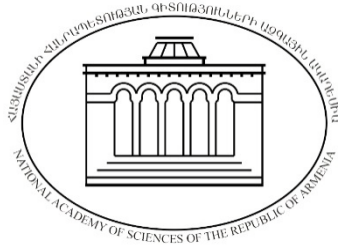


**ԲԱՆԲԵՐ Հ ԱՅԱԳԻ Տ ՈՒ ԹՅԱՆ**  
**REVIEW OF ARMENIAN STUDIES**  
**ВЕСТНИК АРМЕНОВЕДЕНИЯ**



**ՀԱՅԱԳԻ Տ Ա Կ Ա Ն Մ Ի Ջ Ա Ջ Գ Ա Յ Ի Ն Հ Ա Ն Դ Ե Ս**

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# THE REFLECTION OF ARMENIAN-CHALCEDONIAN TRADITIONS ON THE FRESCOS OF ST. GREGORY CHURCH (TIGRAN HONENTS) OF ANI

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St. Gregory (Grigor) Church of Ani, which is better known as Tigran Honents, is decorated with frescos and is the only monument in the historical capital of Armenia whose wall paintings have been preserved in a relatively good condition

The frescos at Tigran Honents are of great interest from historical and confessional perspectives. Besides being considered as Armenian-Chalcedonian these frescos have been regarded as as Georgian. Our aim is to dwell upon the confessional peculiarities of the frescos and show their reflection in the murals which ground the fact that the frescos of St. Gregory Church have been painted by Chalcedonian Armenians.

The monument was built during the second period of flourishing of Ani under the reign of Zakarian brothers on the Eastern slope of the gorge being a part of the monastery complex<sup>1</sup>. The monument was commissioned by a wealthy citizen of Ani – Tigran Honents, who, as the large inscription on the Southern facade claims, finished the construction in 1215 and presented it to the founder of the Armenian church St. Gregory<sup>2</sup>.

St. Gregory church became widely known among public since the archaeological excavations of Nikolaos Marr in Ani, and the scholar was the first to describe the monument as Armenian-Chalcedonian, particularly considering the frescos, as well as the church and the commissioner as Chalcedonian<sup>3</sup>. Many scholars have shared his opinion<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, the further examination of the inscription on the building by Paruyr Muradyan allowed to find out that initially St. Gregory was built as an Armenian Apostolic Church<sup>5</sup> and only later was handed to the Chalcedonians, therefore its commissioner, Tigran Honents, was

<sup>1</sup> **Март Н.Я.** Ани, Л.-М., 1934, с. 85–86; **Орбели И.А.** Избранные труды, Е., 1963, с. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Գրիգորի եկեղեցու վերականգնման և պահպանման մասին հարցազրույցի հիմամբ, Անիի ֆադմա (Կազմ. Ն.Ա. Օրբելի), Ե., 1966, էջ 62–63 (23/188):

<sup>3</sup> **Март Н.Я.** Ани, с. 85–86; **Март Н.Я.** Аркаун, монгольское название христиан в связи с вопросом об армянах-халкидонитах. Кавказский культурный мир и Армения (под ред. П.М. Мурадяна), Е., 1995, с. 248.

<sup>4</sup> **Орбели И.А.**, op.cit., p. 12, 126; **Амираншвили Ш.Я.** История грузинского искусства, М., 1963, с. 114 et al.

<sup>5</sup> **Мурадян П.М.**, Строительство и конфессия церкви Тиграна Оненца по памятникам эпиграфики, «Պատմաբանասիրական հանդես» (hereinafter: ՊԲՀ), 1985, № 4, էջ 174–190; **Мурадян П.М.** Проблема конфессиональной ориентации церкви Оненца (краткий анализ источников и литературы). (Кавказ и Византия, 1987, № 5, с. 36–81).

also a follower of the national church and was well known as a constructor or renovator of other Apostolic churches (St. Hripsime of the Kusanants monastery, Cathedral of Ani, Bekhents monastery)<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately, the inscription gives no detail how the church passed to the Chalcedonians, however, the fact is obvious from its inner decorations as well as the construction of the columned porch and the chapel of the west side (these were not planned initially). Besides that the frescos were created when the church had already passed to the Chalcedonians. This fact is accepted both by historians and art scholars, and there is only some disagreement regarding the date when the frescos were created.

Summing up the opinions regarding the dating of the frescos, it should be mentioned that some of the scholars consider that the frescos of the church were created right after the construction of the church from 1215 to 1220 while the murals of the porch and the chapel were made in the second quarter of the century until 1250s (N. Okunev, N. Sichov, D. Gordeyev, V. Lazarev, L. Durnovo, S. Ter Nersesian, N. Thierry, A. Kakovkin<sup>7</sup>). As another opinion claims, the decoration of the church was carried out in 1250s and afterwards successively, the porch and the chapel (T. Toramanyan, P. Muradyan, A. Lidov<sup>8</sup>).

The fact that frescos of St. Gregory Church of Ani were created by Armenian-Chalcedonians is first of all established due to Georgian and partly Greek inscriptions<sup>9</sup>. It is known that Armenian-Chalcedonians being subject to Byzantine and later to Georgian Orthodox church used Georgian and Greek inscriptions from the confessional point of view, so the inscriptions were bilingual

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<sup>6</sup> **Mahé J.-P.**, Le testament de Tigran Honenc': la fortune d'un marchand arménien d'Ani aux XIIIe–XIIIe siècles, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 145<sup>e</sup> année, 2001, N. 3, p. 1320.

<sup>7</sup> **Окунев Н.** Город Ани, «Старые годы» (октябрь), СПб., 1912, с. 11; **Сычев Н.П.** Анийская церковь, раскопанная в 1892 г. (Христианский Восток, т. 1, вып. 2, СПб., 1912, с. 219); **Гордеев Д.П.** Отчет о поездке в Ахалцихский уезд в 1917 году. Росписи в Чуле, Сапаре и Зарзме, «Известия Кавказского историко-археологического института в Тифлисе» (hereinafter: ИКИАИТ), т. 1, Петроград, 1923, с. 9; **Лазарев В.Н.** История византийской живописи, т. 1, М., 1986, с. 145; **Дурново Л.А.** Очерки изобразительного искусства средневековой Армении, М., 1979, с. 152; **Der-Nersessian S.**, L'art Armenien (reprint). Paris, 1989. P. 164–165; **Thierry N. et M.**, L'Église Saint-Grégoire de Tigran Honenc' (1215), E.P.H.E., Ve Section Archéologies I, Louvain-Paris, 1993, p. 103–108; **Каковкин А.Я.** О датировке росписей храма св. Григория в Ани, его часовни и прит-вора (Византийский временник, 1987, т. 48, с. 108–115).

<sup>8</sup> **Թորամանյան Թ.**, Նյութեր հայկական ֆրեսկոսրապետության պատմության, Աստուծոյ ունեցիկի ճանաչման Ա, Ե., 1942, էջ 159–163; **Lidov A.**, The Mural Paintings of Akhtala, Moscow, 1991, p. 5–6; **Мурадян П.М.** Строительство и конфессия..., с. 181–182; **Мурадян П.М.** Проблема конфессиональной ориентации..., с. 54, 56; **Лидов А.М.** Росписи монастыря Ахтала, История, иконография, мастера, М., 2014, с. 19.

<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions of frescos were read and translated by N. Marr, N. Sichov, D. Gordeyev, P. Muradyan. There are also records of Armenian inscriptions in the frescos of the church and the porch, a fact which today, is unfortunately impossible either to admit or deny, See **Texier Ch.**, Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie, Paris, 1842, p. 98.



or trilingual<sup>10</sup>. This question has been addressed quite a lot in different studies devoted to Armenian-Chalcedonians<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, for those scholars who were almost unaware of the confessional belonging of the monument and particularly for those who had been involved only in the artistic examination of frescos, the Georgian inscriptions were a reason for considering the monument to be Georgian. It should also be added that not only the usage of the Georgian language but also the term “Georgian” (and its counterpart “Gurji”, Georgian in Turkish) in Middle Age Armenia and its neighboring territories which were populated by Armenians, had a confessional meaning and was applied to identify the Armenian-Chalcedonians and their monuments<sup>12</sup>.

The frescos of St. Gregory should be considered Armenian-Chalcedonian, especially given the fact that from the beginning until the third quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century there were more monuments with such bilingual inscriptions (Akhtala, Haghat). The process of confessional revision of monuments during centuries which consequently results in the choice of the language of inscriptions is obvious in the case of another church of Ani – St. Minas, which was mentioned by N. Marr. Here N. Marr recorded two layers of frescos where under the plaster of the first one (dated to 1013) the scholar read a passage in Armenian, and on the upper layer the scholar found Georgian script on the scroll in Daniel's hand<sup>13</sup>.

Speaking about the combination of different languages, it should be mentioned that there are no multilingual inscriptions in Georgia except for the Armenian-Chalcedonian monuments there, since the Georgian church is homogeneous in its sense. Whereas in Armenia where, in fact, there were both

<sup>10</sup> E.g. the frescos of the church N: 7 of Sabereebe (X c.), Adrianapolis Gospls (N: 887, St. Lasar, Venice, 1007), Khachen Gospls (N: 949, University of Chicago, beginning of XIII c.).

<sup>11</sup> **Марр Н.Я.** Надпись Епифания, католикоса Грузии (из раскопок в Ани 1910 г.), «Известия Императорской академии наук» (hereinafter: ИИАИ), 1910, с. 1440–1441; **Марр Н.Я.** Аркаун, монгольское название христиан..., с. 227–231; **Մանուկյան Պ.Մ.**, Հայաստանի վրացերեն արձանագրությունները, Ե., 1977; **Շանդրազուհյան Վ., Բարբիկյան Հ.**, Հունահայկական արձանագրությունները և վրացերենի հետ կապը, ՊԲՀ, 1991, № 1, էջ 122–128; **Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А.** «Повествование о делах армянских» (VII в.) и «Типик Григория Пакуриана» (XI в.): греческий язык армяно-халкидонитских памятников («Вестник Православный Свято-Тихоновский гуманитарный университет» (hereinafter: ПСТГУ), III, Филология, 2014, вып. 5 (40), с. 9–21); **Лидов А.М.** Росписи Ахталы и искусство армян-халкидонитов. Из истории Древнего мира и Средневековья, М., 1987, с. 121–136; **Հակոբյան Զ.**, Դավիթ-Պարեջի. Մերերեքի վանքի հայագիտական հետազոտությունները (X դ.), Բնագիտական հայագիտություն, 2013, № 2–3, էջ 150–151:

<sup>12</sup> A case in point is the “Georgian” church of Ani (in fact the name is not known), the conventional name of which (adopted by N. Marr as a working version) shows that it is an Armenian-Chalcedonian building. It is proved by the lengthy inscription in Georgian on the Southern wall with a message from the Georgian Catholicos which ends with a line in Armenian. See **Марр Н.Я.** Надпись Епифания..., с. 1433; **Марр Н.Я.** Ани, таб. XLII; **Մանուկյան Պ.Մ.**, Հայաստանի վրացերեն ..., էջ 35–37:

<sup>13</sup> **Մանուկյան Պ.Մ.**, Հայաստանի վրացերեն ..., էջ 61–62:

### The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions...

communities – Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic, the language is a kind of a marker<sup>14</sup>. If Armenian inscriptions in the frescos are proof that they belong to the national church (Holy Cross of Ahtamar 915–921, Bakhtaghek XIII c.), the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions testify their Armenian-Chalcedonian origin. As A. Lidov mentioned, in Armenia in XIII century, the Georgian and Greek inscriptions should be regarded as features of confessional rather than national belonging<sup>15</sup>. It is also grounded by the fact, that XIII century was a new period of flourishing of the Armenian-Chalcedonian community.

The confessional relevance of the frescos is also decided taking into account a range of iconographic specifics. In the context of the church decoration the apse and the dome as the more sacred parts are of primary importance. So their decoration more than any part of the church is conditioned by the liturgical tradition and correspondence to the iconographic canon.

On the dome of St. Gregory church there is “Ascension of Christ” where the Savior raised up by four flying angels<sup>16</sup> is sitting on a rainbow. This scene in Eastern Christian tradition was initially placed in the conch of the apse and after iconoclasm was moved to the dome. Here Christ is represented in the composition of “Pantocrator”<sup>17</sup>. Usually the XI–XIII century Byzantine and its adjacent Orthodox churches follow this rule. We see the reflection of this iconography in XIII century Armenian-Chalcedonian churches – St. Gregory of Ani and Kirants (30–40s of XIII c.)<sup>18</sup>. We can not know what the composition of other Armenian churches was since their domes have not survived but since the paintings of neighboring Georgia are available and in that sense their composition is different from those of Byzantine, the few Armenian samples are sufficient to prove that the scene of “Ascension” was typical of XIII century Armenian-Chalcedonian monuments as they exclusively followed the Byzantine iconographic rule.

In the Georgian frescos of the period under question, it's not Christ depicted on the dome but the “Ascension of the Cross” (Ikorta, about 1172; Vardzia, 1184–1186; Udabno, the end of XII c.; Bertubani, about 1212, two in Davit-Gareji; Kintsvisi and Timotesubani, both in the first quarter of XIII c.<sup>19</sup>).

<sup>14</sup> **Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А.** Армяне-халкидониты. Терминология (Вестник ПСТГУ, III. Филология, 2013, вып. 5 (35), с. 9–20).

<sup>15</sup> **Лидов А.М.** Искусство армян-халкидонитов, ИФЖ, 1990, № 1, с. 77.

<sup>16</sup> **Thierry N. et M.**, L'église Saint-Grégoire..., p. 24–25; **Каковкин А.Я.** О датировке рос-писей..., с. 110.

<sup>17</sup> **Лазарев В.Н.** Система живописной декорации византийского храма IX–XI веков; **Лазарев В.Н.** Византийская живопись, М., 1971, с. 98–99; **Лазарев В.Н.** История..., с. 63.

<sup>18</sup> **Дурново Л.А.** Фрески монастыря Киранц. Материалы из архива Л.А. Дурново, Е., 1990, с. 8. It should be mentioned that due to the collapse of dome in Akhtala the composition of the dome is unknown to us, and the church of Kobayr is a basilica without a dome.

<sup>19</sup> **Чубинашвили Г.Н.** Пещерные монастыри Давид-Гареджи. Очерк по истории искусства Грузии, Тбилиси, 1948, с. 78–79; **Вирсаладзе Т.** Основные этапы развития

These two themes – Ascension of Christ and Ascension of Cross – are undoubtedly identical as far as their significance and symbolic value are concerned, whereas iconographically they bring out different traditions and application of different iconographic schemes.

Thus, it can be claimed reference to the Byzantine rule was more commonplace in Georgian frescoes which can probably be explained by another, earlier tradition of the region. In this sense, the fresco of New Church in Tokali in Cappadocia (50s of X century)<sup>20</sup> or the similar compositions<sup>21</sup> of X–XI centuries of Tayk (Ishkhan, Khakhu<sup>22</sup>) are of significance.

In this regard, it is clear why in her research on frescos of Kirants N. Thierry attempted to restore the composition as “Ascension of the Cross” proceeding from the samples of Tayk<sup>23</sup> and those of Georgia which essentially differs from the scheme of “Ascension of Christ”<sup>24</sup> put forward by L. Durnovo with the scene. Taking into account the difference of iconographic compositions of domes between XIII century Georgian and Armenian-Chalcedonian churches in the context of Orthodox tradition, it should be concluded that for Armenian-Chalcedonians the Byzantine iconographic scheme was of significance and played the role of a marker. The latter was carried out more consistently in Armenia since there were two communities whereas in Georgia there was no such “must”.

The next iconographic depiction is the scene of “The Eucharist” peculiar to Armenian-Chalcedonians. According to the Byzantine iconography it considered one of the most important topics related to Orthodox liturgy. This is the very composition that we see in St. Gregory church of Ani as well as in other

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грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи, II Международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству [отдельный оттиск], Тбилиси, 1977, с. 9; **Привалова Е.** Роспись Тимотесубани. Исследование по истории грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи, Тбилиси, 1980, с. 16; **Velmans T.**, La koinè grecque..., с. 685–700.

<sup>20</sup> **Thierry N.**, La Cappadoce de L'antiquité au Moyen Age. Brepols, 2002, p. 171, pl. 83.

<sup>21</sup> **Thierry N. et M.**, Peintures du Xe siècle en Géorgie méridionale et leurs rapports avec la peinture byzantine d'Asie Mineure, Cahiers archéologiques, 1975, vol. 24, p. 96–98.

<sup>22</sup> The usage in sculptures from VII–XI cc. of the “Ascension of Cross” may testify of the wide spread the composition in Transcaucasus (Jvari of Mtskheta, Ptghni). And according to the researchers, initially there was an image of the Cross in the domes of Ateni Sion (10–11<sup>th</sup> cc.) and the Holy Cross of Aghtamar (915–921). See **Дурново Л.А.** Очерки..., с. 149; **Амираншвили Ш.Я.** История..., с. 160.

<sup>23</sup> **Тьерри Н.** Росписи церкви Киранца, 4-ый Международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству [отдельный оттиск], Тбилиси, 1983, с. 2–3; **Thierry N.**, A propos de l'église de Kiranc: Rapport préliminaire, Bedi Kartlisa, Revue de Kartvélogie, Paris, 1983, v. 41, p. 194–228.

<sup>24</sup> L. Durnovo's notes and sketches on deciphering this composition are grounded since the scholar had a chance to research the frescos in earlier period 1943 and 1957 in a better condition.

Armenian-Chalcedonian frescos of Akhtala, Haghbat, Kobayr, Kirants<sup>25</sup>. “The Eucharist” highlights the depiction of its confessional belonging.

In the “Eucharist” the central position is occupied by the altar and the Tempietto, Christ is represented twice, the apostle’s come up to Him and receive communion. This iconography has been affirmed as an obligatory composition of the Byzantine church, especially in Orthodox countries adherent to Byzantium. Unfortunately, in this case too it is impossible to draw comparisons with the Armenian samples<sup>26</sup> of the same age or earlier periods as it has been mentioned the latter have been badly preserved.

At the same time, the study of XIII century Georgian frescos shows that as in the case of the previous scene of “Ascention of Christ” here too there is some “deviation” from the Byzantine iconography. If in XIII century Armenian-Chalcedonian frescos of Akhtala, St. Gregory of Ani, the Holy Cross of Haghbat, Kirants as well as in two churches of Kobayr the “Eucharist” is depicted in the central part of the apse, in regard to Georgian monuments of the same period it can be said that the composition is missing<sup>27</sup> or if it is presented then with considerable deviation. In this respect both St. Nicholas and Holy Virgin churches (first half of XIII c.) in Kintsvisi are unique.

In the first one the scene of “Eucharist” is divided into two parts and is “shifted” toward the side of the apse yielding its place to the figures of St. Nicholas and St. Selbestros of Rome<sup>28</sup>, while in the church of Holy Virgin this setup is complemented with the image of Christ carrying the cross and with the scenes of miracles of Christ<sup>29</sup>, which is rare<sup>30</sup>. In the mentioned frescos, the combination

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<sup>25</sup> **Каковкин А.Я.** Роспись церкви Григория..., с. 106; **Thierry N. et M.**, L'église Saint-Grégoire..., p. 25; **Лидов А.М.** Росписи монастыря Ахтала..., с. 68–71; **Дурново Л.А.** Очерки..., с. 149, 152; **Драмлян И.Р.** Фрески Кобайра, Е., 1979, с. 9–10, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps another parallel might be drawn according to L. Durnovo. In the apse of St. Stepanos church of Kosh (second half of VII c.) the scholar saw the “Eucharist” with the double image of Christ and instead of wine and bread there was a scroll in His hand. See **Дурново Л.А.** Краткая история..., с. 11.

<sup>27</sup> **Babić G.**, Les programmes absidaux en Géorgie et dans les Balkans entre de XI et XIII siècle, L'art Georgiana dal IX al XIV secolo, Barri, 1986, p. 123–124; **Лидов А.М.** Искусство армян-халкидонитов..., с. 77.

<sup>28</sup> **Didebulidze M.**, St. Nicholas in XIII century Mural Painting of Kintsvisi Church, Georgia, Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna, VI, Firenze, 2007, p. 67–71.

<sup>29</sup> **Velmans T.**, Les fresques de l'église de la Vierge à Kincvisi. Une image unique de la Communion des Apôtres, Cahiers archéologiques, 1978, vol. 27, p. 147–161; **Velmans T.**, La peinture murale en Géorgie qui se rapproche de la règle constantinopolitaine. Le programme iconographique et le style (fin XII – deb. XIII s.), **Velmans T.**, L'art médiéval de l'Orient chrétien, Sofia, 2002, p. 175–189.

<sup>30</sup> The composition of the apse of Kintsvisi is unique especially for the cycle of the images (“Miracles of Christ”). The Chalcedonian layer of the Holy Cross church in Haghbat is contemporary to Kintsvisi and which also has Christological scenes – “Annunciation”, “Nativity”, “Presentastion of Jesus at the Temple” “Batpism” (see **Дурново Л.А.** Очерки..., с. 149, 152).

of the canonical Orthodox composition with other images as well as the split and shift from the central part of the apse testify that “Eucharist” did not have such fundamental role that was peculiar to Byzantine and Armenian-Chalcedonian frescos<sup>31</sup>. Hence in this case too it can be claimed that the “Eucharist” did not have a crucial role in Georgian monuments.

The Fathers of Eastern church are depicted in the lower part of the apse of St. Gregory church. There are ten of them, divided on two sides of the central window; there are either scrolls or codices in their hands. The names are mentioned next to the figures<sup>32</sup>. They are: Basil the Great (of Ceasaria), John Chrysostom, Peter and Athanasius of Alexandria, Nikolaos the Wonderworker, Selbestros of Rome<sup>33</sup>, Leontius of Caesaria, Gregory the Parthian (Illuminator) and also his sons Aristakes and Vrtanes.

Six of the holy Fathers are known as bishops, theologians and founders of Eastern Church, they were among the first to be canonized and are the “pillars” of Church.

The inclusion of Gregory the Illuminator among the Fathers of the Church is quite ordinary. Being the forefather and the patron saint of the Armenian church, he was also canonized within the Ecumenical Church. It happened in IX century when by the order of Potios the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Life of Gregory was included in the Byzantine Menology of Simeon Metafrast<sup>34</sup> (the veneration

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However, in contrast to Kintsvisi, in the Holy Cross of Haghbat the scenes do not distrust the established composition and are given in a separate row – below the “Eucharist”.

<sup>31</sup> **Акопян З.А.** Особенности иконографии армяно-халкидонитских памятников (X–XIII вв.), *ИИЗ*, 2009, № 2–3, с. 167–185.

<sup>32</sup> **Муравьев А.Н.** Грузия и Армения, ч. II, СПб., 1848, с. 277; **Гордеев Д.П.** Отчет о поездке в Ахалцихский уезд в 1917 году. Росписи в Чуле, Сапаре и Зарзме, ИКИАИТ, т. 1, Петроград, 1923, с. 8; **Thierry N. et M.**, *L’Église Saint-Grégoire...*, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> In Akhtala – there is another well-known Armenian-Chalcedonian monument of XIII century with the latin saints Selbestros and Clementos of Rome who are traditionally depicted in the apse of Byzantine church as well as with Ambrosios of Mediolan who was not one of the Church Fathers. Such highlight on Latin Fathers, according to A. Lidov, could be explained by the Church Union widely discussed in XII–XIII cc. and the active participation of Armenian-Chalcedonians in the discussion. See **Лидов А.М.**, *Росписи Ахталы...*, с. 82–84 (there – the appropriate bibliography).

<sup>34</sup> Patriarch Potios, one of the prominent religious leaders of Constantinople (50–80s of XI c.) gave a lot of importance to Gregory Parthian since the Early Middle Ages the veneration of the latter among Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians, Albans, Syrians and Copts contributed to contacts between Eastern Churches. That was the reason why the Illuminator’s image appeared at the same time in St. Sofia in Constantinople (see **Պէրպէրեան Հ.**, *Ս. Գրիգոր Լուսավորչի խնամակարը Այս Թափիայի մէջ*, *Անդամատան, Փարիզ*, 1958, № 8–9, էջ 113–15; **Mango C.**, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Washington, 1962, p. 95–98; **Mango C, Hawkins E J.W.**, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia in Istanbul. The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1972, vol. 28, p. 1–41; **Der Nersessian S.**, *Les portraits de Grégoire l’illuminateur dans l’art byzantine, Études byzantines et arméniennes*, t. 1, Louvain, 1973, p. 55–60) and relics of the Illuminator, St. Hripsime and St. Gayane are exposed to worship in St. Sofia (see **Ալեքանդր.**, *Գիւլամեցի խոս-*

day is the 30<sup>th</sup> of September). These events greatly contributed to the worshipping of the Illuminator and the dissemination of his image in the Orthodox world. It should be mentioned that the image of St. Gregory are better known in the Byzantine (XI to XIV cc.)<sup>35</sup> and adjacent monuments (Old Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia<sup>36</sup>, Georgia<sup>37</sup>) rather than in Medieval Armenian art<sup>38</sup>. However, referring to Vrtanes Kertogh's famous treatise "Concerning the Iconoclasts"<sup>39</sup> we can confirm that in the Early Medieval Armenian art there was a tradition of depicting the image of the Illuminator since the author speaks on the images of St. Gregory and other saints in VII century churches and that period matches with the time when the worshipping of the national saint reached its height<sup>40</sup>.

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բաց Ս. Լուսաւորչի ն է Ս. Հնիփսիսի անցի ի Կոստանդնուպօլիս, in: **Ալիսան Ա.**, Հայ ապաստան, մաս Բ, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, Վեներաբիլ, 1901, էջ 263–265; **Der Nersessian S.**, Les portraits..., p. 57) In the times of Potios the Greek version of Agathangeghos appeared.

<sup>35</sup> The image of Gregory the Illuminator, who was called Gregory the Parthian or St. Gregory of Greater Armenia can be seen in the following Byzantine monuments: the mosaics of St. Sophia of Constantinople (circa 878, fallen), of Hosios Lucas (Phocida, Greece, XI c.), the murals of Panagia Ton Chalceon (Thessaloniki, 1028), of Nerezi (Macedonia, 1164), of the Virgin Mary Church of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery Vadi-al-Natrun (circa 1200, Egypt); the mosaic of Holy Mother Pamakarista of Constantinople (Fethiye Camii, Istanbul, 1315), of the mural of the Apendikon Church of Brontochion Monastery (Mystras, Greece, first half of the XIV c.), as well as in the following manuscripts: Menologia of Basile II gr. 1613 and gr. 1156 (X c. and XI c., Vatican Library); Menologion gr. 586 (XI c., Marciana Library, Venice), two manuscripts – Barocc. 230 and gr. th. F1. (XI c. and XIV c., Biblioteca Bodleiana, Oxford). See **Der Nersessian S.** Les portraits..., p. 55–60; **Сусленков В.Е.** Григорий Просветитель. Иконография (Православная энциклопедия, т. 13, с. 45–47).

<sup>36</sup> The image of Gregory the Illuminator can be observed in such frescos as the Saviour Church on Nereditsa (1198), the Churches of Theodoros Stratilate (1361) and St. Simeon (XIV–XV cc.), the Zemen Monastery St. John the Evangelist (1354, Bulgaria), the Saviour Church of Decani Monastery (Serbia, 1335–1380). A number of Russian icons with the image of St. Gregory are also known. See **Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А.** Православные армяне в северо-восточной Руси. Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы (Материалы и исследования 1992–1993 годы М., 1995, с. 196–208); **Лазарев В.Н.** Искусство Новгорода, М.-Л., 1947, с. 36; **Каковкин А.Я.** Образ Григория Армянского в некоторых памятниках древнерусского искусства, ИФЖ, 1967, № 2, с. 167–168;

<sup>37</sup> St. Gregory's image is in Ateni Sion (fresco of X or XI cc.), in Betania, Samtavisi, Kazreti. See **Каковкин А.Я.**, О датировке ..., с. 111, примеч. 22.

<sup>38</sup> The earliest image of Gregory the Illuminator in Armenian art is known to be on the Eastern façade of Aghtamar Church, it is also known to be on the patterns of Cilician applied art.

<sup>39</sup> **Der Nersessian S.**, Une Apologie des Images du septième siècle, Études byzantines et arméniennes, t. 1, Louvain, 1973. p. 381, 392; **Քյուսեյան Հ.**, Դրվագներ հայ սրբանշարչի արվեստի անավածաբանության, Ս. էջ սիմոնի, 1995, էջ 125:

<sup>40</sup> **Март Н.Я.** Крещение армян, грузин, абхазов и аланов святым Григорием, «Записки Восточного отделения императорской Академии наук» (hereinafter: ЗВОИАН), 1905, т. 16, с. 154–155; **Мурадян П.М.** Кавказский культурный мир ..., с. 12–13; **Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А.** Повествование..., с. 56, 206–207.

However, if the Armenian frescos have not been preserved well there are samples of sculpture<sup>41</sup>. In any case it is beyond a doubt that the Illuminator's image in the Middle Ages was more familiar to the Orthodox environment. So it can be claimed that the Illuminator's image in the Church of Ani as well as in other Armenian-Chalcedonian churches had a dual meaning both as a national and Ecumenical saint. It is important to remember that the Armenian-Chalcedonians considered themselves as the successors of the mission of the Illuminator and Mashtots and were their followers<sup>42</sup>.

If the Illuminator's images of the Church in Ani can be interpreted from the perspective of Orthodox traditions then it is absolutely different when we see Gregory's sons Aristakes and Vrtanes among the Church Fathers. Their images in the frescos of Ani are unique. It is known that Aristakes and Vrtanes inherited successively the chair of Catholicos from Gregory the Illuminator<sup>43</sup>, they are among the saints of the Armenian church with their days of reverence and has never been venerated by other churches even though the Byzantine sources mention Aristakes as a participant of the first Ecumenical Council (325, Nicea)<sup>44</sup>.

If according to Armenian-Chalcedonians, they had inherited their faith from Gregory and therefore had put importance to the national tradition, then as A. Lidov mentions it is quite possible that Aristakes and Vrtanes were canonized as local saints (the "Last Judgement" sculpture from Horomos zamatum) by the Armenian-Chalcedonians<sup>45</sup>. The presence of Aristakes and Vrtanes in the rank of Church Fathers can be explained either by Byzantine or Georgian traditions but only by Armenian national, in this case by the strict iconographic tradition of the Armenian-Chalcedonians.

The last saint in this series is Leontius of Caesaria whose image should also be linked with Gregory and the Armenian historical tradition. Though Leontius participated in the first Ecumenical Council and the Archbishop of Caesaria,

<sup>41</sup> It is considered that Gregory the Illuminator's image is on the monument of Odzun (VII c.) (see Ազարյան Լ., Օձունի և Բրդիսանի կոթողների կոթողները, ՊԲՀ, 1965, № 4, էջ 214–215; Հակոբյան Զ., Օձունի կոթողի պատկերների մեկնաբանման հարցի շուրջ, էջ միաժին, 2005, Ա (հունվար), էջ 79–80), as well as in the "heavenly garden" of Zvartnots' (see Мнацаканян С.Х. Звартноц. Памятник армянского зодчества VI–VII вв., М., 1971, с. 54; Հակոբյան Զ., Զվարթնոցի խորհրդաբանական կերպարը (Պատկերների մեկնաբանման հարցի շուրջ), էջ միաժին, 2006, Զ (հունիս), էջ 84):

<sup>42</sup> Мурадян П.М. Кавказский культурный мир ..., с. 20; Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А. Повествование..., с. 58.

<sup>43</sup> Aristakes (264–333) and Vrtanes (262–341) were famous as religious leaders fighting against pagans. They are remembered on the holiday of "Gregory the Illuminator's Son and Grandsons". See Մովսես Խորենացի, Հայոց պատմություն, Ե., 1981, էջ 239; Օրմանյան Մ., Ազգապատմություն, Ե., 2001, էջ 109–110:

<sup>44</sup> Ղազարյան Գ., Հայոց մասնակցությունը չորրորդ Տիեզերածնունդին, Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի (հայագիտություն), Ե., 2016, № 2, էջ 21:

<sup>45</sup> Лидов А.М. Росписи Ахталы..., с. 80–81.

### The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions...

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however he was not canonized as a saint of Ecumenical Church and of course has not been ranked among the Church Fathers<sup>46</sup>.

At the same time, it is known that the Illuminator received the consecration from Leontius in Caesaria which provides ground to claim that depicting Leontius in the rank of the Church Fathers in such high esteem is preconditioned by the historical tradition and is connected with the Armenian environment. The scene where Leontius of Caesaria ordains the Illuminator in the frescos of the Tigran Honents Church confirms the fact. So, it can be concluded that the depiction of Aristakes, Vrtanes and Leontius of Caesaria in St. Gregory Church is preconditioned by the Armenian tradition and claims that the monument was created in Armenian-Chalcedonian environment.

This concept is confirmed once again in the wall painting of the church with the life story of Gregory the Illuminator which is unique. According to some scholars, the emergence of the vast hagiographical cycle of Gregory in the Honents Church was preconditioned by the strong interest for local saints highly developed in XIX century. The hagiographical cycle dedicated to St. Gregory in Ani is unique in the Eastern Christian art of the period. The cycle being presented in two rows, occupies the Western part of the church as well as the Western part of the Southern and Northern walls including Westward façades of the North-Western and South-Western pylons. The scenes are accompanied by inscriptions thus making the subjects quite clear. Generally, they are represented in historical chronology though there are some "deviations" which aim to highlight the more important topics placing them in the visible parts of the cycle. It consists of 18 scenes which present the key events of the Illuminator's life. The six of them refer to the tortures<sup>47</sup>, two refer to the holy Virgins (including St. Nino/Nune) [fig. 8]<sup>48</sup> and the tenth represents the event of adoption and establishing of the new faith in Armenia<sup>49</sup>. Even from the selection of the topics it is obvious that except for the tortures the majority of the images (10 scenes) are

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<sup>46</sup> Although Leontius of Caesaria does not have a veneration day, it is worth mentioning that Armenian Apostolic and Orthodox churches have a veneration day for the fathers of church who took part in the Ecumenical council, and it includes Leontius as well. I express my gratitude to G. Kazaryan for consultations on theological and hagiographical questions.

<sup>47</sup> Those are "St. Gregory in Front of Tiridat", "St. Gregory Hanged Upside Down", "St. Gregory's Feet Are Being Nailed", "Whipping of St. Gregory Hanged Upside Down", "St. Gregory Is Being Taken to Artashat", "St. Gregory in a Pit of Snakes".

<sup>48</sup> Those are "The Martyrdom of St. Virgins", "The Miraculous Appearance of the Life-giving Pillar to St. Nino".

<sup>49</sup> Those are "St. Gregory's Liberation from the Pit", "The Appeal of People to St. Gregory to Release Them from the Curse", "St. Gregory's Vision", "King Tiridates, kings of Abkhazia, Georgia and Albans Come to Meet St. Gregory", "St. Leontius of Caesaria Ordains St. Gregory", "St. Gregory and Tiridates Meet in Bagavan", "Baptism of Tiridates and His Relatives", "St. Gregory Ordains the First Twelve Armenian Archbishops", "Tiridat Appeals to St. Gregory Who had Left for Mount Sepuh", "St. Gregory in the Cave of Man".



dedicated to the history of the adoption of Christianity in Armenia thus underlining the national and religious milieu where the cycle was created.

From this perspective, the interpretations of some scholars of the cycle are unacceptable. We particularly mean N. Thierry's conclusions according to which a) the frescos of St. Gregory Church of Ani were created by a Georgian painter and were intended for the Georgian community of Ani<sup>50</sup> (?) b) the emergence of the scene where Nino is having a Vision is perhaps the idea of the Georgian painter or a compromise with the customer<sup>51</sup>. The generalizations of E. Eastmond regarding the facture not grounded either. a) The cycle of Gregory is more centered on the Illuminator himself rather than on Tiridates or the Conversion of Armenia, b) it is meant to popularize the Illuminator's veneration rather than symbolize the Christianization of Armenia c) The history of Christianization of Armenia loses its primary significance since parallel with St. Gregory's Vision there is also St. Nino's Vision – the story of Conversion of Georgia<sup>52</sup>.

However, it is clear that the inscriptions in Georgian served a proof for both authors but at the same time it is obvious that they contain the pivotal events of Armenian history which are more important than the language of the inscriptions. Proceeding merely from the scenes of the Life of Gregory it can be assumed that the second important character is Tiridates the Great who is depicted at least in 5 scenes<sup>53</sup>, as well as his sister Khosrovdukht. In the only image which depicts the Caucasian – the Georgian, Abkhaz, Alan kings<sup>54</sup> going forward to the Illuminator coming from Caesaria, the Armenian king Tiridates leads the procession. Taking these details into consideration it is hard to imagine that the compositions were a product of not Armenian but that of a mixed Armenian Georgian environment since the Armenian king is in the center of the events and these are the key events of the Armenian history.

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<sup>50</sup> There is no information about the activity of Georgian community in Ani in the sources.

<sup>51</sup> **Thierry N.**, *The Wall Painting...*, p. 69.

<sup>52</sup> **Eastmond A.**, "Local" Saints ..., p. 734, 736.

<sup>53</sup> Those are "St. Gregory in Front of Tiridates", "King Tiridates, kings of Abkhazia, Georgia, Albania Come to Meet St. Gregory", "Tiridates Meets St. Gregory in Bagavan", "Baptism of Tiridates and His Relatives", "King Tiridates Appeal to St. Gregory Who had Left for Mount Sepuh".

<sup>54</sup> According to Arabic and Greek versions of Agathangelos' History, as well as according to Khorenatsi, Pavstos Buzand, Draskhanakertsi, Gandzaketsi, Arsen Sapareli and Juansher Gregory the Illuminator sent preachers and monks to Georgia and lands of Laz and Abkhaz and baptized their kings in the Aratsani. The Illuminator ordained his grandson Gregory as Archbishop of Georgians and Albans. See **Օրմնային Մ.**, Ազգապատմություն, հ. Ա, էջ 107 – 108; **Մանրագրային Պ.Մ.**, Վրաց եկեղեցի, Քրիստոնեյա Հայաստան, ե., 2002, էջ 986:

To interpret the cycle properly it is important to notice that according to the Medieval tradition, St. Gregory was a pan-Caucasian illuminator<sup>55</sup> as it is illustrated in the Greek and Arab versions of the Life of the Illuminator<sup>56</sup>.

Regarding Nino's Vision depicted in the cycle, the following should be mentioned. St. Nino's topic is very harmonious and logical in this story and cannot "diminish" either the significance of St. Gregory's Vision or the role and meaning of the life by any means. It cannot "alter" its ideological base.

This fact is preconditioned by ecclesiastical tradition. First, it should be mentioned that St. Nino is a saint with her veneration day also in the Armenian environment<sup>57</sup>, because according to her life, she was one of the virgins with Hripsime who had joined them from Rome to Armenia and from here by "heavenly instruction" went to Georgia for preaching<sup>58</sup>. Movses Khorenatsi's information about St. Nino dates much earlier than Georgian sources. There he mentions the erecting of the cross of Christ by the saint in Mtskheta<sup>59</sup>. According to her Life in Georgia, she was reared by an Armenian nun from Dvin and spoke Armenian<sup>60</sup>, which is quite a significant fact by itself.

The references of St. Gregory and St. Nino's images and their lives have deep historical roots. According to the life of the Saint and the history of Christianization of Georgia, St. Nino's preaching covered the territories stretching to the North of the river Kura and what lay to the South was connected with the name of Gregory and this brought to the intermingling of their veneration in the Early Middle Ages<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Նազար Փարպեցի, Հայոց պատմությունը և Թուրք Վահան Մամիկոնյանի (ին նաև Կանթակ . Գ. Տեր-Մկրտչյանի և Ստ. Մալխոսյանի, աշխարհաբ. արագ. և ծանոթ. Բ. Ուլուբաբյանի), Ե., 1982, էջ 110–113; Обращение Грузии (пер. с древнегруз. Е.С. Такайшвили, исслед. и коммент. М.С. Чхартишвили), Тбилиси, 1989, с. 11,18; **Мурадян П.М.** Кавказский культурный мир..., с. 9–20.

<sup>56</sup> **Март Н.Я.** Крещение армян, грузин..., с. 63–211; **Garitte G.**, Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange. Vatican, 1946; **Քարթիկյան Հ.**, Ագաթանգեղոսի Պատմությունը և նրա ակնարկ..., ; **Мурадян П.М.**, Кавказский культурный мир..., с. 11–12; **Winkler G.**, Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions, REArm, 1980, t. 14. p. 125–141.

<sup>57</sup> The Armenian Church celebrates the commemoration day of St. Nune (Nino) and St. Mane next Tuesday of the "Holiday of St. Echmiadzin Cathedral". See **Գալուստեան Ե.**, Հայ մաթրիստների ակնարկներ, Ե., 1997, էջ 186–188:

<sup>58</sup> **Ալիբեկան Հ.Ն.**, Քրիստոնեությունը և նրա արմատները Հայաստան և Վրաստան, Վրաստան, 1949:

<sup>59</sup> **Մովսես Խորենացի**, Հայոց պատմությունը ..., էջ 231–232:

<sup>60</sup> **Մելիքեթ-Բեկյան Լ.**, Վրաց աղբյուրները ..., էջ 172; Обращение Грузии..., с. 16; Карлис Цховреба, **Леонтий Мровели**, Обращение Грузии святой Нино, Тбилиси, 2008, с. 48.

<sup>61</sup> **Мурадян П.М.** Кавказский культурный мир..., с. 10–11; **Մալխոսյան Պ.Մ.**, Վրաց եկեղեցի ..., էջ 986:

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Only after the final split of the two Churches which in fact occurred at the beginning of VIII century<sup>62</sup>, Nino became the sole Illuminator of Georgia and St. Gregory that of Armenia. However, for Orthodox Armenians, who have always referred to the roots of the Transcaucasian Church, the parallel of the stories of the saints was traditional and during the rule of the Zakarians, when Orthodox Armenians were subject to the Georgian Church, it acquired a special significance<sup>63</sup>.

Although St. Nino became the only Illuminator of Georgia, the cycle depicting her life did not find wide acceptance in Georgian monuments; as a rule, the saint is depicted with other women and even not always. And the only example where St. Nino's life is represented in 4 scenes including the Vision is the fresco of the main Church of Udabno Monastery of Davit-Gareji which dates back to 1272–1289<sup>64</sup> and is built later than the Chalcedonian samples of Ani. It is also significant that in Udabno we witness the images of Hripsime and the accompanying virgins<sup>65</sup> since that monastery in particular was greatly renowned among the Armenians<sup>66</sup>. Again, referring to the Armenian-Chalcedonian monuments, it should be mentioned that a cycle depicting St. Nino's life (4 scenes) used to be in Kirants Monastery<sup>67</sup> and there is an image in Akhtala<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> The question of split of Armenian and Georgian Churches started in 608. However, during the further political developments, the council of Karin and the activities of several successive pro-Byzantine Catholicoses postponed that process for almost a century. And only at the beginning of VIII century the separation of the churches was realized and was expressed by several key events; the council of Manazkert (726), a new "national" version of St. Gregory's Life where he is already mentioned as only the Illuminator of Armenia appeared, and it was followed by the history of conversion of Georgians headed by Nino.

<sup>63</sup> There is another circumstance that attaches importance to St. Nino's story in the Church of Ani. According to historical data, St. Nino's cross was brought to Armenia by the efforts of St. Shushanik and the hermit Andreas and in 1098 - to Ani by the order of the Catholicos Barsel I. Nino's cross remained in Ani until 1239 when it was again taken back to Mtskheta upon the request of the Queen of Georgia Rusudan. See **Համայն Մ.**, Պատմություն Երևանի, Կ. 1784, էջ 550–551:

<sup>64</sup> **Амираншвили Ш.Я.** История грузинской монументальной живописи, т. 1, Тбилиси, 1957, с. 53.

<sup>65</sup> St. Hripsime's image is also in the fresco of refectory of the Lavra of the Davit-Gareji monastery. See **Мурадян П.М.** Армянская эпитафическая Грузии..., с. 177.

<sup>66</sup> Armenian toponyms and a number of records, the majority of which are in monasteries of Udabno and Bertuban left by the pilgrims up to XIX century, are the evidence of living Armenians in the neighborhood of Davit-Gareji and attending the complex. But the most interesting of all are some details about the founder of the monastery Davit Garejeli. Firstly, according to his Hagiography as well as St. Nino he spoke Armenian.

<sup>67</sup> **Дурново Л.А.** Фрески Киранц..., с. 22.

<sup>68</sup> **Лидов А.М.** Росписи монастыря..., с. 152.

### The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions...

The scene depicting Nino which is part of the cycle is inscribed as “St. Nino; Women who met St. Nino”<sup>69</sup>, but in its content, it is in fact “the miraculous Vision of the Lifegiving pillar” as A. Kakovkin suggests to name the scene<sup>70</sup>.

St. Nino’s Vision in Honents harmoniously adds to the story of St. Gregory both in the artistic sense and symbolism since both these scenes are the largest in the cycle, are located not far from each other so that they are perceived in parallel, their concepts are identical (the protagonist is in the center and the light is shed from above). The story lines of the stories are also identical – the pillar going down washed in the light of God<sup>71</sup>.

This “sameness” is preconditioned by the fact that the community member to whom the frescos were addressed perceived both of those events as inseparable national Christian traditions, where St. Nino is represented as the spiritual heir of Gregory the Illuminator and the follower of the works of apostles while the revelation of the pillar is a symbol of divine providence and victory<sup>72</sup> which intermingles those events with the Christendom<sup>73</sup>.

The examination of inscriptions also proves that the frescos were created by Armenian-Chalcedonians. Analyzing some of the Georgian inscriptions of the Church of St. Gregory, which refer to the Illuminator’s life and which are the most extensive, P. Muradyan has discovered a number of very important peculiarities. They are the grammar and syntactic errors and mistakes as well as a considerable amount of Armenianisms which let us assume that the parts taken from the Life are translated from the Armenian original, it is even beyond doubt that the Georgian version of the Life was also known<sup>74</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that in 1213 Tigran Honents gifted “Saint Gregory’s Book...”<sup>75</sup> to the Cathedral of Ani and it may be suggested that this book was the source both for the hagiographical cycle and for its explanatory inscriptions.

<sup>69</sup> Translatoin by P. Muradyan: See **Мурадян П.М.** Проблема конфессиональной..., с. 63.

<sup>70</sup> **Каковкин А.Я.** Сцена «Чудесное явление Животворящего столба» в росписи храма Григория (1215 г.) в Ани (Zograf, 1989, № 20, с. 2).

<sup>71</sup> **Каковкин А.Я.** Сцена «Чудесное явление...», с. 2–4; **Лидов А.М.** Видение св. Нино в росписи церкви Тиграна Оненца в Ани. Институт истории археологии и этнографии им. И.А. Джавахишвили, XXIII научная сессия молодых ученых (15–17 ноября 1988), Тбилиси, 1988, с. 68–70.

<sup>72</sup> Pillar is one of the famous symbols of the Bible. Pillar, fire pillar or a pillar covered in smoke as symbols of divine presence are observed in Exodus (Exod. 13:21); Apostles and saints are called pillars of church (Mat. 16:18; Gal. 2:9, Rev. 3:12).

<sup>73</sup> **Каковкин А.Я.** Заметки об особенностях житийного цикла Григория Просветителя в церкви Тиграна Оненца, *ՊԲՀ*, 1990, № 2, с. 236; **Каковкин А.Я.** Роспись церкви Григория...

<sup>74</sup> **Мурадян П.М.** Армянская эпиграфика Грузии..., с. 62–66; **Мурадян П.М.** Проблема конфессиональной..., с. 187–189.

<sup>75</sup> **Мурадян П.М.** Армянская эпиграфика Грузии..., с. 52; **Мурадян П.М.** Строительство и конфессия..., с. 180.

Coming back to the frescos proper, it should be mentioned that of course the fact that the frescos of Tigran Honents have stylistic similarities chronologically close to Georgian murals is acceptable, and this is surely a subject of a different study and is considered as one of the artistic peculiarities of the monument. But we also believe it is important to highlight that for any monument the local cultural environment, customer and the community it is addressed to are of critical importance since these factors are the prerequisites of the ideology of the monument.

Even in case of inviting artists from Georgia to make the frescos of St. Gregory Church which is quite possible, it cannot essentially change the national belonging of the church. Surely there are quite many samples of Armenian or Georgian monuments similar to Byzantine (for example the Armenian Gospel of Trabizon, XI c.; the mosaics of Gelati Monastery in Georgia, 1125–1130) or created beyond the borders of the motherland or under the significant influence of the Byzantine prototypes, however, those monuments are not characterized as “Byzantine” but merely testify the active cultural and artistic relations and the fact of creating some environment which is vividly expressed in the frescos of the Church of Ani under question.

That is the reason why it is impossible to interpret the frescos of the Honents Church proceeding only from one cultural tradition; on the one hand it incorporates the leading artistic trends (Byzantine, Georgian) and on the other hand traits of national identity which determines the belonging of the church. Thus, the frescos of St. Gregory Church of Ani is an Armenian-Chalcedonian monument with its vividly expressed national-confessional features<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> **Arutjunova-Fidanyan V.A.**, Les Armeniens chalcedoniens en tant que phenomena culturel de l'Orient chretien, Atti del quinto simposio international di arte armena 1988, Venezia, 1992, p. 463–47; **Arutjunova-Fidanjan V.A.**, The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians, REArm., 1988–89, t. 21, p. 345–359.

**ՀԱՅ -ՔԱՂԿԵԴՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԱՎԱՆԴՈՒԹԹՆԵՐԻ  
ԱՐՏԱՑՈՂ ՈՒՄՇ ԱՆԻԻ ՍԲ. ԳՐԻԳՈՐ (ՏԻԳՐԱՆ  
ՀՈՆԵՆՑ) ԵԿԵՂԵՑՈՒ ՈՐՄՆԱՆԿԱՐՆԵՐՈՒՄ**

ՀԱԿՈՒԹՅԱՆ Ձ.

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Անիի Տիգրան Հոնեց եկեղեցին կառուցվել է 13-րդ դարի սկզբին: Եկեղեցուն որմնաքարե կառուցվածքի պատկերազարդումը ունի բյուզանդական ուղղված ծանրանք, իսկ տեսարանները ուղեկցվում են վրացական և հունական կառուցվածքներով: Այդ իսկ պատճառով ունենում են հայկական և արաբական արվեստի համատեղ տարրեր: Որմնաքարե կառուցվածքի միջանկյալ կարևոր տեսարանները արված են բյուզանդական կառուցվածքով, որոնք միևնույն ժամանակ հայտնի չեն վրացական ուղղված ծանրանքի հունական տարրերով: Բացի այդ, այստեղ առկա են կերպարներ, որոնք կապված են հայոց պատմությանը: Այստեղ առկա է Գրիգոր Լուսավորչին շինված վարժարան (18-րդ դար)՝ Հայաստանի պատմությանը կապված Տիգրանյան դպրոցի կառուցման, որպեսզի նախապես վրացական հունական պատմությանը: Վրացական վարժարանը չի հաստատվում նաև Սբ. Նիկոյի տեմպլի տեսարանի առկայությանը, քանի որ 13-րդ դարի վրացական պատկերազարդումն այն հայտնի չէ, մինչև դեռ այդպիսի տարբերակային հանդիպում է հայ-ֆունկցիոնալ կառուցվածքի հունական տարրերով: Կիրանցում:

**ОТРАЖЕНИЕ АРМЯНО-ХАЛКИДОНИТСКИХ ТРАДИЦИЙ  
ВО ФРЕСКАХ ЦЕРКВИ СВ. ГРИГОРИЯ (ТИГРАНА  
ОНЕНЦА) В АНИ**

АКОПЯН З.

Резюме

Церковь Тиграна Оненца в Ани была построена в начале XIII в. Иконографическая программа ансамбля в целом следует византийской традиции, а сцены имеют грузинские и греческие надписи, в силу чего ряд специалистов рассматривают их в контексте грузинского искусства. Однако некоторые важные сцены ансамбля соответствуют византийскому

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канону, но в то же время они не характерны для грузинских памятников данного периода. Кроме того во фресках присутствуют образы, которые связаны с армянской историей. К примеру, в житийном цикле Св. Григория (18 сцен) отражены события, связанные с принятием христианства в Армении, а также многократно повторяется изображение царя Трдата, что было бы весьма странно для грузинского памятника. В пользу грузинской версии не говорит и присутствие сцены Видения Св. Нино, так как в грузинских ансамблях XIII в. житийный цикл Просветительницы Грузии практически не известен, но он есть в другом армяно-халкидонитском ансамбле – во фресках Киранц.

