

ne me demandes pas» où un verbe contracté en *-έω* remplacerait *ἀνερωτῆς*. Dans le mot suivant, on pourrait chercher *ὁδόν* «chemin» aussi bien qu'un cas de *ὀδούς* «dent».

9° La ligne finit avec *ἐκεῖνος* «celui-là».

10° Après un *ἔρχομαι* «je viens», très effacé, se trouve un verbe, d'abord à la première personne du pluriel, puis répété au singulier (cf. l. 13). Si la seconde lettre est bien *η* (et non *η* ou *ι*), on obtiendrait *εἰλήσομεν*, *εἰλήσω* «nous roulerons, je roulerai».

11° On formerait des mots en découpant ainsi la ligne dont la fin demeure obscure: *τις* «quelqu'un», *πῶς* «comment», *ὀδεύομεν* «nous marchons», *δειξόν* «montre!».

12° A partir d'ici l'état du texte s'améliore. On lit sans peine *ἀνέδωκα αὐτὰ αὐτοῦ* (valant *αὐτῷ*?) «je les lui ai distribués»; mais vaut-il mieux comprendre *τὸν ἀλάτιον* «la mixture saline», avec une erreur de genre, ou *τῶν ἀλατιῶν*?

13° Sauf le dernier mot qui rappelle *φρονιμ-* ou *φρονημ-*, tout est clair: *καὶ ἰσχυρός* «et fort», *ἔχομεν*, *ἔχω*, *ἔχεις*, *ἔχει* «nous avons, j'ai, tu as, il a», *ἡμῖν* «à nous».

14° On retombe dans l'obscurité complète.

15° A côté des formes sûres *ἐποίησες* «tu as fait» et *ὕψος* «hauteur», apparaissent des mots moins nets comme *ἐμῆν* «ma», *καλή* «belle», *φύσας* «ayant fait pousser», *ἀγλιθάριον* «ail» (que voilerait la graphie *αηλητρηρῆ*?), *γεωργο...* «laboureur».

16° Après un début embarrassant, qui semble contenir *οὐδείς* «aucun» (avec *ει* noté *ι*? cf. l. 19) et *τεχνίτης* «artisan», deux petites phrases se détachent nettement: *ὁ θεὸς βοηθήσεις* «ô Dieu, secours!», *ὁ θεὸς θεράπεύσεις* «ô Dieu, guéris!», où l'on notera l'emploi du nominatif en fonction de vocatif, celui du futur en fonction d'impératif, et l'assimilation de *ε* à *α* dans le dernier verbe orthographié *βωρωμ*... (cf. l. 23).

17° Avec cette ligne commence une suite presque ininterrompue de mots isolés; on y relève beaucoup de diminutifs en *-ιν* qui appartiennent à un autre type morphologique que ceux en *-ιον*. On lit donc *χαλκεὺς καὶ σκυτεὺς* (écrit *αἰ. πωβελω*) «forgeron et cordonnier», *χειρανιδίδιν* dérivé de *χειρόνιβον*

«aiguillère», *οὐδέν* «aucun», *καφάτζιν δίφριν* «caisse de char?» (si *γ*, dont la lecture même est douteuse, vaut bien *τζ*) et *κάδιν* «cruche».

18° A part le premier mot et *ου* qu'on hésite à identifier avec *οὖς* «oreille», on reconnaît sans peine *καμελαύκιν* «bonnet» sous *καμλεκαληρῆν*, *ὠτίν* et *ἐνώδιν* «oreille» et «pendant d'oreilles» écrits *ουωρῆν* et *ἐνωληρῆν*, *τριχιν* «cheveu», *μέτωπον* «front», *ὄφρος* pour *ὄφρὺς* «sourcil», *κόριν* «pupille».

19° La restitution *[στ]όμα* «bouche» s'impose; *φιηρωφωρηρῆν* recouvrirait-il *φύλαγμα χειλῶν* «précepte des lèvres»? Les trois derniers termes sont *σφόνδυλον* «vertèbre» noté *σφονδουρῆν*, *ὤμος* «épaule» et *στήθος* «poitrine».

20° La ligne débute par une phrase telle que *ἔδωκας αὐτοῦ* (pour *αὐτῷ*?) *τιμήν* «tu lui as donné de l'honneur»; puis la liste de mots reprend: *καρδία* «cœur», *συκωτόν* «foie?» orthographié *σικωτοῦν*, *χόλιν* ou *χολήν* «bile», *σπλήνα* «rate».

21° Au-dessus de *ἡλικία καὶ ἡ ἀνοφθάλμια* «âge et la cécité», on croirait entrevoir un cas de *μελανία* «noirceur». La graphie *φωρηρῆν* masque sans doute *πτύελιν* «salive», mais que signifie *ρηρῆν*? La ligne comporte encore un mot lisible: *μερίς* «partie».

22° Comment faut-il interpréter *ουρηρῆν*? On pourrait y chercher soit *οὐριν* «il retient l'urine» (cf. le composé *ισχουρία* «rétention d'urine») ou deux noms dont le second *ισχίν* «hanche» serait abrégé (cf. l. 23 et 25). L'identification de *ουρηρῆν* avec *γύλιν* «sac» semble possible, malgré la confusion de *ου* et de *υ* (cf. l. 20); *καμωωωωω* appartient peut-être à *αἱμάσσω* «saigner»; seul *ὀστράκιν* «coquille» ne fait aucun doute.

23° Entre *[δακ]τύλιν* «doigt» et *ἀντίχειρα* «pouce» noté *αἰωρηρῆν*, on ne s'attend guère à rencontrer *εὐνοῦχος* «eunuque» où *ὀνύχιν* «ongle», même travesti en *εἰληρῆν*, ferait mieux l'affaire. Si le terme suivant reste incompréhensible, *ουρωμ* équivaut certainement à *τοξάριον* «arc» et *φωρωωωωω* à *φαρέτριον* «carquois».

24° Sauf *συκάριν* «figue, excroissance» orthographié *σικωρηρῆν*, qui se trouve dans l'interligne, et *ὀρχιδ[ιν]* ou *ὀρχιδ[α]* «testicule», tout demeure obscur.

25° Les premiers mots se distinguent d'emblée: *ποδάριον* «pied», *νευρίν* «nerf» abrégé en *ηκίρ*, *βλέφαρ(ον)* «paupière»; *φιηρῆν* rappelle *φελλόν* «chêne-liège» et *καμωωω* pourrait n'être qu'une abréviation de *κάμασον* ou *καμάσιν* «espèce de vêtement».

26° On reconnaît sans peine *θηκάριν* «fourreau», *σπαθιν* «épée» écrit *σικωρηρῆν*, et *ἡπαρ* «foie»; mais existe-t-il un rapport entre *φωρωωωω* et une forme de *πάτρων* «patron»?

27° Cette dernière ligne donne encore un mot abrégé *κοντάρι(ν)* «javelot», sans compter les termes qui nous échappent.

Somme toute, cette page, très décousue, est encore loin d'avoir livré tous ses secrets; elle ne se prête donc pas à une traduction suivie ni à un commentaire. Au plus, nous hasarderons-nous à relever quelques particularités, à souligner des incohérences ou un certain flottement dans la transcription. Ainsi, contrairement aux correspondances qu'on peut tenir pour normales (cf. p. 000), *ου* rend le *υ* de *σχυτεὺς*, *συκωτόν*, *συκάριν* (l. 17, 20, 24) ou le *ω* de *ὠτίν*, *ἐνώδιν* (l. 18). Comme une spirante apparaît parfois où on ne l'attend pas: *φιηρωφωωω*, *φωρηρῆν* (l. 19, 21), on en tirerait un indice sur la prononciation. Dans *φωρωωωωω* (l. 23), la dissimilation de *ρ* s'ajoute à une assimilation des voyelles qui se retrouve dans *βωρωωωω...* (l. 16); en revanche, les voyelles sont interverties dans *σφονδουρῆν* (l. 19). A moins qu'il ne s'agisse de véritables fautes, *αἰωρηρῆν* et *ουρηρῆν* (l. 8, 18) présentent un changement de type morphologique. Enfin *ὤμος* et *καρδία* qui avoisinent *σφόνδυλον* et *σπλήνα* décèlent une confusion de cas. Cela dénote l'exercice d'un étranger qui entreprend l'étude du grec et le manie avec maladresse.



General Superiors of the United Brethren in Armenia during the XVth Century.

(Paper read in the Fourth Section of the XIXth International Congress of Orientalists at Rome, on September 25th 1935.)

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I.

We do not know very much about the Superiors of the Miabanołq in Eastern Armenia during the XVth century. The distinguished Armenian scholar *Lewond Ališan* in his *Sisakan* (Venice, 1893), p. 388b, gives only the following names and dates:

1399: *Loukas Šahapōneci*

1415: *Yovsēp Šahapōneci*

1423—1442: *Yovsēp*

1471—1475: *Mařatia Qr̄neci*

The list is poor enough, and at one time I even expressed some doubts as to whether Joseph I and Joseph II were really two distinct persons¹. But now I have come to see that Joseph surnamed “*Šahapōneci*” must have been different from another Superior of the Miabanołq, bearing the same name, and possibly the surname of “*Aparaneçi*”². The manuscripts, known to me, that give some information about the two Josephs, are four in number, viz.: *Ms. Arm. Borg. 45* of the Vatican Library, two Bodleian Armenian manuscripts, signed respectively “*b. 1*” and “*f. 6*”, and finally a Miabanoł Massbook, now belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*Supplément Arménien*, 71 = *Macler*, 106).

II.

The Vatican manuscript *Arm. Borg. 45* contains a translation of the Third Part of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* (Questions 60—90) together with the first part (Questions 1—68) of the Supplement³.

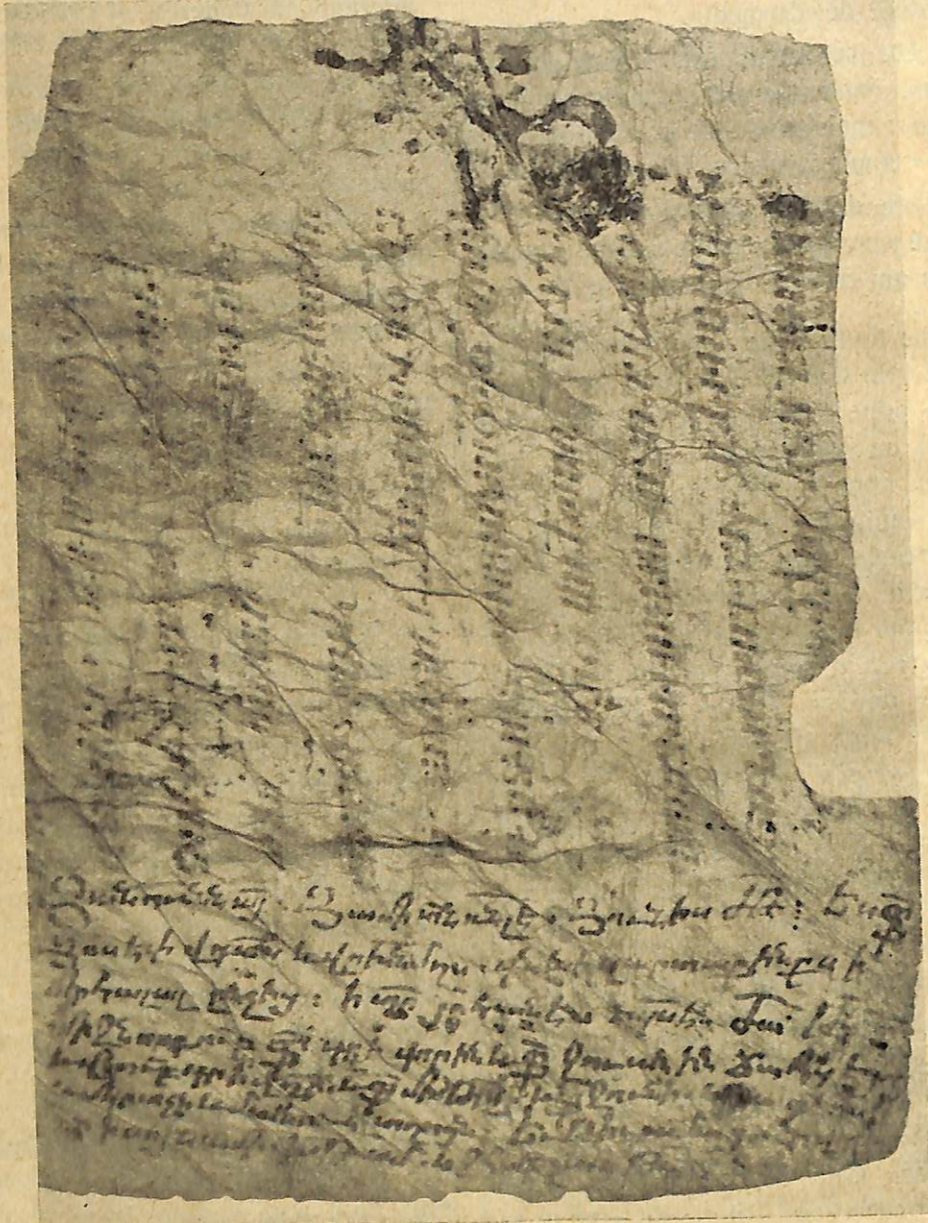
¹ *Eine armenische Übersetzung der Summa Theologica, Divus Thomas, 1930 (VIII)*, p. 267.

² Cp. *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, III, p. 4.

³ See *La version arménienne du “Supplément ad Tertiam Partem Summae Theologicae”*, *Angelicum*, 1933 (X), p. 3—23.

The second writer, Fra Grigor, who finished his work on July 23^d 1415, in his colophon⁴ on fol. 391 a of the manuscript gives the following information concerning the first writer:

reach the end, because of the difficult times and the Mohammedan persecutions: it was left unfinished for many years. But afterwards, at our demand, he⁵ permitted us to



AUTOGRAPH OF FRA YÔSÊP II
Veraxnamoġ of the United Brethren in Armenia,
dated June 19th 1437.

(Marginal note on fragment 29 of the Armenian Manuscript "b. 1" of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

"Our very reverend and distinguished spiritual father, *Fra Yôsêp*, surnamed *Šahapôneci*, had begun this divine book on the Operation of the Sacraments, but he did not

complement it..." The very respectful words *գերապատիւ եւ գերահրաշ հայր մեր ըստ հոգո*, "our very reverend and distinguished spiritual father", seem to imply that this Jo-

⁴ Cp. *Divus Thomas*, 1930 (VIII), p. 245 and following pages, where this colophon is given in full with a German translation.

⁵ That is to say: *Fra Yôsêp*. There is no need of inserting the word Աստուած (God) in the text, as I suggested in the publication mentioned above.

seph then — in July 1415 — was Fra Grigor's religious superior. *Lewond Ališan*, who had seen the Vatican manuscript in question and read this colophon, no doubt was right in drawing this conclusion and including Joseph of Šahapôns in his list of the "գաւառահարբ" with the date 1415 A. D.

III.

The manuscript, signed "*Ms. Arm. b. 1*" in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Baronian-Conybeare*, 45), is a mere collection of old fly-leaves and fragments, taken from various other manuscripts. The recto side of Fragment 29 (f. 30) contains the end of a homily in small square uncial writing, which does not concern us at present. But the top half of the page has on its outer margin a note in bolor script of the fifteenth century. And this note is very interesting, being an autograph of Dr. Joseph, veraxnamoġ of the United Brethren in 1437.

This particular fly-leaf was taken from another Bodleian manuscript, once possessed by a priest, who gives his name as "Géorg Grigorean", now signed "*Ms. Arm. f. 6*", which contains the well known "Definitions" of David the Invincible, some works of Aristotle and other philosophical matters. On fol. 1 b of this manuscript, we find among various notes and scratchings of different times and in different handwriting, these words: *Չյովսէփ վարդապետս յիշեցեք ի Քրիստոս*: In the catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts belonging to the Bodleian Library (Oxford 1918), col. 230, an attempt, not quite successful, has been made to decipher the text and to give a partial translation of Dr. Joseph's note. We venture to suggest some new readings and a fuller translation.

Text:

1. Յանուանն աստուծոյ: Յամի տեսոն Ռնկէ, Յունիս ժԹ: Ես Քրա
2. Յօսէփ վարդապետս եւ վերախնամողս գնեցի զարտաքինքս ի
3. մեր հալալ ընչից ի աէր յոհանէս եպիսկոպոսէն ժԱ. թ[ահե]կ[անիւք]
4. միջնորդութեամբ Քրա գրիգորին եւ Քրա Ղուանին ճահեցոյ

5. եւ վկայութեամբ գր[իգոր]ի վարդապետի եւ Քրա միսթարչի եւ Քրա Ղունի եւ Քրա (?) ?
6. եւ մկրտչի եւ մանուէլ աղ[ա]ոցն: Եւ թիւ ամաց մեր[ոց]
7. ն ի սոյն ամի իջի ամ եւ ջհանջան թ[ա]-գ[աւոր] . . .

Translation:

1. In the name of God! In the year of the Lord 1437, on the 19th of June, I, *fra*
2. *Yôsêp*, vardapet and superior, have bought this [book of] profane knowledge out of
3. our lawful possessed property from *Têr Yohanês*, the bishop, for 11 *tahekan*,
4. through the procurement of *fra Grigor* and *fra Jouani Čahkeci*,
5. and by witness of *Grigor the Vardapet*, and *fra Mxiřarič*, and *fra Joun*, and *fra(?)*. ?
6. and *Mkrtič* and *Manouêl*, the postulants. And the number of our years
7. in that year [was] 49 years, and *Jhansâ* [was] king⁶.

Notes on the text:

1. The initial formula "*յանուանն Աստուծոյ*" reminds one of the traditional Arabic "آلله", and is not so uncommon in Armenian documents, especially of later times. Another Miabanol example of its use is found in the colophon of a Massbook in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence⁷. The Italian designation "Fra" is constantly used among the United Brethren⁸. Only in later times, a tendency springs up to replace it by the title of "*têr*", which was and is still used by the secular clergy⁹.

2. Joseph assumes the double title of *վարդապետ* and *վերախնամող*. The first title corresponds to that of a "Magister sacrae theologiae" in the Dominican Order, and a

⁶ This *Jhansâ* or *Jahânšah* is the well known ruler of the Black Sheep (qâra-qoyunlû) dynasty.

⁷ Cp. *The monastery of Aparan and the Armenian Writer Fra Mxiřarič*. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 1932 (I), p. 273.

⁸ Cp. *Archivum Fratrum Praed.*, 1932 (I), p. 283.

⁹ Cp. *Կանոն սրբոցն Դոմինիկոսի խոստովանողին*, Rome 1935, p. 42.

fr. Joseph of Aparaner — who might be identical with our fr. Joseph — had received his biretta in due form as early as 1431¹⁰. The second title has been strangely misunderstood by *Conybeare, Catalogue*, col. 230. It was the special name given to the Superior General of the United Brethren from the very beginning of their institute. The founder of the Congregation, *Yovhannês Qrñeci*, is termed so in the colophon of *Arm. Borg. 45*. We have rendered the word “ար-սարսարիք” by “book of profane knowledge”. For the medieval Armenians, theology was “the science” par excellence. All other lore is “արսարիք”, litt. “outside” or “profane” science, as we call it. In fact, the book in question does not contain any theological, but only *philosophical* matters.

3. There are many instances in which the buyers of Armenian manuscripts carefully state that they bought them out of their “lawful property”, their “honest savings”, their “own earnings” etc. A man’s հարստիք are the things he possesses and can dispose of in a lawful way¹¹. It is interesting to note, that the Superior, Fra Joseph, here speaks of “our lawful property”, whilst the Unitor *Fra Tadêos Şahabouneçi* in 1450 buys a Breviary out of his “honest earnings”, cp. the note on fol. 406a of the Armenian Manuscript “Add. 16, 408” in the British Museum, London¹². That the monastic laws regarding the “vita communis” were not always exactly observed in Armenia, even among the later Naxivan Dominicans, appears clearly enough e. g. from the reports of the visitator fr. *Tommaso Vitale*, still preserved to-day in the Archives of the Master General of the Dominican Order at Rome. The word “թահահահ” is misspelled for գահահահ. Silver and gold coins of that

denomination were in use: in our text we probably have to understand *silver* dahekans.

4. One might be tempted to think either of the second scribe of the Vatican Manuscript *Arm. Borg. 45*, or of the successor of fr. Joseph II in the charge of veraxnamol, but it is difficult to identify a man, merely mentioned under the name of *Fra Grigor*, a very common name in Armenia. The name of *Fra Jouni*¹³ occurs several times among the *Ounitôrq* or *Miabanołq*. A “fra Jvani”, who could possibly have been present at this transaction, is referred to by fr. *Mxitariç* of Aparan¹⁴, but the surname “*Çahkeçi*” is not mentioned there¹⁵.

5. The name “*Fra Mxitariç*” is interesting. The proper name in this particular form is less common than “*Mxitar*”. It appears several times in the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century in *Miabanoł* circles; cp. *Archivum Fr. Praedicatorum* 1932 (I), p. 282—283. To the instances produced l. c. some others may be added now. The bishop of Naxivan (Նախիվան), who died in or before 1419 A. D.¹⁶, is called “*Mictaricius*” = Միտիթարիչ as well as “*Michtareus*” = Միտիթար. And in the famous list of the “*Errores Armenorum*” (1341) there is mention of a “magister Armenorum, vocatus Mchitritz” = Միտիթարիչ¹⁷. It seems rather difficult to identify the fr. *Mxitariç* of our present text with the apologist fr. *Mxitariç Aparaneçi*, who would have been some 90 years old, if he still lived in 1437, or with the “true doctor *Fra Mxitariç*, one time vicar of the convent of Aparan¹⁸. “*Fra Joun*” (or: *Jouni*?) is probably a lapsus calami for one more Joun or Jouni. If not, the name “Junius”, which even

¹³ Italian “*Giovanni*”; cp. *Divus Thomas*, 1930 (VIII), p. 254—255 and *Կանոն սրբոյն Դոմինիկոսի*, p. 135—136.

¹⁴ Cp. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 1932 (I), p. 269.

¹⁵ On *Çahouk* or *Jahouk* and its convent, see *Die Miabanoghq von Qrhay und ihre literarische Tätigkeit*, *Studia Catholica*, 1932 (VIII), p. 243.

¹⁶ Cp. *Bullarium Ord. Praed.*, II, p. 563.

¹⁷ See *Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum*, nr. 533. I wonder, if the *Katolikos Mxitar I Qrñeci*, who appears also under the name of *Mxitariç*, could be meant? *Mansi, Amplissima collectio conciliorum*, XXV, 1913, gives “*Mechicarin*” in the same context.

¹⁸ Cp. *Archivum Fratrum Praed.*, 1932 (I), p. 268—269.

in latin is by no means frequent, and which I never came across in any Armenian document of the time, must be meant. After the particle *h*, the sign for *Φρω* seems to have been covered by an inkspot, and the reading of the following proper name remains absolutely enigmatical to me. It seems to consist of five letters. The first may be either an *w* or a *m*, the second a *z*, *z*, or possibly *z*, the third is *z*, the fourth *w* or *m*, or possibly *mw*, the last may be either *h* or *ph*. At first, I guessed that the name might be read [Φρ]w z[...]*h*... But this seems to be impossible. In all the other instances of this document, the word “*fra*” is expressed by a special sign, composed of the first two letters *Φ* and *r* only. And what I supposed to be a *h* seems to be clearly enough the letter *z*. So the puzzle remained unsolved.

6—7. *Mkrtiç* and *Manouêl* do not bear the “*fra*” before their names, because they are only “postulants”, and as such do not yet belong to the brotherhood. The *Miabanołq* of Eastern Armenia observed the religious customs of the Dominican Order, and still according to the present Dominican ritual, the title “*frater*” is given to a candidate only in the solemn act of clothing, which marks the beginning of his noviciate. The word *արայք*, rendered here by “postulants”, has obviously the same meaning as *ժամկուհք* in the colophon of the manuscript *Arm. Borg. 45*. One might be tempted to see in the *Manouêl* of this note the copyist of the *Sahmanq* of David the Invincible, contained in *Ms. Arm. f. 6*, because the capital letters in the first head-piece ornament on fol. 2b of this manuscript could be read “*Manouiêl* (sic) *m[anou]k*” = “M., applicant”, instead of “*M. s[ar]k[awag]*” = “M., deacon”. But in the colophon on fol. 40a of this manuscript, the scribe M. assumes in full the title of deacon, and states that he finished his work in the year 2.2.7. = 1335 A. D. So he must be a different person from *Manouêl* the applicant of 1437.

The fact that fr. Joseph records his age at the end of this document, is very interesting. The formula “*Է թիւ ամաց ժերոյն*”

may be a reminiscence of Psalm 89, 10: *Է թիւ ամաց ամաց ժերոյն*, etc. Being 49 years old in June 1437, Joseph must have been born in the latter half of 1387 or the first half of 1388. These dates would agree very well with the supposition that he is the fr. Joseph of Aparaner, who received the insignia of a Master in Theology in 1431. But it may seem well nigh impossible to identify him with the fr. Joseph mentioned in the Vatican colophon, who, as early as 1415, was termed “our very reverend and distinguished spiritual father”, and who “many years” before that date had been engaged in copying the *Summa Theologica*. Moreover, it is obvious to see in the “difficult times and the persecution from the Mohammedans”, which had interrupted the first scribe’s work, an allusion to the invasions of *Timûr’s* Tatar bands in Armenia and Georgia (1386—1387, 1394—1395 and 1400). Similar complaints occur in the colophons of other books, written or copied in the last two decades of the XIVth century. The “difficult times”, e. gr. are recorded in nearly the same words (*վասն... ժամանակիս վրդովման*) in the colophon of *Grigor Tatewaci’s Harçmanç Girç*, finished 1397 A. D. A gospel now preserved at Tabris, underwent very much the same fate as the Vatican ms. *Arm. Borg. 45*. The colophon of this gospel¹⁹ says, that its scribe, a certain *Barsel*, after having finished his work (1393) had travelled with it to the residence of his *Katolikos*. But, during the journey, he was robbed of his book and murdered. His brother *Araqel* afterwards rescued the manuscript, restored the mutilated pages, and adorned them with initials in miniature painting, 1407 A. D. ... Fra Joseph, veraxnamol of the *Miabanoł* Congregation in 1437 must still have been rather young when these “difficult times” reigned in Armenia, and, all in all, it seems certain enough that he has to be distinguished as “Joseph II” from his predecessor and homonym fr. Joseph I, surnamed “*Şahapôneçi*”.

¹⁹ Published by *Adjarian, Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in Tabris*, Vienna 1911, p. 83.

IV.

The Armenian Manuscript 106 (*Suppl. arm. 71*) of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris contains another reference to Fr. Joseph II. A certain Fr. Dominikos of Šahapôn dedicated to him a Miabanol Massbook of the XIVth century²⁰, in which he had restored some missing leaves. Fol. 264 of this book contains on the recto a versified colophon. On the verso of the same folio we find the well known stereotyped early *Q̄rnay* prose colophon, after which Fr. Dominikos proceeds in these terms: Պատուական վարդապետ, Ֆրա Յովսէփ, վերախնամող կարգիս Միաբանողաց, ընկալ գտական աշխատող եւ զկրօսեք կատարող զրոյս, զՖրա Դոմինիկոս, զանարժան Շահապօնեցիս, եւ յիշեալ զ[իս] ի քո սուրբ աղօթալ, եւ Աստուած զքեզ յիշէ եւ զքո ննջեցեալսն ի յարգայութիւնն երկնց ամէն: Ի թու[ին] մարդեղութեան Տեառն Թ. Ն. Խ. Բ. նորոգեցաւ միսալս: “Reverend doctor, *Fra Yovsêp*, Superior of our Congregation of Miabanolq, receive favourably the insignificant workman and the unskilful restorer of this book, the unworthy *Fra Dominikos Šahapôneci*, and remember me in your holy prayers, and God remembers you and your dead in the Kingdom of Heaven, Amen. In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1442, this Massbook was restored.”

This document gives evidence that fr. Joseph II was still in charge in 1442 A. D.

V.

We come to our conclusion.

The General Superiors of the Miabanolq or United Brethren of Eastern Armenia during the XVth century, whose names have come down to us, are: *Loukas*, *Yovsêp I Šahapôneci*, *Yovsêp II (Aparaneçi?)*, *Grigor* and *Mațatia Q̄rneçi*.

²⁰ A short description of this manuscript has been given by *MacLer*, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens*, Paris 1908, p. 47. Cp. also *Gatrčean* and *Taşean*, *Սրբազան պատարագամատոյցք Հայոց*, Vienna 1897, p. 471, and our *Կանոն սրբոյն Դոմինիկոսի*, p. 15 and following pages, also p. 158 and following pages.

Loukas

is mentioned as “gubernator fratrum de Armenia Majori Ordinis Unitorum”, in a bull of Pope Boniface IX of April 28th 1399, cp. *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, II, p. 383. I do not know where Ališan found the surname of “*Šahapôneci*”, given in the list of the “*gawar-harq*”.

Yovsêp I Šahapôneci

Name, surname and the year: 1415 are found in a contemporaneous source, the colophon of the Vatican Manuscript *Arm. Borg. 45*. I would be rather inclined to consider this same Joseph as the Superior General to whom a letter of Pope Martin V was forwarded under the date of December 12th 1423: “dilecto filio Josepho, Ordinis fratrum praedicatorum Unitorum nuncupatorum, in Armenia Majori magistro”; cp. *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, II, p. 629.

Yovsêp II (Aparaneçi?)

The year 1423 given to this Joseph II by Ališan is rather uncertain. His surname “*Aparaneçi*” rests on the supposition that he is the same man as the Master in Theology “Joseph de Aparaver” (read: *Aparaner*), mentioned in a letter of Pope Eugene IV, March 11th 1431, to the bishop of Naxivan; cp. *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, III, p. 4. In this document he seems to be still a professor of divinity: he may have been elected Superior General after this date. The first certain mention of Joseph II as veraxnamol of his Congregation, is to be found in the Oxford autograph, dated June 19th 1437, and dealt with above. The second year given by Ališan: 1442, is derived also from a contemporaneous source, the colophon of the Paris Massbook, written that year by fr. *Dominikos Šahapôneci*.

Grigor

No dates nor any particulars concerning his administration are known thus far. But his name, and the fact that he had been Superior General of the Miabanolq²¹ are mentioned in a letter of Pope Sixtus IV, Fe-

²¹ The text has “Gregorius Armenus, tunc provincialis provinciae Caphensis”, but from the context it is clear, that the charge of Superior General of the Miabanolq is really meant.

bruary 4th 1475; cp. *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, III, p. 521. His name is absent in the list of Ališan.

Mațatia Q̄rneçi

I do not know on what document the year 1471, given by Ališan, is founded. But his name is mentioned several times on occasion of a journey to Rome in 1474—1475. On July 18th 1474 “frater Mathias, generalis ordinis praedicatorum, Ermenus” together with his two companions “frater Georgius et frater Laurentius, etiam Ermeni” are recommended by the consul of Genoa residing at Kaffa in the Crimea. The document is signed “Baptista Justinianus, consul Caffé, Obertus Squarzafricanus et Antoniotus de Cabella, provisores et massarii, ac consilium antianorum²²”. On February 4th 1475 “Mathias, modernus provincialis dictae provinciae” = Caphensis, that is to say: *jr. Mațatia*, veraxnamol of the Miabanolq, is mentioned in a letter of Pope Sixtus IV on behalf of fr. Laurentius de Armenia; *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, III, p. 521. The three companions are mentioned again in the acts of Leonardus de Mansuetis, Master General of the Dominican Order, for the year 1475²³:

Frater Laurentius Johannis de Armenia, conventus sancti Dominici de Capha, qui habet reverti in Capha, habuit litteram testimonialem et commendatitiam ad omnes conventus, ad quos declinabit, ut duobus vel tribus diebus eum retineant, et adiuvent quantum possunt.

Datum Rome die XVIII Februarii, 1475 a nativitate.

Frater Mathias de Charna, prior provincialis et rector conventuum nostri ordinis maioris Armenie et *magister Georgius* de ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum in maiori Armenia in civitate Abraner, et *frater Laurentius Johannis de*

²² Published by *Vigna*, *Codice diplomatico delle colonie Tauro-ligure*, II, parte II, *Atti della Società ligure di Storia Patria*, VII, 2, p. 111.

²³ *Ex actis magistri Leonardi de Mansuetis provincia Graeciae, anno 1475, Tabularium O.P.*, IV, 3, fol. 140v (Manuscript in the General Archives of the Dominican Order at Rome).

Armenia habuerunt litteras commendatitias pro toto ordine, quod benigne recipiantur.

Datum Rome, X Aprilis.

Item habuerunt litteras publicas, significantes de iubileo dato omnibus fratribus et sororibus, ac etiam personis tertii ordinis, simul et de confessario, ut in Actis continetur.

Datum Rome, X Aprilis.

Magister Georgius de ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum, predictus, habuit iterum litteras commendatitias per omnes conventus, quod gratiose recipiatur.

Datum Rome, XII Maii.

And finally “frater Mathias, olim provincialis Armeniae ordinis nostri” and his companion, fr. Georgius, are mentioned by *jr. Joannes Annius Viterbiensis* O. P.²⁴. As prior of the Dominican Convent of Genoa, fr. Annius had given hospitality to the two Armenian friars, and as a man interested in old history, he had interrogated his guests on local traditions about the spot where Noe had left the Ark. For most of these references concerning fr. Mathias de Charna = *Mațatia Q̄rneçi*, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Father Raimond Loenertz O. P. of Santa Sabina, Rome.

The fact is very remarkable, that already in these latin documents of the year 1475 the Miabanolq are practically considered as if they were Dominicans, and their congregation as a province of the Dominican order. The historical backgrounds of this consideration that finally — but only as late as 1583 — led to absorption of the Armenian Miabanolq by the Order of Preachers, are dealt with in our *Կանոն սրբոյն Դոմինիկոսի*, p. 28—30.



²⁴ *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de Antiquitatibus loquentium*, Rome 1498, in the beginning of the commentary on the third book of Berosus (the work has no pagination). Cp. also *Ališan*, *Sisakan*, p. 391a.