fig. 10 Vienna, Mekhitarist Congregation, no N/A.

Book: Psalms of David, ink on paper, Constantinople, 1827.

Physical description: The binding was added to the original velvet cover of the Psalms of David printed in Constantinople in 1827. The silver binding consists of two rectangular plaques nailed on both sides of the book, it does not have a silver spine or clasps. Most probably the binding used to decorate another book and was added to this one later, which is suggested by the fact that the binding does not match the theme of the book and it is visibly smaller than the original velvet cover. This, however, does not mean that the binding was created later than the printed book. The crack on the right lower side of the front plaque also suggests that it was removed from another book.

Applied metalworking techniques: The artisan mainly used *repousse* technique and carving to make the figures' clothes, inscriptions, and the background. The Holy Trinity of New Testament is on the front cover and the Dream of Krikor of Nareg and his three miracles are on the back.

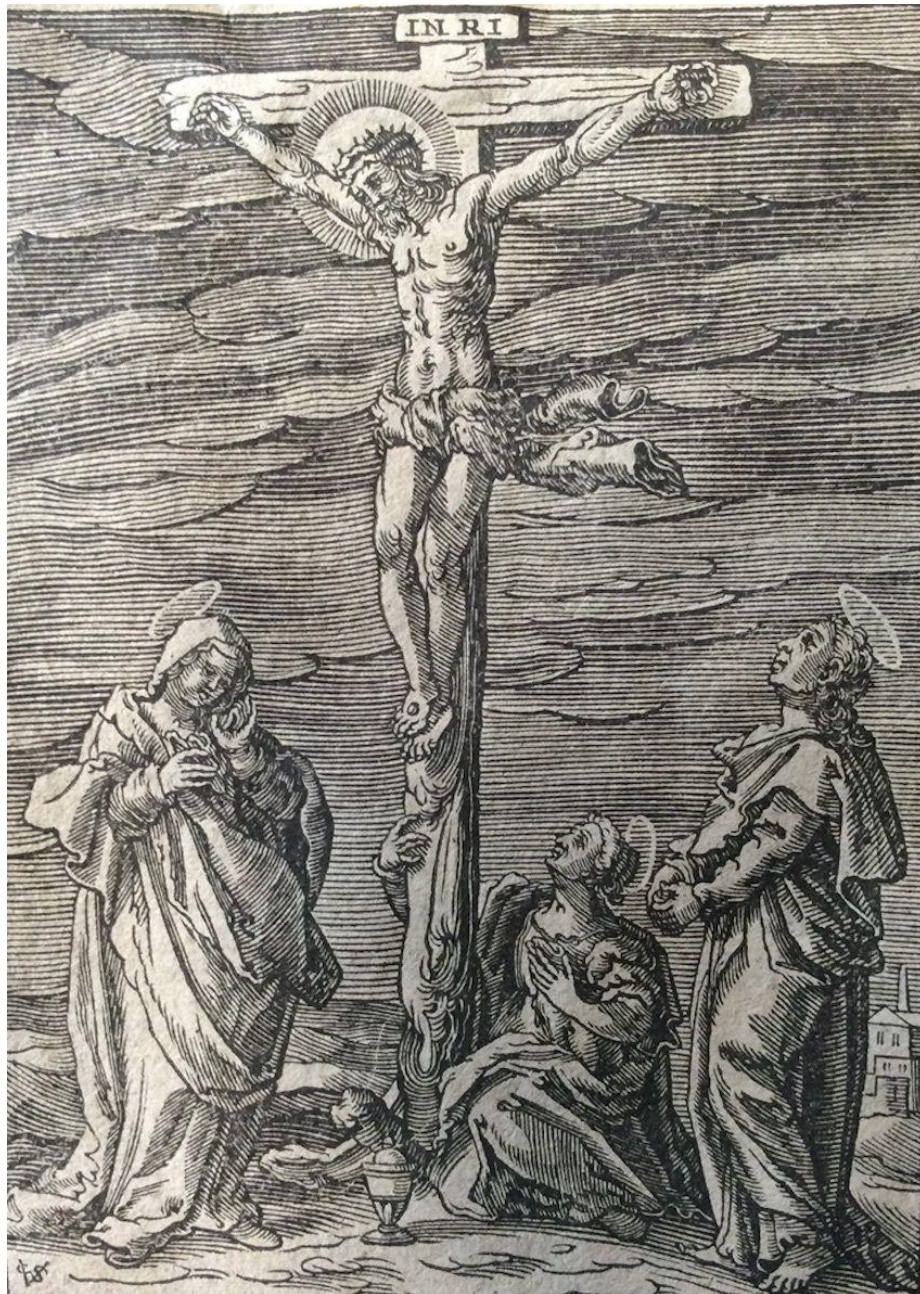
Inscriptions: None.

Colophon of the Books: None.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Ill. 1. *Arma Christi*, engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, *t Schat der zielen*, 1648.



Ill. 2. Crucifixion, engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, *Biblia Sacra*, 1646.



Ill. 3. Crucifixion and Baptism, engraving by Gregory of Marzvan, *ca.* 1706.



Ill. 4. Crucifixion, miniature by Yakop, 1676-7.



Ill. 5. Annunciation, engraving by Gregory of Marzvan, *Synaxary*, 1706.



Ill. 7. Resurrection, miniature Yakop, 1676-7.

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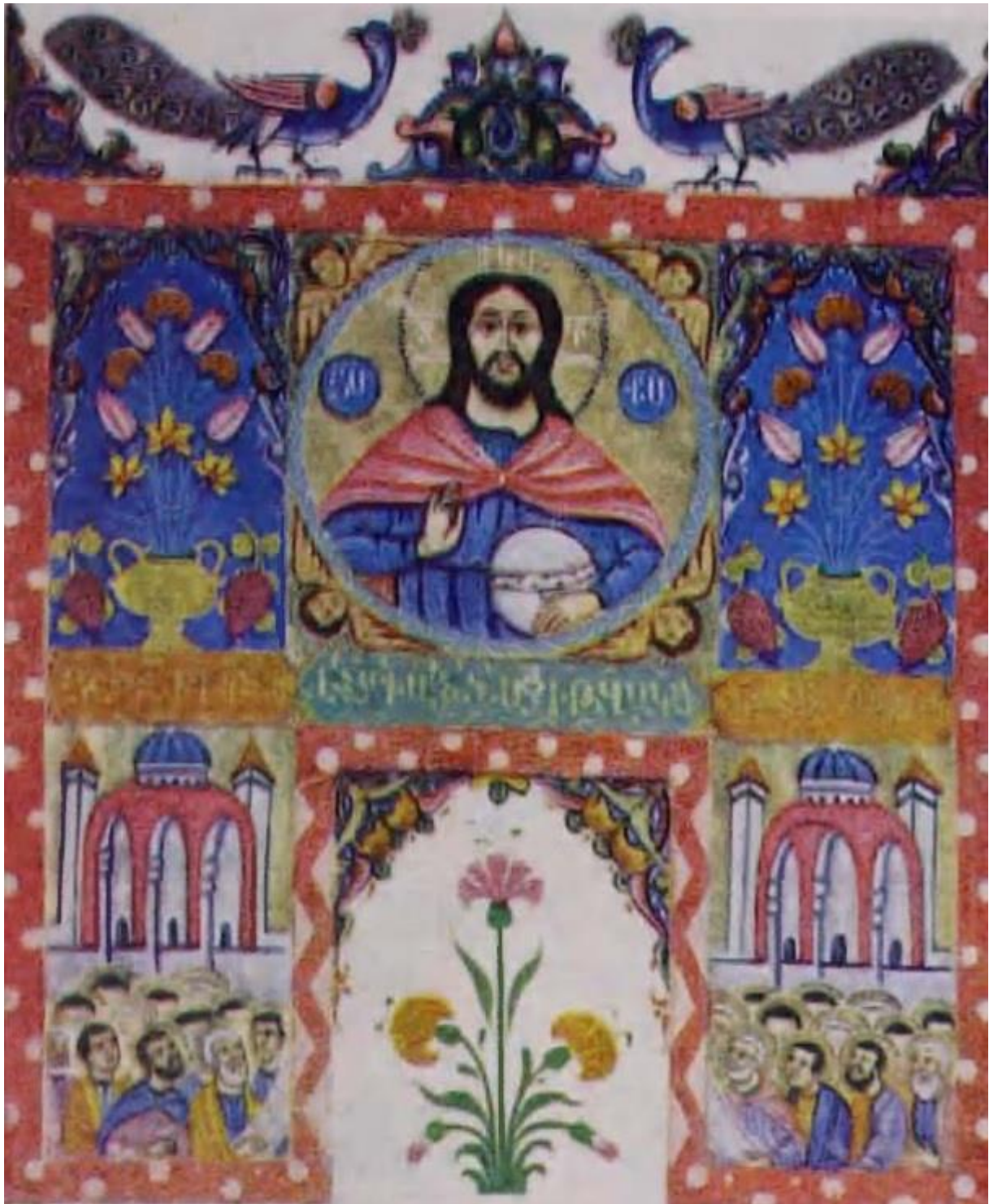
Ill. 9. Virgin with Child, engraving by unknown artist, *Exegesis of Gregory of Nareg*, 1745.



Ill. 10. Last Judgment, miniature T'oros Roslin, Gospel of Malat'ia, 1268.



Ill. 11. Christ Blessing, engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, *t Schat der zielen*, 1648.



Ill. 12. Christ Enthroned, miniature by Margos, *Bible*, 1654-60.



Ill. 13. Four evangelists, miniature by unknown artist, *Gospel*, 1018.



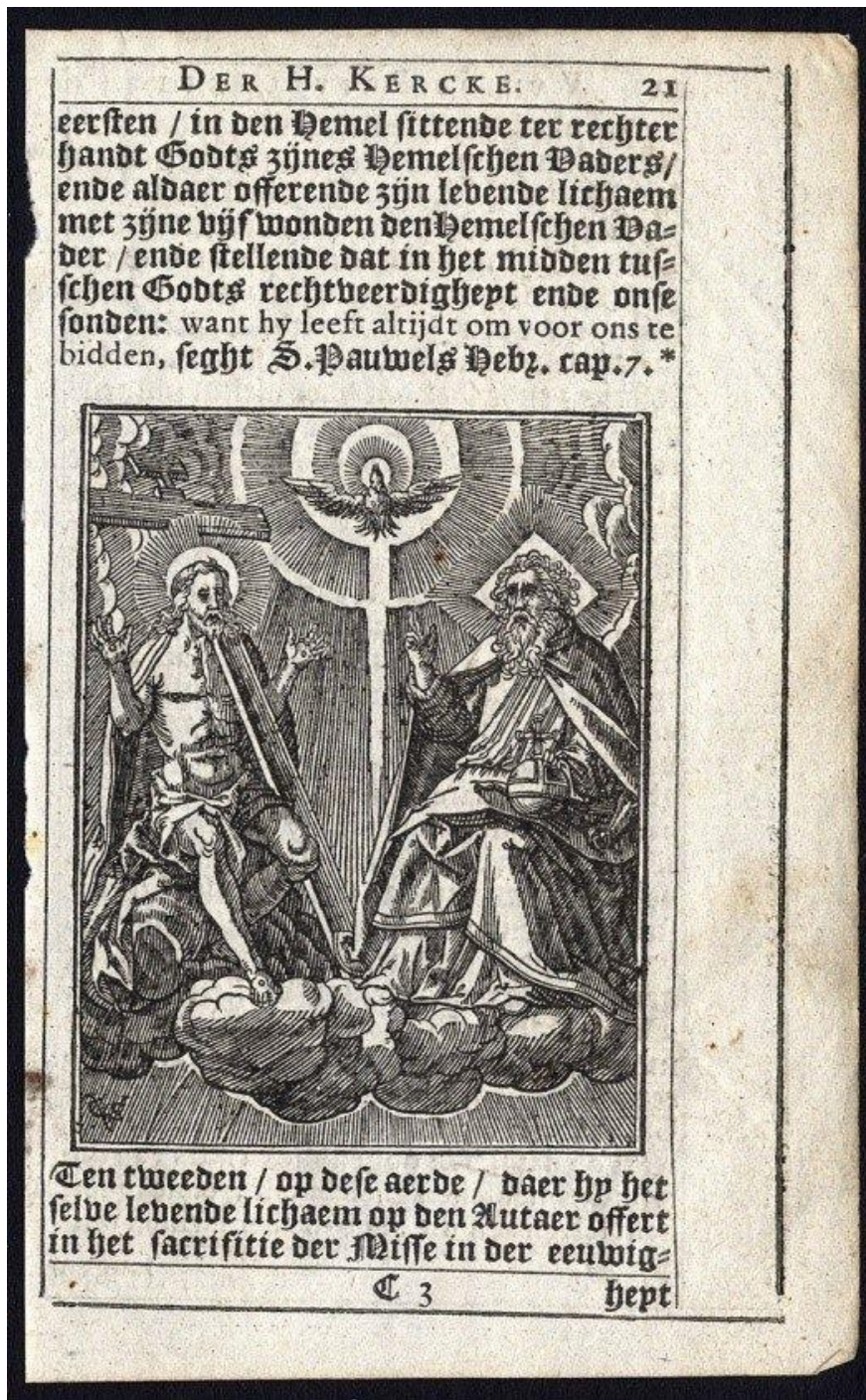
Ill. 14. Four evangelists, miniature by unknown artist, *Gospel*, 1041.



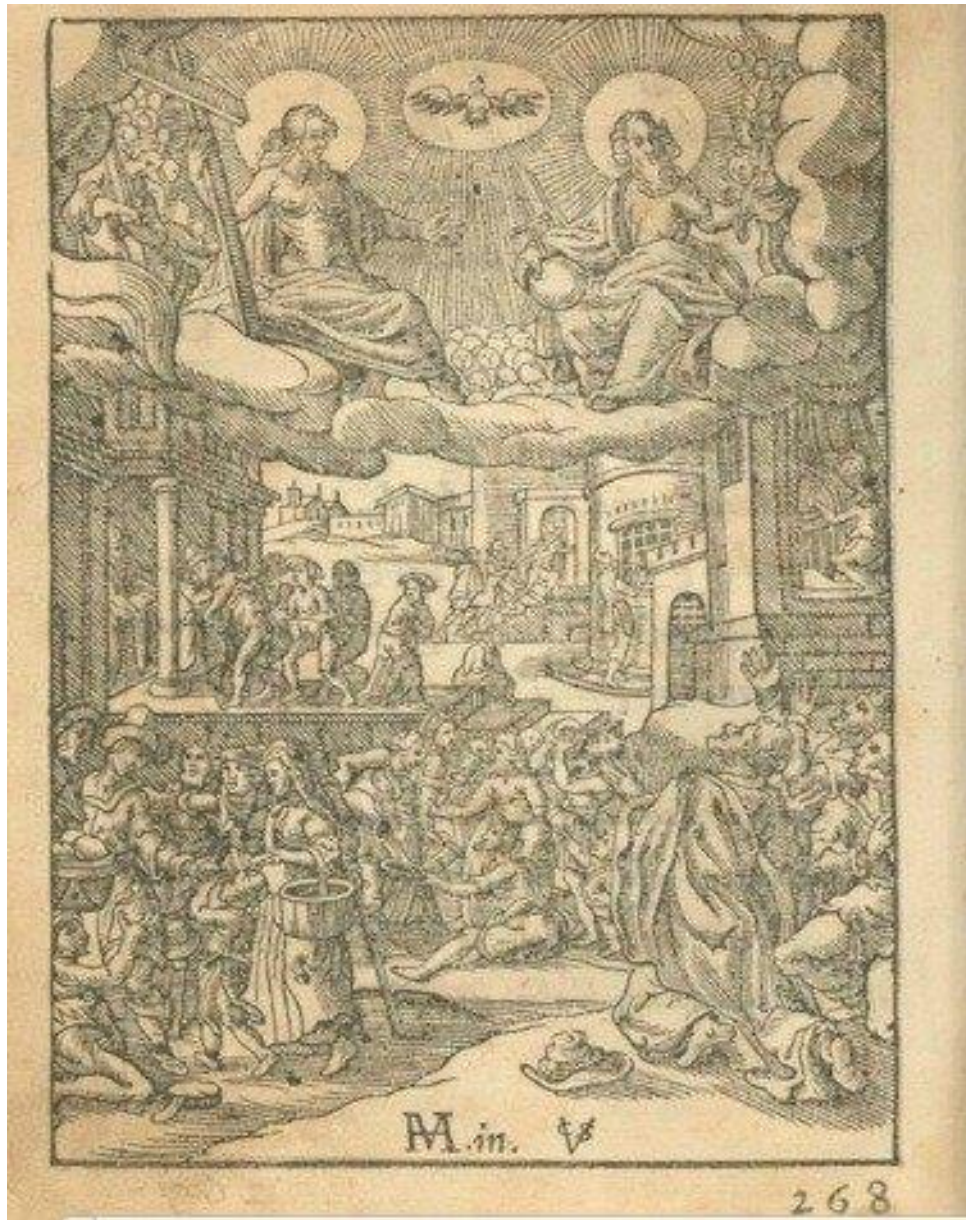
Ill. 15. Holy Trinity, miniature by unknown artist, *Four Gospel*, 1651.



Ill. 16. Holy Trinity, Kayseri workshop, 1653.



Ill. 17. Holy Trinity, engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, *Biblia Sacra*, 1657.



Ill. 18. Holy Trinity, engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, *Jesus the Son*, 1660-1.



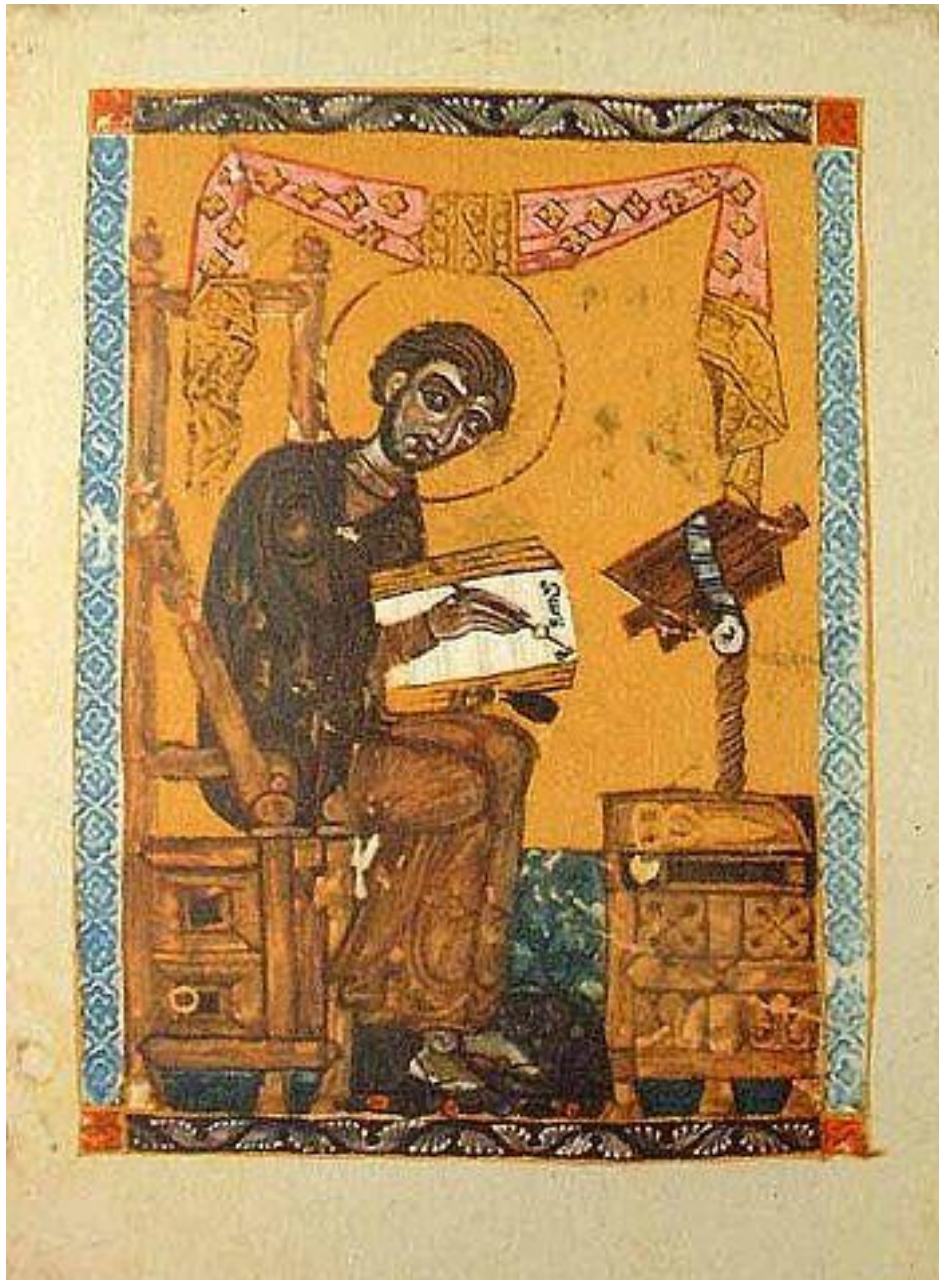
Ill. 19. Holy Trinity, engraving by Gregory of Marzvan?, *Hma'il*.



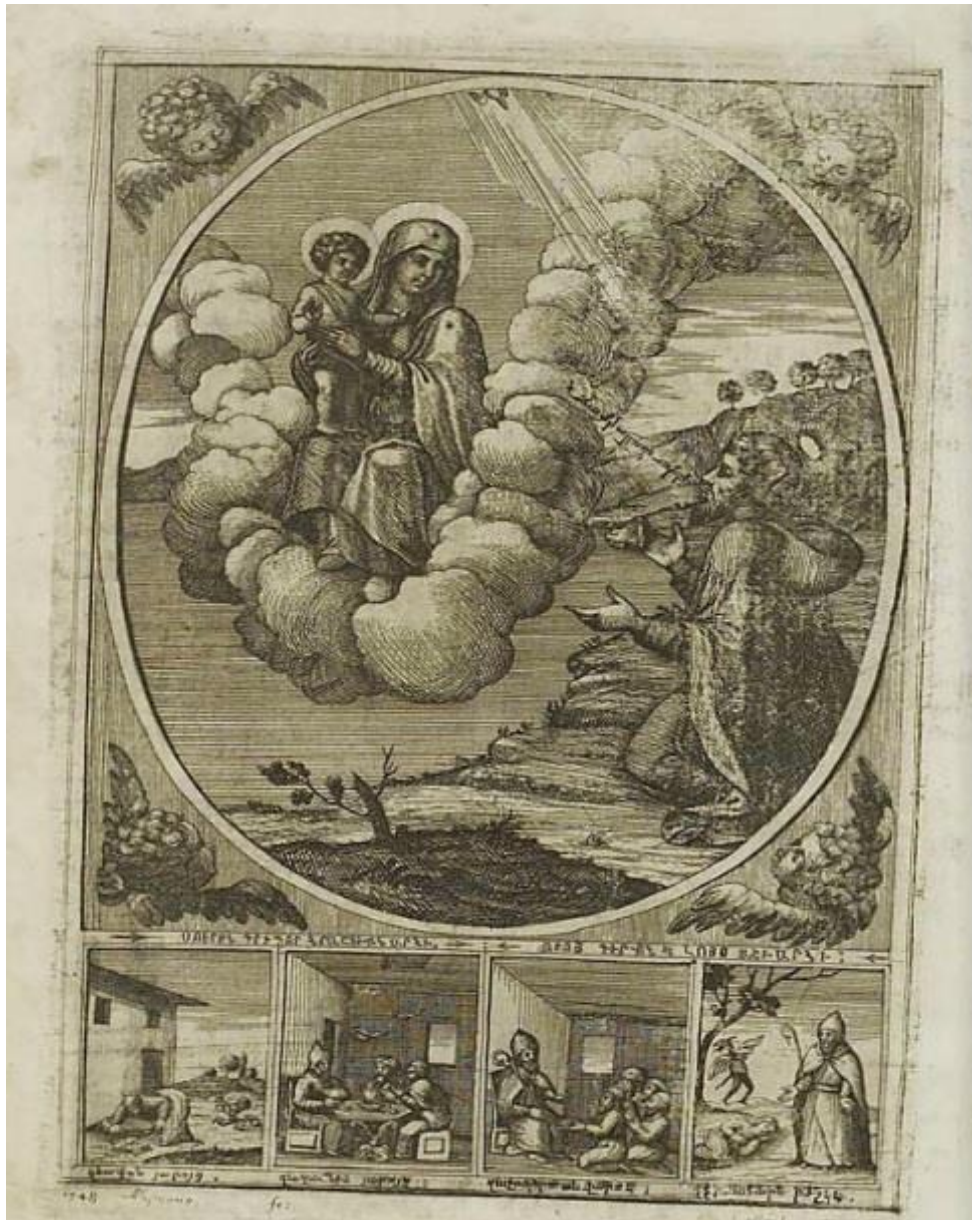
Ill. 20. Adoration of Magi, engraving by Gregory of Marzvan, *ca.* 1706.



Ill. 21. Gregory of Nareg, miniature by Krikor Mlijets'i, *Book of Lamentations*, 1173.



Ill. 22. Gregory of Nareg, miniature by Krikor Mlijets'i, *Book of Lamentations*, 1173.



Ill. 23. Dream of Nareg, engraving by unknown artist, *Exegesis of Gregory of Nareg*, 1745.