

“Don’t Forget about the Silver Covers!”

*Newly Discovered Silverwork by the Armenian Silversmiths of Kayseri (Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries)**

▼ **ABSTRACT** A seventeenth to eighteenth-century workshop of Armenian silversmiths from Kayseri, Cappadocia, is notable for having produced repoussé silver covers for religious manuscripts, liturgical objects, and luxury household articles. These objects were manufactured in silver, gold, or silvered copper, and were occasionally further embellished with colorful enamels and/or gems. Nearly seventy objects from this workshop have been identified; about a third are inscribed with the name of the silversmith and the date and place of production (Kayseri). Uninscribed objects created in this same workshop have been identified on the basis of technical and stylistic comparisons with the inscribed ones. This article will summarise the history of this workshop, discuss examples of the objects produced, and explain the iconography, which inspired the silversmiths. I will then introduce some newly identified objects from the workshop, a dish and bowl set in the collection of the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum (Southfield, Michigan). The materials, technique of manufacture, and style confirm their origin in this Armenian atelier. The surprising inspirations for the motifs and iconography used in these pieces will also be explained. This article also includes the results of my provenance research as well as the fascinating findings of the Manoogian Museum’s scientific analysis of the objects. Possible future research will be proposed. It is hoped that

* This paper was presented at the international conference “À la mémoire de Sirarpie Der Nersessian (1896–1989)” held on December 13–14, 2019 in Paris.

Sylvie L. Merian  0009-0000-2552-2882 • The Morgan Library & Museum, New York (NY), USA,
(Email: smerian@themorgan.org)

Cite this article: Sylvie L. Merian, “Don’t Forget about the Silver Covers!”, *Matenadaran: Medieval and Early Modern Armenian Studies (MEMAS)*, 1.2 (December 2024), 173–215
<<https://dx.doi.org/10.1484/J.MEMAS.5.150242>>

DOI: 10.1484/J.MEMAS.5.150242

This is an open access article made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.
© 2025, Brepols Publishers n.v. Published by Brepols Publishers.

by dissemination of further information about this workshop, more objects will be discovered, analyzed, and properly identified.

▼ **KEYWORDS** Kayseri, silversmiths, silver bindings, liturgical objects, silverwork, enamel, numismatics, Chinese porcelain, Dutch woodcuts, Christoffel van Sichem.

▼ **ISSUE** Volume 1 (December 2024), issue 2

1. Introduction

I had the great honor and privilege of meeting Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian in Paris on two occasions. She was kind and gracious, and it was she who referred me to Professors Nina Garsoïan (Columbia University) and Thomas Mathews (The Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) to pursue my studies on Armenian manuscripts. After I began my graduate studies at Columbia with both of them, I met her for a second time in the mid-1980s. Over tea, I excitedly told her about my research in Armenian binding techniques (not decoration). She asked me if I had done any research on the attached silver plaques that embellish the covers of some manuscripts. I sheepishly answered, “Well, no, not really...” She nodded politely as we continued our conversation, but as I was leaving her apartment, she called after me in the stairwell, “And don’t forget about the silver covers!” I owe my interest in Armenian silverwork to Professor Der Nersessian’s (not so) subtle encouragement!

In this article I will begin by giving a brief overview of a remarkable workshop of Armenian silversmiths in Kayseri, Cappadocia. The Kayseri craftsmen specialised in plaques made for embellishing religious manuscripts; they also produced liturgical objects as well as personal, luxury domestic items. These artisans often added detailed, dated inscriptions on their wares, allowing us to identify the makers by name, as well as the dates and place of production. Uninscribed objects can be identified by stylistic and technical comparisons with the dated examples. Specific sources of inspiration for the compositions and iconography used by these silversmiths will be explained.

I will next present two objects, a bowl and dish in the collection of the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum in Southfield, Michigan (Fig. 1) which I have identified as originating from this Kayseri workshop. I will explain the reasons for this determination, describe the sources for the imagery used, and present examples of related objects. I will also discuss the provenance history for the bowl and dish. The conclusion will introduce possible future research on other objects from this workshop inspired by the study of the Manoogian objects.

2. The Armenian Silversmiths of Kayseri

This atelier was first identified in an 1895 article describing silver covers in the collections of the Venice and Vienna Mekhitarist Congregation, which included spine pieces inscribed in Armenian with the date, place of manufacture (i.e. Kayseri), and

the silversmith's name (Anonymous 1895).¹ While twenty-one objects can be firmly attributed to this workshop by their inscriptions, stylistic and technical comparisons link nearly fifty more uninscribed pieces to the same atelier, totaling nearly seventy identified objects.² The workshop specialised in producing liturgical objects, such as silver plaques to cover sacred books, pyxes, and altar crosses, but they also made luxury household articles, such as *hamam* bowls (used in the public baths — the *hamam* — for washing and rinsing) and jeweled boxes.³

The objects are usually silver or gilt silver, and might be decorated with colourful enamels; some are even embellished with jewels.⁴ Technical and stylistic similarities are readily apparent. The dated objects range from 1653 to 1741.⁵ Three family names occur in the inscriptions: Malkhas, Shahpaz, and Shahmir or the variant Shahamir; they were likely related by marriage. Their names suggest that they were probably Armenians from Iran, and may have immigrated to Kayseri to escape the wars between the Ottomans and the Safavids in the mid- to late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Jennings 1976, 31; Merian 2013, 142–43).

The plaques were not die-struck or made with moulds; they were all individually produced by the repoussé method, in which a sheet of silver is placed on a malleable substance such as pitch or wax and the designs are pushed out from the back with hammers and punches. Details are added on the front by the use of special tools. The Musée arménien de France (MAF) includes two sets of dated, inscribed silver book covers, which are missing the manuscripts they once enveloped, enabling us to see the reverse and easily identify the technique used in its fabrication. The inscription on one set (accession no. 400; Figs 2 and 3) indicates that it was made in Kayseri by the "unworthy hands" of the silversmith Malkhas M[ahtesi] Yakob, in Kayseri in the year 1660 (Merian 2011).⁶

1 For a bibliography of articles on this workshop up to 2013, see Merian 2013, 130, n. 8 and n. 9. For two recent Armenian publications on silver covers from Kayseri, see Malkhasyan 1996 and 2022, 100–16.

2 See Merian 2013, 170–81 (Table 1) for a list of items found up until 2013. I have identified more objects since 2013, the most recent being a pair of silver covers on a 1606 manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Switzerland (Cod. Bodmer 34); see Grigoryan 2020, Figs 1–2. See also <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en> for the complete digitised manuscript (consulted June 14, 2020).

3 See Kürkman 1996, 234–35 for a *hamam* bowl in a private collection. For four other bowls (three with *hamam* scenes) and one dish, all of which I believe were made in this Kayseri workshop, see Christie's 23 April 2015, lot 202; Sotheby's 5 April 2006, lot 193; Sotheby's 9 April 2008, lot 300; Sotheby's 14 April 2010, lot 278; and Tajan 1 July 2019, lot 218. For a jeweled and enameled silver box in the James and Ana Melikian Collection (Phoenix, Arizona), see Gulácsi 2012, 3, 97, and 100–01, Figs 38a–d.

4 For some jeweled examples, see the Morgan Library & Museum's MS W7 (AD 1653), the Metropolitan Museum acc. 16.99 (AD 1691), The Walters Art Museum, acc. no. W540 (undated), and accession no. 41 (undated) in the *Gandzaturun Alek' ew Mari Manukean* (Etchmiadzin, Armenia), published in Malkhasyan 2011, 14–15, 47 (no. 27) and Fig. 2. It is described as possibly being from Constantinople, eighteenth century, but I believe it is from Kayseri.

5 Two sets of silver covers are dated 1653: The Morgan Library & Museum's MS W7, made by Karapet and Yakob, and Princeton University Garrett Armenian MS 4 (formerly MS Garrett 20), by Shahmir M[ahtesi] Karapet. The latest dated liturgical object (1741) known is MS M10356 with two silver covers by Shahmir M[ahtesi] Yakob. The "M" presumably stands for *mahtesi*, an honorific title used by a person who has made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

6 See also <https://www.le-maf.com/item/reliure-devangile/> and <https://www.le-maf.com/item/reliure-devangile-2/> (consulted Oct. 11, 2020).

3. Inspiration for Iconography

Where did the silversmiths get their ideas for the motifs and iconography used for their religious objects? Remember that the silversmiths, although literate, were craftsmen, not theologians. It is unlikely that they would have invented new religious iconography for these pieces. In some cases they copied imagery directly from illustrations in the Armenian manuscripts brought to their workshop. For example, the miniature of the Presentation from acc. no. W540 in The Walters Art Museum (Fig. 4), a Gospel book dated AD 1475, served as the direct inspiration for the central scene in the silver covers of acc. no. W542 (Fig. 5). It is certain that at some point acc. no. W540 was in the Kayseri workshop, because it too has a set of custom-made Kayseri covers, in this case gilt silver with enamel and jewels (Evans and Merian 1994, 121, 150–51 [cat. 9] and 152 [cat. 11]).⁷ This Presentation scene was repeated in other decorative plaques, such as one nailed on the front cover of a Gospel manuscript copied in 1700 (Fig. 6).⁸ Its back cover depicts the Ascension of Christ (Fig. 31).⁹

In other cases, the silversmiths were inspired by woodcuts and engravings found in illustrated printed books imported from Western Europe, such as the first Armenian printed Bible (Amsterdam, 1666), as well as other illustrated books. Kayseri was on an important trade route. Consequently its population was exposed to imported objects including European illustrated, printed books. The silversmiths must have had access to a copy of the 1666 Armenian printed Bible, which was filled with around 160 previously published Dutch woodcuts by the artist Christoffel van Sichem. Iconographic evidence from other silver covers makes clear that they also sourced images from Dutch-language books containing van Sichem illustrations, rather than only Armenian-language books with van Sichem images.¹⁰

At least twelve religious-themed van Sichem woodcuts inspired the Armenian silversmiths of Kayseri in their liturgical silverwork, a number of which have already been published.¹¹ One example used multiple times is a van Sichem woodcut

⁷ Both W540 and W542 can be viewed in their entirety (including the covers) at these links: <https://manuscripts.thewalters.org/?search=w.540> and <https://manuscripts.thewalters.org/?search=w.542> (consulted Aug. 11, 2020).

⁸ Other examples include a *Gandzaran* manuscript with silver covers formerly in the James and Ana Melikian Collection (Phoenix, Arizona), now with Sam Fogg Ltd. (London). These covers have the same Presentation scene on the front and the Ascension of Christ on the back (Gulácsi 2012, 102, Figs 39a–b). Another set formerly in the S. Sevdjian collection with the same Presentation on the front but with the Coronation of the Virgin on the back was published in Macler 1924 (text p. 64, plates Fig. 258). Its current location is unknown.

⁹ Morgan Library MS M1108 (Mathews and Wieck 1994, 145 [cat. 1], 115, 121, Figs 81, 92 and Plate 47). At the time of the 1994 exhibition “Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts”, the manuscript was co-owned by rare book dealers Bruce Ferrini (Akron, Ohio) and Sam Fogg Rare Books, Ltd. (London). The Morgan Library acquired it in 1998. The silver and enameled plaques attached to the front and back covers of the manuscript are depicted on the front and back covers of *Treasures in Heaven Symposium Papers* 1998.

¹⁰ Evans and Merian 1994, 115–23; Merian 2013, 130–41; 2018a–c; 2019, and 2021.

¹¹ For a list of eleven van Sichem woodcuts used by the silversmiths from the 1666 Armenian Bible as well as Dutch-language books, see Merian 2013, 182–85 (Table 2). The twelfth one which should be added to this Table is the van Sichem woodcut of the Last Supper, the inspiration of which decorates a gold pyx dated 1687 by Sedrak and kept in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon; see Merian 2018b and 2018d. Note that in Merian 2013

depicting a scene from the Old Testament book of Isaiah, in which the angel of the Lord is seen purifying Isaiah's lips with a hot coal, while God observes from his throne above (Isaiah 6:6–7). This woodcut was originally published in at least three printed books: the Dutch *Bibels tresoor* of 1646, the Dutch language *Biblia Sacra* of 1646/1657, and the Armenian Bible of 1666 (Fig. 7). The silversmiths often duplicated imagery that they admired or that was marketable. For example, the Purification of Isaiah scene seems to have been quite popular and was repeated in at least six different book covers (for three examples, see Figs 8, 9, and 10).¹² Even though the iconography and decorative motifs are the same, they are not exact replicas and thus were not produced by the use of moulds. The plaques are different sizes, and the figures are positioned slightly differently in the six examples I have so far examined. Four of them are plain silver, and two include colourful enamels, as in Fig. 8.¹³

4. Bowl and Dish in the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum

This brings us to a bowl and dish set in the collection of the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum. The Museum, founded by the Armenian-American businessman and philanthropist Alex Manoogian, officially opened in 1992.¹⁴ The two objects appear to be silver, enhanced by gilding and coloured enamels (Fig. 1). They were donated to the Museum in the mid-1980s by Louise Manoogian Simone († 2019), the daughter of the Museum's founder. She had been told that they once belonged to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but no documentation was provided to the Manoogian Museum. For reasons which will be discussed below, it was at first believed that these pieces might be thirteenth-century Cilician. I have concluded that this set was in fact produced in the Armenian atelier of Kayseri, most likely in the eighteenth century. The repoussé technique replicates that of other pieces from this workshop, a fact that is easily visible in the interior of the bowl and the underside of the matching dish. The style of the figures and the motifs are remarkably similar to other objects from the Kayseri workshop. Furthermore, the method of working the details of the figures and motifs is the same, and even the enamel colours are similar.

the compositions described as the Vision of Isaiah should more precisely have been labeled as the Purification of Isaiah.

¹² Fig. 32 depicts the front cover of the manuscript seen in Fig. 8 (Private Collection, Virginia, USA).

¹³ The other three covers with the same purification of Isaiah iconography include two in the Armenian Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro, Venice: MS 1968 (AD 1671) and MS 2061 (undated). The third, with coloured enamels and dated either 1671 or 1691 (the inscription is unclear in the photograph), is presumably now in a private collection; see Christie's 11 Oct. 1988, lot 278.

¹⁴ See www.manoogianmuseum.com. Alex Manoogian also provided the funding for another museum building which houses the treasures of Etchmiadzin, Armenia (dedicated in October 1982). That building was named after him and his wife (*Gandzatur Alek' ew Mari Manukean*). However, the museum in Etchmiadzin and the one on Southfield (MI) are completely separate and have no connection other than having had the same benefactor. I thank Lucy Ardash, Director of the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum in Southfield for clarifying this information.

Bowl (accession no. L1988.9): The bowl's diameter is 101 mm, and its height is 53 mm. It was formed with a foot at its base, with a diameter of 46 mm. Two pairs of designs are visible on the exterior of the bowl; all have been repousséed from the interior of the bowl (the interior shows the concavities created by the repoussé technique, similar to what is visible on the interior of the covers in Fig. 3). The lower portion of one design consists of two unusual, half-nude standing female angels; the angels hold an oval-shaped floral wreath formed of tiny four-lobed florets and leaves within which is a two-part ligatured inscription of Armenian letters, divided by a central cross (Fig. 11). This might represent a staff surmounted by a cross, or a processional cross. Their feet rest on the outspread wings of a large standing bird (an eagle?), facing left, placed on the foot of the bowl. The background consists of yellow, bubbly enamel. Above the wreath are the torsos of two more half-naked female angels on either side of an architectural structure resembling a church cupola, surmounted by a cross, enhanced by enamel. The other design pair (Fig. 12) consists of a heart-shaped motif bordered with leaves and the same tiny florets seen on the first design, but enclosed within a tiny dotted border. The heart includes the same central ligatured inscription, again divided by a cross. Touches of turquoise blue enamel enhance the florets, and the background is the same yellowish, bubbly enamel. Above each heart is an equal-armed cross placed within the rim's border. The rim motif around the bowl (Figs 11 and 12) consists of a larger, repeated four-petalled flower with a light blue or turquoise enamel background alternating with brick red (the red enamel is unusual in the atelier's repertoire). This flower border is also enclosed by two rows of small dots. The exterior of the bowl is further enhanced by gilding (see Fig. 13 for the interior view showing the two alternating designs).

The bottom of the well of the bowl (the central interior portion) includes a motif of a repoussé, square-headed "bearded" lion with a human-like face. His head is on the left and an S-shaped tail is visible on the right (Fig. 13). His right front paw is raised and appears to hold a cross with two horizontal crossbars, visible behind him. Below the lower crossbar is a small raised dot. On the left of the lion, near his beard, is a small raised motif which looks like a lower-case Latin letter <h> or lower-case Armenian <h>. The background consists of brownish-yellow enamel. Surrounding the lion is a circular border of the same flower border as the rim, enhanced by slightly chipped turquoise enamel. Although difficult to confirm, it is possible that the round portion at the bottom of the bowl with the lion and its border might have been a separate, round repoussé piece that was soldered to the rest of the bowl (Fig. 14). On the underside of the bowl (on the interior of the foot) the numbers 30.95.8 are painted with a red pigment (Fig. 15). These numbers were already present on the bowl when it was donated to the museum in the mid-1980s; they are not visible when the bowl is displayed.

Dish (accession no. L1988.10): The repoussé and enameled dish measures 150 mm in diameter, with a maximum height of 22 mm where the edge of the dish curves slightly upward (Fig. 16). The central design consists of the same lion that appears in the bowl, although here the circular border surrounding the lion consists of the tiny florets and leaf border, and the background enamel seems to be a mottled

mixture of predominantly greenish-blue with yellowish-brown. The <h> to the left of the lion is clearly discernible (see Fig. 27 for detail). The four heart-shaped motifs surrounding the central lion at the top, bottom, left and right, are the same as those in the bowl, and include the same ligatured letters. The background enamel is again a mottled greenish-blue and yellowish-brown, with the yellowish-brown colour being predominant. The dish includes a border on the rim composed of the four-petalled flower also used on the bowl's rim, with light blue/turquoise and brick red enamel, and an equal-armed cross above each heart, enhanced by gilding. The underside of the dish includes the numbers 30.95.9, painted with the same red pigment as on the bowl, and are not visible when the dish is displayed (Fig. 17).

5. Similarities with Other Kayseri Silverwork

The two Manoogian Museum pieces have evident similarities with other works from this Kayseri atelier. The repoussé technique is used in all the pieces; the concave areas are clearly visible when the underside of the objects is viewed (Figs 3, 13, 14, 17). The enamel colours on the Manoogian objects are very similar to those of other enameled pieces, such as the light blue or turquoise enamel used on many of the objects, and the yellow and white enamels which frequently show bubbling (compare Fig. 1 with Figs 12, 18, and 19).¹⁵ Most striking is the remarkable similarity of the figural styles; for example, the wide-open, staring eyes of most figures (humans, angels, cherubs, saints, etc.), as well as those of some animals, were all formed by the same type of tiny circular or almond-shaped punch tools (compare Figs 2 and 11). The eyes usually include an extra dot punched in the centre to indicate the iris of the eye. The lips of these figures were usually formed by a circular or oval punch tool with an additional horizontal line, like the lowercase Greek letter theta (θ) (compare Figs 2, 6, and 11). Sometimes the "theta" mouth is partially hidden in bearded figures. The birds found on a number of the pieces are formed in a similar manner — the feathers are indicated

¹⁵ Enamels are produced by grinding up coloured glass into a powder. The powder is positioned on the metal in the pattern desired, and then the entire metal object is heated so that the pulverised glass melts and fuses to the metal base, forming the shiny enamel. The bubbling might have occurred because perhaps the white or yellow powdered glass had a slightly different melting point than the other colours. Another technique used in enameling is *cloisonné*, in which the enamel powder is placed in small compartments formed by tiny strips of metal. The *cloisonné* technique was used on numerous pieces from the Kayseri workshop, such as the borders of Morgan MS W7, dated 1653 (Fig. 18); the covers dated 1687 on a *Tōnats'oyts'* (*Calendar of Feasts*) manuscript in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, MS J3437 (formerly Sevadjan no. 12); a *Parzatumar* manuscript, accession no. 41 (undated) in the *Gandzatur Alek' ew Mari Manukean* (Etchmiadzin, Armenia), published in Malkhasyan 2011, 14–15, 47 (no. 27) and fig. 2; one pyx and three incense containers in the Kalfayan Collection (which I believe are all from Kayseri and are datable to the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries), published in *Kalfayan Exhibition* 2010, 126–29 (cats. 73–76); an altar cross in Christie's 26 April 2018, lot 187; and a recently acquired altar cross in the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac in Paris, inv. no. 70.2018.10.1.1–3. See <https://www.quaibrantly.fr/en/explore-collections/base/Work/action/show/notice/433742-croix-dautel/page/1/> (consulted Jan. 1, 2021). I thank Mme Hana Chidiac of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac for informing me about this cross.

by engraved V- or diamond-shapes (Figs 11 and 19). See Table I for comparative details of the eyes, mouth, and birds.

6. Other Examples of the Bowl and Dish

As mentioned previously, the silversmiths often replicated popular iconography and motifs in multiple pieces, such as the Purification of Isaiah and the Presentation compositions mentioned earlier. It should not be surprising that they produced duplicates of the bowl and dish.

A related set was sold in London (Christie's 21 April 2016, lot 198), where they are called a cup and saucer (Fig. 20) (Manginis 2016, 181, Fig. 6, 183). Although a near duplicate of the Manoogian pieces, there are some notable differences. The enamel colours differ from the Manoogian Museum pieces, as the Christie's set uses only turquoise, dark blue, and green enamel, which is chipped in places. The Christie's catalogue did not indicate the diameter of the bowl, only the height of 58 mm, comparable to the height of the Manoogian bowl (53 mm). One interesting difference is that, unlike the Manoogian bowl, the Christie's bowl includes a pair of handles in the form of a rampant lion *regardant* (looking behind), which may have been a later addition.¹⁶ The diameter of the Christie's dish is 150 mm, exactly the same as the Manoogian dish.

A similar bowl was sold at Bonhams in 2008 (Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244); it did not include a matching dish (Figs 21, 22). This one seems to be plain silver, without any enamel (it is described in the catalogue as being silver and niello), and is 105 mm in diameter.¹⁷ This dimension is consistent with that of the Manoogian bowl (101 mm). The Bonhams catalogue did not provide its height. This bowl has the same rampant lion handles like the one sold at Christie's in 2016. Another difference with the Manoogian object is that the exterior design of the Bonhams bowl depicts only the female angels with the ligatured inscription (it does not include the heart-shaped motifs) — the angels are clearly visible in the repoussé seen in the photograph of the interior of the bowl (Fig. 22). The Manoogian bowl has two of these angel motifs, alternating with two of the heart-shaped designs; all four include the same ligatured inscription. The Christie's bowl, this Bonham's bowl, and the Manoogian bowl all include the lion motif at the bottom (compare Figs 13, 22, 27), although the Bonhams bowl does not incorporate the <h> near the lion's beard (Christie's 21 April 2016, lot 198).¹⁸ It does, however, include the dot just below the lower crossbar of the

¹⁶ In the available photographs, they seem to be soldered directly over the heart-shaped motifs. It seems unlikely that the original silversmiths would have placed them there, interrupting the unity of these motifs and perhaps even damaging the enamel, if they had intended to include these handles.

¹⁷ Niello is a metallic alloy of sulfur, silver, copper, and lead that is placed in the grooves of engraved metal objects, usually silver, which is then heated. If this bowl is indeed silver and niello, it would be the only object from the Kayseri workshop known to me produced with niello.

¹⁸ The Christie's 21 April 2016 catalogue did not provide a photograph of the interior of the bowl, but the text states that it includes a lion and cross.

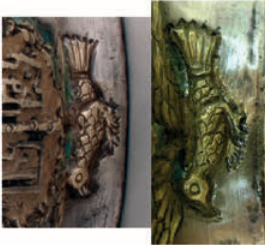
	Musée arménien de France; covers; acc. no 400 (dated 1660)	Morgan Library & Museum; MS M.1108 (back); (circa 1700)	Morgan Library & Museum; MS W.7 (dated 1653)	Manoogian Museum dish; acc. no. L1988.10	Manoogian Museum bowl; acc. no. L1988.9
Eyes and mouth (theta)					
Eyes and mouth (theta)				No other living figures on the dish, only the lion	
Bird (dove or eagle)				No bird on the dish	

Table 1: Comparison of details between different Kayseri objects

cross. These small differences are consistent with the silversmiths' practice of making multiple copies of their products but with subtle alterations of imagery, decorative motifs, or borders, as well as enhancements occasionally using different materials: some might be plain silver, others gilt-silver, and still others might include enamels or gems. These additional decorative enhancements would have increased the final price of the product. Note that neither Bonhams nor Christie's recognised that these objects were made in Kayseri.¹⁹

Yet another similar bowl and dish set was sold at Bonhams on 24 April 2018 (Fig. 23); it was then resold at Oriental Art Auctions on 11 December 2018 (hereafter this set will be referred to as the Bonhams/Oriental set) (Figs 24–26).²⁰ The only dimension provided in the two auction descriptions is the diameter of the dish (169 mm), a bit larger than the Manoogian and Christie's dishes (both 150 mm). This set (which both auction houses call a cup and saucer rather than a bowl and dish) still has some traces of turquoise, blue, and green enamel. It has some notable differences from the Manoogian, Bonhams 2008, and Christie's 2016 pieces: the centre of the Bonhams/Oriental bowl does not include the round piece with the repoussé lion — instead, it is plain silver (Fig. 25). Only the dish contains the lion in the centre. It lacks the <h> on the left found in the Manoogian and Christie's dishes but does include the dot found just below the lower crossbar of the cross held by the lion. The Bonhams/Oriental set appears to be in worse condition than the other examples — the repoussé seems flatter and the lion's face is significantly smoother with his eyes missing the irises, causing him to present a somewhat disturbing blank stare. His beard is considerably flatter than that of the lions in the Manoogian or Christie's sets, and the ribs visible in those sets are not evident in the Bonhams/Oriental set. These differences could perhaps have been caused by damage or wear, affecting the condition. The possibility of damage invites speculation that the absence of the lion in the bowl might be due to a major repair. Regrettably, I have only seen photographs of these pieces; without direct examination it is difficult to determine if the bowl had indeed undergone repair.

7. The Lion

As mentioned previously, the silversmiths were inspired by different art forms and objects they encountered, such as Armenian manuscript illumination and woodcuts or engravings from printed books. A fascinating source has been identified for the raised, repoussé lion motif in the centre of the three bowls and three dishes (Figs 13,

¹⁹ Christie's 21 April 2016, lot 198 states that the objects were from Ottoman Turkey, second half of the eighteenth century, and Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244 states the bowl as being from Turkey, eighteenth century. Manginis 2016, 180–83 thought that the Christie's set might have been from India.

²⁰ The same scratches appear on the upper right of the dish in the photographs from the two auction houses (compare Figs 23 and 24). See Bonhams 24 April 2018, lot 204; and Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524. Indeed, the Oriental Art Auctions listing even quotes the Bonhams 24 April 2018, lot 204 description, word for word.

16, 20, 22–23, and 27). In these objects, the inspiration was the reverse of a Cilician silver coin with the same lion image (Fig. 28), the half double *dram* of King Levon I (r. 1198–1219) (Saryan 2013).²¹ It was probably not very difficult to procure a Cilician coin in Kayseri, which is not very far from the region of Cilicia. This connection to the lion on the coin led the Manoogian Museum to their initial view that their bowl and dish might be thirteenth-century Cilician.

The 21.6 mm diameter silver coin includes a field mark on the left of the lion that looks like an <h>, which had been carefully copied on some of the lion motifs of the Kayseri work. The meaning of this field mark is unknown, but it might be an identification mark of the different coinage dies.²² And just to make life more interesting, there is another silver object with exactly the same lion motif as the coin and the bowl and dishes. This round, medallion-type object, formerly in the K. J. Basmadjian collection, measures 53 mm in diameter (Basmadjian 1936, 150) (Fig. 29).²³ Basmadjian also noticed the similarity of the lion with the lion on the coin. As his piece was mounted on a handle, he thought it was perhaps a silver *knik'* (stamp or seal) of King Levon I, and thus an object from the Cilician period. However, as it is a near duplicate of the lions in the bowls and dishes, it is evident that this piece was also produced in the Kayseri workshop. The Manoogian lion in the well of the bowl is slightly smaller, with a diameter of 46 mm, and the floret/leafy border around the Basmadjian piece's lion exactly matches those found around three of the Kayseri lions in the bowls and dishes.²⁴ The current location of Basmadjian's object and the remainder of his collection is unknown — he died in Paris in 1942.²⁵ Since I have been unable to examine the item, I do not know for certain if it was done in repoussé, although it appears to be from the photograph in Basmadjian's 1936 book. If it is indeed made in repoussé, it could not have been used as a stamp or seal (even for wax as Basmadjian theorised), because the raised areas would have gotten damaged and flattened very quickly with repeated stamping. Furthermore, stamps or seals are usually cut in intaglio, where the design is engraved into the metal or stone and not presented in relief as a repoussé object would be.²⁶ I believe that the Basmadjian object was either some type of separately sold medallion or perhaps the central portion for a bowl or dish that was never completed, and that it was also

21 The description of the bowl in Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244, recognised that the source of the lion motif was a Cilician coin but did not correctly identify which one.

22 Personal communication with Levon Saryan, email dated May 21, 2013.

23 I thank Levon Saryan who alerted me to this object and sent me photocopies of the relevant pages in the Basmadjian book.

24 The Manoogian dish (Fig. 16), the Christie's 21 April 2016 dish (Fig. 20), and the Bonhams/Oriental Art Auctions dish (Figs 23 and 24) all include the border of tiny florets and leaves. The lions in the Manoogian bowl (Fig. 13) and in the Bonhams 10 April 2008 bowl (Fig. 22) are surrounded by the border composed of the larger four-petalled flowers.

25 Basmadjian (1864–1942) was a pharmacist from Constantinople who settled in Paris. I thank my colleagues on the AIEA (Association internationale des études arméniennes) listserv for their helpful comments on Basmadjian.

26 Wooden stamps, such as the woodblocks used for printing woodcuts or for printing fabric, are cut in relief.

made in the Armenian atelier of Kayseri.²⁷ In any case, these Kayseri lions were clearly inspired from the Cilician coin of King Levon I. We cannot know why the silversmiths chose to use this imagery — was it perhaps an intentional way of looking back at a renowned period of Armenian history, by that point long past? Or might it have simply been done at the request of the client?

8. A Related Chinese Porcelain Bowl

Next we have an unexpected connection with a Chinese porcelain bowl from the Musée arménien de France, in Paris (Fig. 30).²⁸ It measures 112 mm in diameter and 58 mm in height (the Manoogian bowl is slightly smaller: 101 mm diameter × 53 mm height). The bowl's exterior has exactly the same iconography as we have seen on the metal bowls, although the motif only appears once on the outside of the porcelain bowl; it consists of the same composition of the nude torsos of two female angels on either side of a cupola surmounted by a cross. Below them, two half-nude standing female angels are gesturing to or holding a wreath within which is the same Armenian ligatured inscription as in the Kayseri silverwork. The rim on the exterior of the porcelain bowl consists of a blue line further embellished with gold leaves. The interior design consists only of an interior border of gold vine-shoots over a dark blue background. We do not have any evidence at this point if the porcelain bowl ever had a matching dish/saucer, or if other exemplars exist. There must have been multiple pieces produced — it would be logical that this was part of a larger set, as it is unlikely that a client would commission only one small porcelain bowl to be custom-made in China with an Armenian inscription.

Porcelain from China was made for the Armenian market in the eighteenth century, and Armenians are believed to have played an important role in its distribution ([Shaw] 2010a; Shaw 2010b, 29; Manginis 2012 and 2016). This is one such piece, dated by ceramic specialists to the late eighteenth century (Beurdeley 1962, 155, cat. 28; Beurdeley and Raindre 1986, 234, cat. 327). George Manginis was the first to recognise the similarity between the Christie's silver and enamel bowl and the porcelain bowl (Manginis 2016, 183). Obvious connections appear between the Kayseri silver bowls and the Chinese porcelain bowl. We cannot be sure which object served as the model — was the porcelain bowl made first, and the designs copied by the silversmiths, or vice versa? In my opinion, the silversmiths were inspired by the porcelain bowl (my reasoning is discussed in the "Inscriptions" section below). We can only speculate on how Armenian silversmiths in Cappadocia were exposed to this bowl — was it sent to them by a client as a model for metal pieces, or did they procure it through other means? Kayseri was on a trade route, so acquisition through trade is certainly probable.

²⁷ Another, perhaps far-fetched possibility for the original function of this medallion-like piece: might it have been removed or cut out from a bowl or dish and sold separately, perhaps even centuries after its fabrication? Could it perhaps even be the missing lion of the Bonhams/Oriental bowl?

²⁸ See the website of the Musée Arménien de France: <https://www.le-maf.com/item/bol-3/>

9. Inscriptions

The seven similar metal objects found so far (four bowls and three dishes) all include the same two-part, Armenian ligatured inscriptions (also found on the Chinese bowl), which are difficult to decipher. These inscriptions are not abbreviations of words, but complete words with ligatured, or connected letters. One vertical stroke, for example, might form parts of two (or more) connected or overlapped letters. Some of the letters used in the word might not appear in the same order as when the word is written normally. In the Armenian tradition, the use of ligatured letters is not uncommon and is found in various contexts (personal seals and ceramic dinner ware, for example).²⁹ It is called *kapgrut'yun* (կապրուտյուն), and the letters themselves are called *kapgir* (կապգիր) (Abrahamyan 1973, 187–94).

Inscriptions formed of conjoined letters may be difficult to read. The Bonhams 10 April 2008 auction catalogue proposed an interpretation of the inscriptions on its Kayseri bowl (Figs 21–22), later repeated in other auction catalogues selling similar objects. However, each inscription is described by Bonhams as being a three-letter *abbreviation*, not as a ligatured word with all letters present. The first monogram on the left has been deciphered as the name Ghukas (Luke), which is correct. The catalogue states that the monogram is an abbreviation using only three letters [GH]KS (ԴԿՍ), corresponding to GHUKAS (ԴՈՒԿԱՍ).³⁰ However, all six Armenian letters in the name are actually present, although conjoined. The Ghukas inscription on the Chinese bowl (Fig. 30) is the easiest to read, and can be compared with the Kayseri bowls and dishes (Figs 11–12, 16, 20–21, 24).

The second monogram on the right is more challenging. Upon careful examination of the Chinese bowl, we notice some strange curled marks on the lower portion of the right monogram, which do not correspond to anything used in any Armenian letters, neither majuscule nor minuscule. Chinese craftsmen produced

29 Pages stamped in ink with personal seals to show ownership are not unusual in Armenian manuscripts or printed books; they are also used on official documents. These stamps may show an institution's or a person's full name, an abbreviation of the name, or a ligatured name. The Vatican Library includes a remarkable manuscript (MS Borg. Arm. 65) composed of numerous scrolls (they have been cut and bound in codex form), some of which include hundreds of stamps made from personal seals. Some names and words are composed of ligatured letters, others of abbreviations, and still others combine both forms in one seal. The entire volume has been digitised: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.arm.65 (consulted Sept. 8, 2020). For porcelain, a number of examples exist, such as three exemplars of a blue and white dish with the ligatured name Nazarët' (ՆԱԶԱՐԷԹ); these were produced in Iran, not China, but were influenced by Chinese styles. One plate is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; see Crowe 2002, 240, no. 423. Another is in the collection of the Armenian Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro, Venice, and a third was previously in the Haroutune Hazarian collection and was sold at Christie's 12 Oct. 1999, lot 388; the catalogue states that it is from Kirman (or Kerman, in southeastern Iran) and dates from circa the second half of the seventeenth century. This plate is now in the Kalfayan Collection in Thessaloniki: *Switzerland-Armenia* 2015, 278, 312 (cat. 158). Other ceramic pieces with Armenian ligatured monograms are also known; see *Armenian Ceramic Art* 1982, [1], and Crowe 2002, 205 (no. 354) and 206 (no. 356). I thank Tina Hazarian for providing me with precious information about her father's ceramics collection, and Roupen Kalfayan for confirming that the Nazarët' plate in their collection is indeed the ex-Hazarian plate.

30 Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244. This is repeated in Christie's 21 April 2016, lot 198, in Manginis 2016, 183, Bonhams 24 April 2018, lot 204, and Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524.

made-to-order items for their clients and were presumably given something (an object or a document?) to copy from for the inscriptions and/or decoration. It would not be surprising that they might make errors since they did not know the Armenian alphabet or language. The second word formed of conjoined letters (with the strange errors) has been interpreted in the auction catalogues as a three-letter abbreviation for Catholicos (ԿԹԿ for Կ[Ա]Թ[ՈՂԻ]Կ[ՈՍ], *Kat'oghikos*), the supreme head of the Armenian church. Therefore it was decided that this must be the monogram of Catholicos Ghukas Karnets'i (Catholicos Luke of Karin [Erzurum]), Catholicos of All Armenians from 1780 to his death in 1799. These related pieces were thus dated to that period, under the assumption that this Catholicos must have commissioned them.³¹

Another possibility is that it could have been commissioned by *Kat'oghikos* Ghukas Ajapahean (Catholicos in 1731–1737) of the Great House of Cilicia.³² In either case, the monogram's meaning is problematic since it is definitely not a three-letter abbreviation for *Kat'oghikos*.³³ The letters are difficult to interpret because of errors by the Chinese artists who (mis)copied it onto the porcelain bowl. In any case, it could also denote something else, perhaps even the date in the Armenian Era (using Armenian letters for numerals, as is usual).³⁴ It might be impossible to decipher this second monogram, although we can be certain from the first that it was made for someone named Ghukas. More research might help us determine if this inscription is indeed the monogram of *Kat'oghikos* Ghukas Karnets'i or *Kat'oghikos* Ghukas Ajapahean; it would be instructive to compare their personal seals with the ligatured form found on the silver objects and the Chinese porcelain bowl. Their seals might be found on official documents (such as *kondaks*, or official edicts or decrees) in Holy Etchmiadzin or in Antelias.³⁵ Multiple copies of the imported and presumably expensive Chinese bowl could have been produced as part of a larger set. If the bowl(s) were made for a Catholicos, might there exist other exemplars, perhaps in private or public collections, or possibly even in Etchmiadzin or Antelias? Finding more examples at either of the two Sees and researching the seals of both Catholicos would add further evidence that it was commissioned by a Catholicos.

³¹ This idea was first proposed in Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244, and was repeated in Christie's 21 April 2016, lot 198; Manginis 2016, 183; Bonhams 24 April 2018, lot 204; Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524.

³² I thank the late Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan, Chief Curator of the Matenadaran, Yerevan, and Seda Manukyan, PhD candidate at the Matenadaran, Yerevan, for their valuable input on the decipherment of this inscription and for their suggestion that it could be Catholicos Ajapahean.

³³ Abrahamyan 1973, 198 states that the usual abbreviation for the word *Kat'oghikos* (ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍ) is ԿԹԻ, not ԿԹԿ.

³⁴ If the second ligatured word is actually a date, it could begin with the word *t'vakan* or *t'uakan*, which means date, followed by the year in the Armenian Era using Armenian letters. According to Abrahamyan, the abbreviation for *t'vakan* is a conjoined T'V (ԹՎ), which is visible in the ligatured word. See Abrahamyan 1973, 190, 197. Additionally, in some of the Kayseri metal pieces, the strange curled marks on the bottom of the monogram have been joined together to form what looks like the letter R (Ր or ռ). This Armenian letter symbolises the number 1000, which would be the first letter/numeral of a date in the Armenian Era in the eighteenth century CE.

³⁵ The headquarters of the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia has been located in Antelias, Lebanon since 1930.

There is clearly a connection between the Chinese porcelain bowl and the Kayseri silver pieces. This brings up another question: which came first? The ligatured name Ghukas (ՂՈՒԿԱՍ) is fairly easy to decipher on the Chinese bowl, and may give us a clue to the answer (Fig. 30). All the letters are included in the ligature, although some overlap onto each other. Since the word is ligatured and the letters are all connected, even sometimes overlapping each other, the same symbol Ա is used to express both the Ա and the Ս. Note that the Armenian majuscule letter A (Ա) differs from the letter S (Ս) only by the addition of a small "hook" on the lower right side of the S (Ս). Now let us compare the Chinese bowl (Fig. 30) with the Armenian metal bowls, focusing on the same ligatured word Ghukas (ՂՈՒԿԱՍ) on all of them (Figs 12, 16, 20–21, 23). None of the Kayseri pieces include the hook for the Ա in this ligatured word. This is an error on the part of the Armenian silversmiths, who certainly knew the Armenian language and were literate, but occasionally made spelling errors in their inscriptions (Merian 2013, 125).³⁶ It would certainly be easy to make a mistake when copying a strangely formed (ligatured) word made with connected letters (and remember that the letters were being impressed from the underside of the silver — therefore in mirror image!) If the Chinese painters decorating the porcelain bowl were copying the Armenian silverwork, which was missing the hook for the A (Ա), they could not have possibly known how to correct the letter by adding the little hook missing in the letter Ա (vs. Ս). Therefore, I believe that the Chinese bowl predates the Kayseri pieces because of the correct Armenian A (Ա) in the porcelain bowl within the first word Ghukas (ՂՈՒԿԱՍ).

If this hypothesis is correct, and the Chinese porcelain bowl (determined by ceramic specialists to date from the late-eighteenth century) was produced earlier than the metal work and was the inspiration for the silversmiths, then the Kayseri bowls and dishes would date to the late-eighteenth century, or later. This would imply a later, revised date range for the atelier. Known and securely dated objects found thus far from the Kayseri workshop date from 1653 to 1741 (although the workshop could certainly have existed before 1653 or after 1741). However, a Chinese porcelain bowl produced for *Kat'oghikos* Ghukas Ajapahean (Catholikos from 1731 to 1737) would imply a date within the already established period for this workshop. The matter remains open until further research can be done on the inscriptions.

Another question remains — if indeed the Chinese bowl was a commission for Catholikos Ghukas (either one), why would it be decorated with clearly female, *bare-breasted* angels? This seems to be rather unusual iconography to choose for the head of the Armenian Church. Furthermore, angels are generally depicted as winged, sexless figures, modelled after humans, although usually somewhat feminine in appearance. They are not depicted topless. The winged beings on this Chinese bowl have very distinct breasts, which were further replicated by the silversmiths in their work. This may be another example of a misinterpretation by Chinese artists

³⁶ Note that in other inscribed silver pieces, the Kayseri silversmiths did not use ligatured letters — the words were fully spelled out with the occasional use of common abbreviations. Thus far I have not seen conjoined letters in any work from this atelier except for these four bowls and three dishes.

who did not fully understand what object or document they were (presumably) copying to decorate the porcelain bowls. Were the angels they were copying so feminine-looking that they decided to exaggerate the feminine features? Or were they perhaps attempting to copy *putti* (small winged infants/angels generally shown nude or half clothed), while misunderstanding the youth of the *putti*?

10. Purpose

What was the purpose of these metal objects made by the silversmiths? Were they all part of a larger set that was eventually dispersed? Thus far, four similar bowls and three dishes have been found, all clearly from the Kayseri workshop; however, in my opinion there are enough variations between them to conclude that they were not part of one large set. For example, the Bonhams/Oriental bowl does not have the lion motif in the well, while all the other three bowls and dishes do. Another bowl (Bonhams 10 April 2008) has four angel motifs on the exterior instead of the usual combination of two angel and two heart motifs. Three bowls with their dishes have been enhanced with enamels whose colours differ in each pair (Manoogian Museum, Christie's 2106, and Bonhams/Oriental), while the Bonhams 10 April 2008 bowl has no enamel, and might have been enhanced by niello. More decorative consistency would be expected if these objects had all been part of a coherent set.

What exactly was their purpose then? The Chinese porcelain bowl, Fig. 30 (which may have originally had a matching dish), was certainly an imported, luxury, utilitarian item suitable for drinking or eating, and was probably commissioned for or by someone named Ghukas, perhaps one of the two Catholicoi. In contrast, it is highly unlikely that the silver and enameled Kayseri sets were used for consuming food or drink: the raised, repoussé portions would not be appropriate for serving food as they could easily be damaged, the enamels could get chipped (as indeed they are), and the concave parts of the repoussé would have trapped food particles. It seems more likely that these pieces were expensive, decorative items used for display, and they were probably sold separately to different clients. The ligatured inscriptions, difficult to read anyway, were probably considered decorative motifs by the silversmiths and their customers. It seems unlikely that the pieces found thus far, which are extremely similar but not equivalent, could have formed part of a much larger, matching set.

11. Provenance

As previously mentioned, when the Manoogian Museum received the bowl and dish from Louise Simone, each object had numbers painted in red and placed in areas, which were not visible when displayed (Figs 15 and 17). These looked suspiciously like museum accession numbers to me. Since there had been mention of prior ownership by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, I contacted my colleagues there to find out if they had any departmental or archival records matching these accession numbers. I was informed that they were indeed Metropolitan Museum

accession numbers and that these two objects once belonged to the Department of Medieval Art and the Cloisters, acquired as part of the bequest of Theodore M. Davis in 1915, but were deaccessioned in 1980.³⁷ They were sold in New York (Christie's 20 November 1982, lot 258) to an unnamed person for \$500.³⁸ It is not known why the Metropolitan Museum deaccessioned them, but the Christie's catalogue describes them as Armenian, eighteenth century — perhaps these objects were deaccessioned as they were considered too late to be in the Medieval Department. In any case, the information provided by my colleagues at the Met enabled me to reconstruct some interesting provenance background.

We have already determined that the Manoogian bowl and dish were produced in the Armenian silversmiths' workshop in Kayseri, probably in the late-eighteenth century. There is no information about their whereabouts until they were acquired by Theodore M. Davis (d. February 1915). We have no records on where, when, or from whom he acquired them. Davis, a wealthy American lawyer (b. 1838), sponsored excavations in Egypt's Valley of the Kings between 1902 and 1914. He amassed a huge art collection, which was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum after his death, but his will was contested by his family for fifteen years. The court ruled in the Museum's favor, and the collection was accessioned in 1930 (Adams 2013); thus the accession numbers begin with 30.³⁹ The bowl and dish then became part of the Department of Medieval Art and the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum. They were sold in the Christie's auction of 20 November 1982 to an unknown person, and were subsequently acquired by Louise Manoogian Simone who gifted them to the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum before 1988.

12. Surprising Analysis Results

The Manoogian Museum was keen to determine exactly when their bowl and dish were produced. Were they Cilician, or not? To answer this question, in 2011 the Museum had the two objects analysed in the Conservation Science Laboratory of the Detroit Institute of Arts, hoping that the results might help date them. They were analysed by X-ray fluorescence (XRF), a non-destructive method of elemental analysis used to identify the metal and enamel compositions. Analysis of the enamels was conducted in order to eliminate the presence of modern colourants; the results indicated that they did not include any modern components, only chemical substances, which could have theoretically been used in the thirteenth century (but also later).

³⁷ According to the departmental files from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. My grateful thanks are due to Helen C. Evans and Christine Brennan of the Department of Medieval Art and the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum for searching their records and providing me with the information regarding the accession numbers, the deaccessioning of the bowl and dish, and the subsequent sale of these two objects at Christie's.

³⁸ It is highly unlikely that Louise Manoogian Simone bought them directly from the 1982 Christie's auction, because she would have certainly informed the museum of that fact upon donation. The Manoogian Museum was unaware of the connection with a Christie's auction until this research was conducted.

³⁹ For details on some of the more impressive objects and paintings from his collection, see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* March 1931. The Armenian silver dish and bowl are not included in this publication.

The lab determined that the technique used in the plating process was mercury gilding, also called fire gilding (DeRoo 2011). This technique uses an amalgam of mercury with gold (or mercury with silver) to plate base metals with either gold or silver. Unfortunately, this information was not useful for determining a date of manufacture, since the materials and processes for mercury gilding or silvering were utilised not only in the medieval period, but up to modern times, and have been “used since antiquity and throughout a very wide geographic area, ranging from England to China” (DeRoo 2011). However, they did discover something unexpected: the Manoogian Museum’s bowl and dish are not pure silver — they are actually copper covered with a layer of silver. The silver was plated onto the copper by the mercury silvering method, and was additionally gilt.⁴⁰ This led me to question whether other Kayseri objects (especially the silver bindings) were actually silver. Had they been made of copper covered with silver?⁴¹ They appear to be silver and we have always assumed that they were silver; they might not be.

13. Possible Future Research

It would be extremely informative to conduct XRF analysis on other objects made in this workshop and compare the results with the data on the Manoogian Museum pieces. To my knowledge, with the exception of the Manoogian Museum’s pieces, such analyses have not been conducted on any Armenian silver bindings and certainly not on objects from the Kayseri workshop. XRF analysis would determine if these objects are in fact silver, silvered copper, or something else, and what the enamel components are. If the metal is indeed silver, what grade of silver? If some objects are determined to be copper-based, were the clients aware of this? If they are silver, does this indicate that objects used for sacred purposes were perhaps made of more expensive precious metals, while non-religious objects used cheaper materials? Or did the workshop manufacture items composed of different metals, with the choice simply depending on the client’s preference (this is the most likely scenario), and what he was willing to pay? Copper objects, even if plated with silver, would be less expensive than wares made entirely of silver. Were some perhaps manufactured with a copper base due to silver shortages in the Ottoman Empire? Economic crises

⁴⁰ When the dish and bowl were in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, they knew that the objects were made of silvered copper, as this fact was noted in their departmental files, and they were also described as such in the Christie’s 20 November 1982 auction catalogue. But Louise Simone (and consequently the Manoogian Museum) was unaware of this determination as she probably bought them through an intermediary.

⁴¹ The official standard for silver in the Ottoman Empire was 0.900 (900 parts per 1000), as determined from an assay conducted by the assay office. If the assayed object was verified to meet the standard, it would be stamped with a small *tuğra* mark (official calligraphic monogram of the reigning sultan) and/or another mark called a *sah* (which was used after 1839 with the beginning of Sultan Abdülmecid’s reign). Silversmiths were not permitted to sell items as 0.900 silver if they didn’t have the *tuğra* or the *sah* mark; this was to discourage artisans from cheating their customers, and protect customers from unscrupulous silversmiths. This unsurprisingly led to the production of counterfeit *tuğra* marks (see Kürkman 1996, 17–39, 48–53, 58–63, 111–18). Thus far I have not found any *tuğra* or *sah* marks on any Armenian plaques from Kayseri, nor on the Manoogian pieces.

occurred in various periods when the Empire did not have enough silver for currency, and craftsmen were limited to certain daily allocations. At other periods, by official decree, lay people and religious institutions had to relinquish their high-grade silver to the government (in exchange for a payment); at times there was even the forced seizure of silver artifacts (Kürkman 1996, 37–39, and 277 [Document 13]).⁴²

14. Conclusion

A distinctive style and the silversmiths' clever inclusion of detailed inscriptions on some of their products enable definitive identifications of objects from this workshop. These inscriptions, which function like manuscript colophons, centuries later inform curious researchers of precious details regarding the objects' creation, and answer those all-important questions: who, where, and when. Furthermore, the inscriptions must have served as effective publicity. Prospective customers, whether clerics, potential donors to religious institutions, or laymen simply in the market for luxury household gifts, would be instantly informed as to where they could procure similar items.

The style of inscribed works similar to uninscribed ones enables us to classify them as having been produced in this Kayseri workshop, allowing us to assign at least a range of production dates to them. By comparing the Manoogian Museum's dish and bowl with known objects made in the Kayseri atelier, their place of origin and an approximate date for when they were produced (eighteenth century) has been determined. Pinpointing a more specific date will require further research; one inscription on the Manoogian objects has not been satisfactorily deciphered. Scientific analysis was inconclusive for determining the date of production, but yielded an unanticipated, interesting result regarding the base material. Knowledge of the objects' composition might also have important implications on how they should be conserved.

The silversmiths were adept in many metal-working techniques, such as repoussé, *cloisonné*, enameling, and gilding, and they used a variety of materials (silver, gold, copper, enamels, precious and semi-precious gems). Quite probably, they were also skilled jewelry makers.⁴³ The silversmiths were inspired by many disparate sources: Armenian manuscript illumination, western European woodcuts and engravings,

42 For example, in January 1789 an edict by Sultan Abdülhamid I decreed that non-Muslim subjects had to submit the following amounts of silver to the state: the Greek community, 5000 *oka*, the Armenians, 4000 *oka*, and the Jews, 3000 *oka*. As late as 1817, another edict declared that the Greek church had to turn in 6000 *oka* of silver, the Armenian church, 4000 *oka*, and the Jews had to relinquish 3000 *oka*. The *oka* (or *okka*) is a unit of weight. According to Kürkman's calculations, 1 *oka* = 1.28 kg. Marchese, Breu and the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul (2015, 355) bring up an interesting theory — it is possible that some church artifacts were purposely made with a lower grade of silver (less than 0.900), and were therefore not stamped with *tugra* or *sah* marks. During times of silver shortages, the churches would not have been forced to turn them over to the government, since the lower grade of silver was not acceptable.

43 Although I have not yet found any examples of jewelry fabricated in this workshop, it is logical that they would have produced and sold this type of merchandise.

medieval Cilician coinage, and even imported Chinese porcelain. The breadth of these sources is a clear indication of widespread trade connections.

The materials used might reveal evidence of economic difficulties, such as periods of silver shortages. Future research on possible silver marks (such as assay, *tuğra*, or *sah* marks) might also shed light on the historical backdrop during the atelier's existence.⁴⁴ Scientific analysis by XRF on manuscript covers or other objects will provide information about the basic materials used, and unexpected results may raise more questions. Such analyses can also impart a broader knowledge of seventeenth–eighteenth century materials and techniques used in ateliers in the Ottoman Empire. It would be particularly interesting to determine the composition of the other metal bowls and dishes similar to the Manoogian Museum's objects, but as these are presumably in private collections, it may never be possible.

New objects are frequently being discovered and identified as having been produced in the Kayseri workshop, such as the bowl and dish in the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, which inevitably leads to more questions, more research, and more discoveries.⁴⁵ Professor Der Nersessian, I did not forget!⁴⁶

44 It may be difficult to discover these marks as it is often impossible to examine the underside of the silver covers if they are still attached to the manuscripts, for example.

45 As this article was going to press I was informed by Garo Kürkman that he discovered two silver comb embellishments and two *hamam* bowls from the same workshop (they have similar stylistic and technical details), dated 1910, 1912, and 1914. He also acquired direct information from descendants of the early twentieth-century silversmiths who produced these items; their family is from Kayseri. We look forward to further information and publications on this exciting discovery, which will change the *terminus ante quem* for this workshop; it now seems to have existed from around 1653 until at least 1914. I thank him profoundly for sharing this precious information.

46 I would like to thank many people who helped in various ways, from stimulating discussions to providing photographs and permission to publish. My grateful thanks are due first to the indefatigable Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan for organizing the conference in memory of Sirarpie Der Nersessian during the challenge of a nationwide strike. At the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, my deep thanks are due to Lucy Ardash, Director, for drawing my attention to the bowl and dish and encouraging me to continue this research, as well as Richard Manoogian, Edmund Azadian†, and Robert Hensleigh (photographer). I also thank: Roger Wieck, Maria Fredericks, Maria Molestina, Marilyn Palmeri, Graham Haber†, Eva Soos, Janny Chiu, Kaitlyn Krieg (The Morgan Library & Museum); Helen C. Evans and Christine Brennan (Metropolitan Museum of Art); Frédéric Fringhian (Musée arménien de France, Paris); Hrair Hawk Khatcherian; Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan† and Seda Manukyan (Matenadaran, Yerevan); a private collector (Virginia, USA); Father Vahan Ohanian (Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro, Venice); Jay Moschella (Boston Public Library); Eugenio Donadoni and Cosima Stewart (Christie's, London); Oliver White and Priya Singh (Bonhams, London); Hana Chidiac (Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, Paris). My thanks are also due to the following people for fruitful discussions, helpful comments, and their patient help in answering many questions: Levon Avdoyan, Tina Hazarian, Roupen Kalfayan, Lola Koundakjian, Garo Kürkman, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Erin Piñon, Vanessa Pintado, Levon Saryan, and Leon Tatevossian. I also thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their input, as well as Aram Topchyan for his careful editing. Any errors in this article are my own, of course.



Fig. 1: Dish and bowl with ligatured inscriptions. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. and L1988.10. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 2: Silver cover (exterior), depicting the Last Supper (front), central spine piece with inscription, and Coronation of the Virgin (back); silversmith Yakob Malkhas, Kayseri, AD 1660. Credit: Copyright Musée Armenien de France-Paris. www.le-maf.com. Accession no. 400. Photography by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 3: Silver cover (interior), depicting the Last Supper (front), central spine piece with inscription, and Coronation of the Virgin (back); silversmith Yakob Malkhas, Kayseri, AD 1660. Credit: Copyright Musée Armenien de France-Paris. www.le-maf.com. Accession no. 400. Photography by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 4: Presentation; Gospels dated AD 1475, fol. 8v. Credit: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W540.



Fig. 5: Presentation; silver plaque on front cover of Gospels dated AD 1488, Kayseri, seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. Credit: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W542.



Fig. 6: Presentation surrounded by 24 prophets; silver and enameled plaque from Kayseri on the front cover of Gospels dated AD 1700. Credit: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M1108. Purchased on the L. W. Frohlich Charitable Trust, in memory of L. W. Frohlich and Thomas R. Burns, in recognition of their interest and contributions to the art of the written word, 1998.



Fig. 8: Purification of Isaiah surrounded by 24 prophets; silver and enameled plaque from Kayseri on the back cover of Gospels copied in AD 1682. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of a Private Collection, Virginia (USA).



Fig. 9: Purification of Isaiah surrounded by 24 prophets; silver cover from Kayseri on the front cover of a Ritual (*Mashtots*) copied in AD 1698; silver covers by silversmith Karapet Malkhas, Kayseri, AD 1704. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of the Boston Public Library, MS q Arm.1. Photography by Sylvie L. Merian.



Fig. 10: Purification of Isaiah surrounded by 24 prophets; silver cover (front), central spine piece with inscription, and Christ predicting the fall of Jerusalem with 12 Apostles (back). Silversmith Karapet Malkhas, Kayseri, AD 1691. Credit: Armenian Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro, Venice, Metal no. 198. Photography by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 11: Bowl (exterior) with angel motif and ligatured inscription. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 12: Bowl (exterior) with heart motif and ligatured inscription. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. Photography by Sylvie L. Merian.



Fig. 13: Bowl (interior) with lion motif. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 14: Bowl with lion motif seen from underneath (exterior, bottom). Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. Photography by Sylvie L. Merian.



Fig. 15: Bowl (underside) with old accession number (30.95.8) of former owner, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.9. Photography by Sylvie L. Merian.



Fig. 16: Dish (interior). Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.10. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 17: Dish (exterior, bottom) with old accession number (30.95.9) of former owner, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.10. Photography by Sylvie L. Merian.



Fig. 18: Christ surrounded by music-making angels; silver, enameled, jeweled back cover on a Songbook (*Ergaran*) manuscript copied in AD 1418; silversmiths Karapet and Yakob, Kayseri, AD 1653. Credit: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS W7. Gift of Julia Parker Wightman, April, 1993.

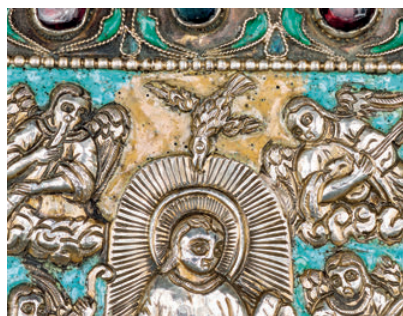


Fig. 19: Detail of the back cover of MS W7, with Christ, angels, bird, and bubbly enamel (cover dated AD 1653). Credit: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS W7. Gift of Julia Parker Wightman, April, 1993.



Fig. 20: Silver and enameled bowl (with rampant lion handles) and dish. Christie's, 21 April 2016, *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, London, lot 198. Credit: © 2016 Christie's Images Limited.



Fig. 21: Silver bowl (with rampant lion handles), exterior. Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of Bonhams, London.



Fig. 22: Silver bowl (with rampant lion handles), interior with lion motif. Bonhams 10 April 2008, lot 244. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of Bonhams, London.



Fig. 23: Silver and enameled dish and bowl. Bonhams 24 April 2018, lot 204. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of Bonhams, London.



Fig. 24: Silver and enameled dish (interior) and bowl (exterior). Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524. Credit: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/67238451_a-rare-armenian-enamelled-silver-cup-and-saucer



Fig. 25: Silver and enameled dish and bowl (bottom of dish and interior of bowl showing repoussé). Note that the bowl does not include the lion motif. Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524. Credit: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/67238451_a-rare-armenian-enamelled-silver-cup-and-saucer



Fig. 26: Silver and enameled dish and bowl. Oriental Art Auctions 11 December 2018, lot 524. Credit: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/67238451_a-rare-armenian-enamelled-silver-cup-and-saucer



Fig. 27: Detail of lion motif in the Manoogian Museum dish. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. L1988.10. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 28: Cilician silver coin of King Levon I (r. 1198–1219). Crowned lion on reverse of half double *dram* coin. Credit: Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum, acc. no. 1988.188.1. Photography by Robert Hensleigh.



Fig. 29: Silver medallion (?) with lion motif, from the K. J. Basmadjian Collection. Credit: Basmadjian 1936, 150.



Fig. 30: Chinese porcelain bowl with Armenian inscription and angel motif. Credit: Copyright Musée Armenien de France – Paris. www.le-maf.com. Accession no. 1016.



31: Ascension of Christ with 12 apostles; silver and enameled front cover, Kayseri, on a Gospels copied in AD 1700. Credit: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M1108. Purchased on the L. W. Frohlich Charitable Trust, in memory of L. W. Frohlich and Thomas R. Burns, in recognition of their interest and contributions to the art of the written word, 1998.



Fig. 32. Christ predicting the fall of Jerusalem with 12 Apostles; silver and enameled front cover on Gospels copied in AD 1682. Credit: Reproduced with the kind permission of a Private Collection, Virginia (USA).

References

- Abrahamyan, Asot G. 1973. *Հայոց գիր և գրչություն* [Armenian Letters and Writing]. Yerevan: Yerevan State University.
- Adams, John M. 2013. *The Millionaire and the Mummies: Theodore Davis's Gilded Age in the Valley of the Kings*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Anonymous. 1895. «Ճաշակ մի կեսարացի հայ ոսկերչության» [“A Taste of the Armenian Silversmiths' Art of Caesarea”]. *Bazmavēp* 53, 76–77. [https://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Bazmavēp/1895/1895\(2\)_ocr.pdf](https://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Bazmavēp/1895/1895(2)_ocr.pdf)
- Armenian Ceramic Art. 1982. *Armenian Ceramic Art: An Exhibition from the Collections of Tina & Haroutune Hazarian [and] Dr Paul Z. Bedoukian*. New York: Armenian Museum.
- Basmadjian, K. J. 1936. *Հայկական ընդհանուր դրամագիտություն և Հայաստանի վերաբերյալ դրամներ* [Numismatique Générale de l'Arménie (Monnaies arméniennes et autre monnaies frappées en Arménie)]. Venice: St Lazarus Press.
- Beurdeley, Michel. 1962. *Chinese Trade Porcelain*. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co.
- and Guy Raindre. 1986. *Qing Porcelain: Famille Verte, Famille Rose 1644–1912*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc.
- Bonhams. 10 April 2008. *Islamic and Indian Art*, London, lot 244.
- . 24 April 2018. *Islamic and Indian Art including Modern and Contemporary South Asian Art*, London, lot 204. <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24623/lot/204/?category=list> (consulted August 26, 2020).
- Christie's. 20 November 1982. *Fine French and Continental Furniture, Clocks, Objects of Art, Tapestries and Sculpture*, New York, lot 258.
- . 11 Oct. 1988. *Important Islamic, Indian and South-East Asian Manuscripts, Miniatures, and Works of Art*, London, lot 278.
- . 12 Oct. 1999. *Islamic, Indian, and Armenian Art and Manuscripts*, London, lot 388.
- . 23 April 2015. *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, London, lot 202.
- . 21 April 2016. *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, London, lot 198.
- . 26 April 2018. *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds including Oriental Rugs and Carpets*, London, lot 187.
- Crowe, Yolande. 2002. *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501–1738*. Geneva: La Borie.
- DeRoo, Cathy Selvius. 2011. “Conservation Science Laboratory Analytical Report” (unpublished report, 23 November). The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.
- Evans, Helen C. and Sylvie L. Merian. 1994. “The Final Centuries: Armenian Manuscripts of the Diaspora”. In *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 104–23.
- Grigoryan, Gohar. 2020. “Two Armenian Manuscripts in Switzerland (With an Annotated Translation of a Newly-Found Abridgment of the *Commentary of Canon Tables* Attributed to Step'anos Siwnec'i)”. *Le Muséon* 133 (1–2), 87–139. <http://doi:10.2143/MUS.133.1.3287662>
- Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna. 2012. “Sacred Word and Image in Eastern Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Contexts”. In *Sacred Word and Image: Five World Religions*, ed. Janet Baker, Sherry Harlacher,

- Stephen K. Batalden, and Zsuzsanna Gulácsi. Phoenix, Arizona: Phoenix Art Museum, 82–127 (published only as an eBook). https://phxart.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/SACREDWORD_01_17_000.pdf (consulted June 8, 2020)
- Jennings, Ronald C. 1976. “Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum”. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7, 21–57.
- Kalfayan Exhibition. 2010. *Aspects of Armenian Art: The Kalfayan Collection: Temporary Exhibition, June 11 – October 10, 2010, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, Greece*, ed. Stamatios Chondrogiannis. Thessaloniki: Museum of Byzantine Culture.
- Kürkman, Garo. 1996. *Ottoman Silver Marks*. Istanbul: Mathusalem Publications.
- MacIer, Frédéric. 1924. *Documents d’art arméniens*, 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Malkhasyan, Armen. 1996. «Կեսարահայ կազմարվեստի պատմությունից (ԺԷ–ԺԸ դարեր)» [“From the History of Binding Art in Armenian Kayseri (17th–18th Centuries)”]. *Etchmiadzin Monthly*, May–June, 174–90. [https://tert.nla.am/archive/HGG%20AMSAGIR/etchmiadzin-vagharshapat/1996/1996\(5-6\).pdf](https://tert.nla.am/archive/HGG%20AMSAGIR/etchmiadzin-vagharshapat/1996/1996(5-6).pdf)
- . 2011. *Մայր Էջմիածնի մետաղե կրկնալուսկները* [Metal Overbindings of Holy Etchmiadzin]. Etchmiadzin: Publishing House of the Mother See.
- . 2022. *Հայկական կազմարարական դպրոցները և Մատենադարանի հայերեն ձեռագրերի կազմերի արձանագրությունները* [The Armenian Schools of Bookbinding and the Inscriptions on the Covers of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Matenadaran]. Yerevan: Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. https://www.matenadaran.am/ftp/el_gradaran/A.Malkhasyan.pdf?_gl=1*_3cs3gd*_ga*Mjk3ODIwODcoLjE2NzEoNTg5MjY*_ga_TQF3S187V5*MTczNTkxMDgzNS4oMTguMC4xNzM1OTEwODM1LjAuMC4w
- Manginis, George. 2012. “Chinese Porcelain for ‘the Armenian Market’”. In *Newsletter: The Oriental Ceramic Society* 20 (May), 14–16.
- . 2016. “Armenian Patrons for Chinese Commodities: Trade Networks and Cultural Exchange Across Asia”. In *Art, Trade and Culture in the Islamic World and Beyond: from the Fatimids to the Mughals*, ed. Alison Ohta, Michael Rogers and Rosalind Wade Haddon. London: Gingko Library, 176–87.
- Marchese, Ronald T., Marlene R. Breu, and the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul. 2015. *Treasures of Faith: Sacred Relics and Artifacts from the Armenian Orthodox Churches of Istanbul*. Istanbul: Çitlenbik and Eden, South Dakota: Nettleberry Publications.
- Mathews, Thomas F. and Roger S. Wieck (eds). 1994. *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library.
- Merian, Sylvie L. 2011. “Notes on Two Pairs of Armenian Silver Plaques from Kayseri in the Musée Arménien de France”. *Manuscripta* 55.1, 109–22.
- . 2013. “The Armenian Silversmiths of Kesaria/Kayseri in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”. In *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian. Costa Mesa, California: Mazda Publishers, 117–85.
- . 2018a. “Armenian Metalwork in Kayseri”. In *Armenia: Art, Religion, and Trade in the Middle Ages*, ed. Helen C. Evans. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 241.

- . 2018b. "Cat. 111, Gold Pyx". *Ibidem*, 242.
- . 2018c. "Cat. 112A, B, Gospel Book with Enameled and Jeweled Silver Plaques". *Ibidem*, 243.
- . 2018d. "Cat. 138, Oskan Bible" and "Cat. 139, Biblia Sacra". *Ibidem*, 296–97.
- . 2019. "Reproducing the Resurrection: From European Prints to Armenian Manuscripts". In *Toward a Global Middle Ages: Encountering the World through Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Bryan C. Keene. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 148–55.
- . 2021. "The Dissemination of Western European Prints Eastward: The Armenian Case". In *Prints as Agents of Global Exchange, 1500–1800*, ed. Heather Madar. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 126–57.
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. March 1931. "Part 2: The Theodore M. Davis Bequest", 26 (3), 1–35.
- Oriental Art Auctions. 11 December 2018. *Islamic Art Auction*, Hattem, Netherlands, lot 524. https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/67238451_a-rare-armenian-enamelled-silver-cup-and-saucer (consulted August 9, 2020).
- Saryan, Levon. 2013. "Ancient and Medieval Coins". In *A Legacy of Armenian Treasures: Testimony to a People; The Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum*, ed. Edmond Azadian, Sylvie L. Merian, and Lucy Ardash. Taylor, Michigan: Alex and Marie Manoogian Foundation, 127–37, cat. 4.11.
- Shaw, Nicholas. 2010a. "Chinese Export Porcelain for the Armenian Market". In *Aspects of Armenian Art: The Kalfayan Collection: Temporary Exhibition June 11 – October 10, 2010*, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, Greece, ed. Stamatios Chondrogiannis. Thessaloniki: Museum of Byzantine Culture, 212.
- . 2010b. "Tracing the Cultural Life of the Armenian Community in the Later Ottoman Empire". *Ibidem*, 27–31.
- Sotheby's. 5 April 2006. *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, lot 193.
- . 9 April 2008. *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, lot 300.
- . 14 April 2010. *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, lot 278.
- Switzerland-Armenia. 2015. *Switzerland-Armenia: The Kalfayan Collection: On the Path of Memory*. Gollion, Switzerland: Infolio Editions and Pregny-Genève, Switzerland: Éditions de Penthes, Museum of the Swiss Abroad.
- Tajan. 1 July 2019. *Oriental Art*, Auction no. 1929, Paris, lot 218.
- Treasures in Heaven Symposium Papers*. 1998. *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society: Papers Delivered at The Pierpont Morgan Library at a Symposium Organized by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck 21–22 May 1994*. New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library.