

ՄԱՏԵՆԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ

A Copy of Grigor Tat'ewac'i's *Book of Questions*:
MS3425 of the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem*

The artist and scribe Mesrop Xizanc'i was one of the last significant representatives of the Armenian school of miniaturists of the first half of the 17th century. Unfortunately, his work has remained largely unstudied.¹ Born in Xizan, an important cultural and commercial center situated to the south of Lake Van, his artistic activity covers the period from 1604 to 1652. According to colophons, Mesrop was a pupil of Martiros Xizanc'i and Sargis Mazman, the heads of the Xizan scriptoria. Although he worked for the greater part of his life in New Julfa, the first period of his artistic activity is closely tied to the Xizan school of miniaturists.²

J3425 was executed by the scribe Hayrapet the presbyter and was illuminated by Mesrop Դպիր Xizanc'i probably in All Saviour's monastery in New Julfa, Persia in 1627. The manuscript was commissioned by Paron Xōja Eliazar. Its last owner was Serovbē Svačean, whose family donated the manuscript to the Armenian Patriarchal Library of the monastery of Saint James, Jerusalem, in 1933: Ի ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ ՀԱՆԳՈՒՅԵԱԼ ՍԵՐՈՎՐԷ ՍՎԱՃԵԱՆԻ ԵՂԲԱՐԲ ՆՈՐԱ ԵՒ ՔՈՐԲ ԵԴԻՆ ԶԱՅՍ ԳՐԶԱԳԻՐ ՄԱՏԵԱՆ ՆՈՒԷՐ Ի ՄԱՏԵՆԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԶԵՌԱԳՐԱՅ ԱՌԱՔԵԼԱԿԱՆ ԱԹՈՌՈՅՍ ՍՐԲՈՅ ՅԱԿՈԲԱՆՅ ՅԵՐՈՒՍԱԼԷՄ, ԹՅՁԲ.

The work is a compilation of works composed by the eminent Armenian theologian, Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1344-1409).³ Included in this collection is Grigor's encyclopaedic work, the Գիրք Հարցմանց (Book of Questions). Completed in 1397, the Գիրք Հարցմանց is the first Armenian handbook of systematic theology. The text consists of ten volumes (Հատորք) which are further subdivided into forty sections (գլխաւոր բանք). Volume I argues against those who believe in fate and in the divine creation of evil, as well as against Manichaeans and Jews. This volume also contains a treatise against Islam which was intentionally omitted from the edition printed in Constantinople to avoid persecution by the Ottoman Muslim authorities.⁴ Volume II refutes various Christian heresies, including those that denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Nestorians, and Dyophysites [Chalcedonians]. Tat'ewac'i then discusses the nature of God and of angels and demons in volume III, "Brief demonstrations of the true theology of Dionysius [Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite]."⁵ Volume IV is a description of the first six days of creation and the creation of the world. Volume V discusses the particular composition of man. Volume VI—the longest, with 82 questions—is a commentary on the Pentateuch; it also includes a brief explanation of the Book of Job, since Tat'ewac'i believed the biblical figure to be a contemporary of Moses.⁶ In Volume VII Tat'ewac'i continues his exegesis of the Old Testament addressing the books of Joshua through II Kings. Volume VIII is a commentary on the New Testament and the nature of the Incarnation. Volume IX presents an explanation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as Grigor's sacramental theology. Tat'ewac'i completes his monumental work with a discussion of the Eschaton and the Resurrection.

* The authors would like to express their gratitude to His Beatitude, Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, for his permission to study this manuscript and for his support and suggestions.

¹At present, M. Arakelian has identified forty-four manuscripts executed by Xizanc'i preserved in various collections, see ARAKELIAN 1998, p. 154-158.

²On Xizanc'i's life, see ARAKELIAN 1998-2000.

³On Grigor Tat'ewac'i's life and work, see LA PORTA 2001, especially chs. 1 and 2.

⁴It was subsequently edited and published by B. Kiwlēsērean, KIWLĒSĒREAN 1930; it has been appended to the Jerusalem reprint of the Գիրք Հարցմանց.

⁵For a translation with commentary of this volume, see LA PORTA 2001.

⁶See LA PORTA 1997.

Tat'ewac'i intended his work to be used for the instruction of Armenian Orthodox monks and theologians during the precarious times surrounding the invasion of Latin missionaries. Its highly organized structure, composite nature, and clear language made the *Գիրք Հարցմանց* a useful pedagogical tool and the work enjoyed wide popularity. There are well over one hundred copies of the text or portions of the text preserved and Grigor's only more popular work is his *Քարոզգիրք* (Sermonary).

Presented below is a general description of the manuscript as well as a more detailed description of two illuminations by Mesrop Xizanc'i along with the Armenian text and English translation of the passages to which they refer. The two passages and illuminations derive from separate parts of the *Գիրք Հարցմանց*. We have collated the text of J3425 (B) with the Jerusalem reprint (1993) of the Constantinople edition (1729/30) of the *Գիրք Հարցմանց* (A);⁷ the variants are reproduced in the footnotes to the text.

DESCRIPTION OF MS3425

Material: paper (Oriental). **Format:** 4°. **Dimensions:** 24,4 x 18,2 cm. **Folios:** 406. **Quires:** 1¹¹, 2-4¹², 5¹⁰, 6-28¹², 29¹⁰, 30¹², 31¹², 32¹⁰, 33¹⁰, 34¹³, 35⁶ + II (*Ա-ԼԵ*). **Script:** *bolorgir*; 2 columns (24,4 x 18,3 cm); 35/40 lines. **Flyleaves:** modern paper, two found at the end of the manuscript. **Binding:** ultramarine, deep blue silk over boards (cardboard) and spine; application of silver plaque over the boards with ornamental carving (palmettes, double frames included ropes, cuilloche, caning, bead moulding and arcades). On front cover: the central composition represents God, Isaiah the Prophet, angel with coal, five cherubim and the Temple; portraits of 24 prophets are in double arches placed around the main composition; scene of "the Annuciation" is found in the center, lower register, also between the portraits of the prophets. On back cover: central composition depicts Jesus Christ (possibly Grigor Tat'ewac'i) and the Disciples; the Nativity is depicted in the center, lower register; both are flanked by portraits of the twelve Apostles in lunettes and individual square frames. The number of the codex '3425' is glued to the surface of the spine. Ultramarine silk with needlework in orange, white, and green thread is lined to the inside surfaces of the boards. **Condition:** good. Paper is in good condition. **Lacunae:** two folios are lost in the third quire. The manuscript has been rebound; name of binder is unknown. Binding is in good condition. Illuminations are in very good condition.

Illuminations

The iconography of the headpieces, title page and marginalia are typical for the schools of miniature painting of Xizan and New Julfa of the 17th century. The decorations include different ornamental motifs;⁸ the headpieces are in double and triple frets, bifid, quatrefoil, demi-palmettes, divergent scrolls in crenated line and broken S-scroll; the title page is in pointed multifoil arch, corner-piece, repeat pattern and all-over pattern. The order of the illuminations in the codex is the following:⁹

1. F. 3v /6/: Headpiece of the *Գիրք Հարցմանց*: Vol. I (above right column; 2,5 x 5,6 cm).
2. F. 35r /71/: Headpiece of Vol. II (center right column; 2 x 5,8 cm).
3. F. 67r /135/: Headpiece of Vol. III (above left column; 1,9 x 6 cm).
4. F. 89r /179/: Headpiece of Vol. IV (above left column; 2 x 5,9 cm).
5. F. 108r /217/: Model of the Winds of Weather [Wind Rose] (above right column; diameter is 7,2 cm).
6. F. 117v /236/: Headpiece of Vol. V (above right column; 2 x 6 cm).
7. F. 140r /281/: Headpiece of Vol. VI (above right column; 2,6 x 6,2 cm).

⁷GRIGOR TAT'EWAC'I 1993.

⁸In our description we follow the guidelines set by VALENTINE 1965.

⁹.../ indicates incorrect pagination in the manuscript.

8. F. 176v /354/: Model of the Tabernacle in the Desert Resembling an Armenian Xoran (full page miniature; 18.7 x 12.8 cm. See illustration).
9. F. 190v /383/: Headpiece of Vol. VII (above left column; 2.1 x 6 cm).
10. F. 206r /413/: Headpiece of Vol. VIII (multifoil arch; full-page).
11. F. 234v /470/: Headpiece of Vol. IX (above left column; 2.4 x 6 cm).
12. F. 284r /569/: Headpiece of Vol. X (above left column; 3 x 6 cm).
13. F. 328r /657/: Headpiece of the *Հարցմունք Գէորգայ վարդապետի եւ Լուծմունք Գրիգորի նորին* (Questions by Geörg վարդապետ [Erznkac'i] and Answers by the same Grigor [Tat'ewac'i]) (above left column; 3 x 5.8 cm).

Marginalia: rosettes (ff. iv and 368v /738/); bird (f. 364v /730/); stork (f. 335v /672/); barbed rosette (f. 338r /677/); ornamental motifs (ff. 3v /6/, 14r /27/, 33r /67/, 35r /71/, 50v /102/, 67r /135/, 89r /179/, 117v /236/, 140r /281/, 190v /382/, 206r /413/, 234v /470/, 284r /569/, 328r /657/, 375r /751/ and 404v /810/).

Initials: ornithomorphic and ornamental motifs.

Colours: the miniatures, the title pages, the headpieces, and marginalia are in cochineal, deep cadmium red, orange, medium cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, red ochre, white lead, permanent green, ultramarine blue, cerulean blue, gold in powder and ivory black; the initials are in ultramarine, red and gold; the rubrics are in ultramarine, cochineal, dark olive green, blue ink and gold.

CONTENTS

This manuscript is grouped into five main parts which include the following:

- I. Ff. 1r-327v /1-656/: *Գիրք Հարցմանք* (Book of Questions) [Volumes I-X].
- II. Ff. 328r-335v /657-672/: *Հարցմունք Գէորգայ վարդապետի եւ Լուծմունք Գրիգորի նորին* (Questions by Geörg վարդապետ [Erznkac'i] and Answers by the same Grigor [Tat'ewac'i]).
- III. Ff. 336r-368v /674-738/: *Մեկնութիւն Առակաց* (Commentary on Proverbs).
- IV. Ff. 368v-375v /738-751/: *Մեկնութիւն Ժողովողին* (Commentary on Ecclesiastes).
- V. Ff. 375r-404v /751-810/: *Մեկնութիւն Իմաստութեան* (Commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon).¹⁰

COLOPHONS

There are thirteen principal and six late colophons in the manuscript.¹¹ The are written in *bolorgir* script by the scribe Hayrapet the presbyter (ff. 35r /71/, 66v /134/, 88v /178/, 117v /236/, 139v /280/, 190r /381/, 205v /412/, 234v /469/, 283v /568/, 327v /656/, 335v-336r /672-673/ and 404v /810/); by the illuminator Mesrop Xizanc'i (f. 404v /810/); and by Têr Andréas (f. 336r /673/), who was perhaps one of the later owners of the manuscript. In addition there is the previously mentioned colophon of the Svačean family written on a piece of paper glued to the backside of the first cover.

¹⁰On works III-V, see LA PORTA 2001, pp. 67-68. The Armenian text of the Tat'ewac'i's *Մեկնութիւն Առակաց* (Commentary on Proverbs) has been published, GRIGOR TAT'EWAC'I 2000.

¹¹Cf. POLAREAN 1990, vol. X, pp. 342-344. Of the thirteen principal colophons Archbishop Norayr Polarean only mentions four. The colophons not included by Polarean are found on ff. 66v /134/, 117v /236/, 190r /381/, 205v /412/, 234v /469/, 283v /568/ (bis) and 327v /656/ (bis).

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND ILLUMINATIONS

1. The first passage occurs in Vol. IV, ch. 39, and concerns the names and directions of the winds. The names of the winds in this chapter derive from Ps.-Aristotle's *De Mundo*.¹² Between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, the *De Mundo* was translated along with Aristotle's *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, and Ps.-Aristotle's *De Virtutibus* were translated into Armenian by Dawit' Anyalt' (the Invincible Philosopher) as part of the translation project of the Hellenizing school in Constantinople.¹³ Although the *De Mundo* is not a work by Aristotle, it does reflect and reproduce Aristotelian thought.

According to Ps.-Aristotle's *De Mundo* ch. 4, the Euroi (εὔροι) are the winds that blow from the east, the Boreai (βορέαι) from the North, the Zephyroi (ζέφυροι) from the West, and the Notoi (νότοι) from the South. Of the Euri, Kaikias (καϊκίας) is the one that blows from the summer sunrise [i.e. north-east]¹⁴; Apeliotes (ἀπηλιώτης) is the one that comes from equinoctial sunrise [i.e., due east]; and Euros (εὔρος) proper blows from the winter sunrise [i.e., south-east]. Of the Zephyroi, Argestes (ἀργέστης) comes from the direction of the summer sunset [i.e., north west]; Zephyrus (ζέφυρος) proper comes from the direction of the equinoctial sunset [i.e., due west]; and Lips (λίψ) comes from the winter sunset [i.e. south-west]. Of the Boreai, the one called Boreas (βορέας) is next to Kaikias [i.e. north-east]; the one next to that [i.e., directly north-south] is Aparktiās (ἀπαρκτίας); and Thraskias (θρασκίας) is the one next to Argestes [i.e., north-west]. Of the winds called Notoi, the one which comes from the invisible pole [i.e., from due south] is called Notus (νότος) proper; while Euronotus (εὐρόνοτος) is between Notos and Eurus [i.e., south-east]; and the Libonotus (λιβονότος) is on the other side between Notus and Lips [i.e., south-west].

The translation of the names of the winds from Greek to Armenian is very accurate; when the name in Greek is in the plural it was rendered into an Armenian plural, rather than slavishly copied. J3425 possesses variant readings for three of the names of the winds: Աւրաւդի for եւրոս (εὔρος); Զաւդէ for Վօռէաւ (βορέας); and Եւանոտոս for Լիւանօտոս (λιβονότος). These variants do not find any corroboration in the *De Mundo* nor in the other Aristotelian descriptions of the winds in the *Meteorologica* and the *Ventorum Situs et Appellationes*.¹⁵ The variants must be attributed to scribal error and suggest that the copier of the text was not aware of the underlying Greek forms of the names.

Concerning the various winds
Chapter 39

Յաղագս զանազան հողմոց:
(Պրակ ԼԺ)

¹²ARISTOTLE 1978.

¹³On which see MANANDEAN 1928, AKINEAN 1932, MERCIER 1978-1979, but cf. AREVSATYAN 1971 and TERIAN 1982. For a survey of the literature on the Hellenizing school, see AKINEAN and TĒR-POŁOSEAN 1977. On the dating and attribution to Dawit' Anyalt', see TERIAN 1982, pp. 175-180. In addition to works attributed to Aristotle, interpretations on the Aristotelian texts were also translated; for example the *Book of beings* (Գիրք էակաց), an Aristotelian textbook on the *Organon* composed in the form of questions and answers; Porphyry's *Isagogē* on the Aristotle's *Categories*, and Dawit' Anyalt''s commentaries on the *Categories*, *Analytics*, and Porphyry's *Isagogē*. In the seventeenth century, Step'annos Lebac'i translated Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. For the texts of Aristotle:

¹⁴For the actual direction of these winds, see THOMPSON 1918.

¹⁵ARISTOTLE 1978b; ARISTOTLE 1980.

Whereas the dry [exhalation] forced out in dispersion by the wet exhalation became wind. And first all the winds are divided into four aspects; and each again is divided into three which makes a total of twelve: three from the east, and three from the west; three from the south, and three from the north.

Those which blow from the east are called *եւրոսք* in general; they are moderate and dessicative.

Whereas those which blow from the south are called *նոտոսք* in general; and they are warm, they melt the ice, and they produce lightning and flooding rains.

Whereas the Western are called *ջեփիւնք* in general; these cause the flowers to bud, and produce clouds, and make rain and turbulences.

Իսկ չորն ի ցրումն վանելով արտաքս¹⁶ հոսմանէն հողմ եղեւ:

Եւ նախ ի չորս դէմս բաժանին ամենայն հողմունք. եւ իւրաքանչիւրքն¹⁷ դարձեալ յերիս բաժանին. որ լինի բովանդակն Բժան: Երեք յարեւելից, եւ երեք յարեւմտից:¹⁸ Երեք ի հարաւոյ¹⁹, եւ²⁰ երեք ի հիւսիսոյ²¹:

Այն որ յարեւելից հնչէ, առ հասարակ եւրոսք կոչին: Եւ են բարեխառն եւ չորացուցիչ:

Իսկ որ ի Հարաւոյ հնչէ²², առ²³ հասարակ նոտոսք կոչին: Եւ են ջերմ, հալեն զսառսն:

Եւ ծնանին²⁴ զփայլատակմունս²⁵ եւ զյորդահոս անձրեւս:

Իսկ Արեւմտիցն հասարակ Ջեփիւնք²⁶ կոչին: Սոքա վերընծիւղեն²⁷ զծաղիկս. եւ ծնանին զամպս.²⁸ եւ առնեն անձրեւս եւ ամբոխմունս:

¹⁶B i. +j.

¹⁷B f. <ք.

¹⁸B after յարեւմտից + եւ.

¹⁹B յիւսուսոյ.

²⁰om. B.

²¹B յարաւոյ.

²²B շնչէ.

²³om. B.

²⁴B f. <ն.

²⁵B փայլատակունս.

²⁶B Ջեփեռք.

²⁷B վերընծիւղին.

²⁸B ամբս.

And the northerly winds, are called *վառէք*, which are cold. And from these the *թրասկիաս* makes snow and hail. And the *վօրէաս* condenses clouds and prohibits rain.²⁹

Names of the twelve winds

The easterly [winds] which are called *Եւրոսք* are divided into three. That which blows close to the north is called *Կիկիաս*; it is dry and causes aridity. And that which blows close to the south is called *Եւրոս*; it is wet and bears heavy rains. Whereas the middle [is called] *Ապէլիօդ*; [it is] temperate, rain, and sun.

The westerly [winds] which are called *Ջեփիւռք*, are also three. That which is close to the north is called *Արգէստէս*; it forms clouds. And that which is close to the south is called *Լիփս*; it brings rain. Whereas the middle is the *Ջեփիւռ*; it moves the flowers.

The northerly [winds] which are called *վառէք* [are divided into three]. That which is close to the east is called *վօրէաս*. It straightens the clouds and binds the rains. And that which is close to the west is called *թրասկիաս*; it makes snow. Whereas the middle [is called] *Ապարքտիաս*; it is cold and bears hail.

Իսկ Հիւսիսայինքն^{30,31} *վառէք*³² կոչին. որք են ցուրտ: Եւ ի³³ սոցանէ թրասկիայն առնէ զձիւն եւ զկարկուտ: Եւ վօրէասն³⁴ սեղմէ զամպս³⁵ եւ արգիլէ զանձրեւս^{36,37}

Անուանք երկոտասան Հողմոցն:

Արեւելայինքն որք կոչին *Եւրոսք*, բաժանին յերիս: Որ մերձ ի հիւսիս հնչէ, *Կիկիաս* կոչի. չոր է եւ ցամաքեցուցիչ: Եւ որ մերձ ի հարաւ հնչէ, *Եւրոս*³⁸ կոչի. գէճ է. եւ տաղատարափ բերէ: Իսկ միջինն *Ապէլիօդ*. բարեխառն, անձրեւ, եւ արեւ:

Արեւմտականք որք կոչին *Ջեփիւռք*, են եւս երեք: Որ մերձ ի հիւսիս է, *Արգէստէս* կոչի. կազմէ սա զամպս: Եւ որ մերձ ի հարաւ է՝ *Լիփս* կոչի. անձրեւաբեր է: Իսկ միջինն է *Ջեփիւռն*. շարժէ զծաղիկս:

Հիւսիսայինք որք կոչին *վօրէսք*: Այն որ մերձ յարեւելս է, *վօրէաս*³⁹ կոչի. նեղէ զամպս, եւ կապէ զանձրեւս: Եւ որ մերձ յարեւմուտս է, *թրասկիաս* կոչի. առնէ զձիւնն: Իսկ միջինն՝ *Ապարքտիաս*. ցուրտ եւ կարկտաբեր է:

²⁹Here B adds: "[A]nd this is their shape as it is printed in that circlce. Wind word"

³⁰B f. <ք.

³¹B ins. առ հասարակ.

³²B վառէք.

³³om. B.

³⁴B վառէասն.

³⁵B զամք.

³⁶B f. <ս.

³⁷B + [ե]ւ սոցա ձեւն է այս. որպէս դրոշմեալ է ի ներքոյ բոլորակդ: Օդ բար.

³⁸B Աւրաւագին է.

³⁹B զաւղէն.

The southerly [winds] which are called Նօտոսք [are divided into three]. That which is close to the east is called Եւրոնօտոս; it melts the ice. And that which is close to the west, Լիւանօտոս; it makes mist, fog, and the turbulence of clouds. And the middle is the Նօտոս; it makes thunder, and lightning, and hard rain.

The illustration that accompanies this text is a wind rose composed by Mesrop Xizanc'i (f. 108r /217/). The illustrated wind rose expectedly employs the names found in the text of the Jeursalem manuscript. The position of the winds Կիկիաս and Աւրասզին (=Եւրոս) have been reversed; Xizanc'i has depicted the former as blowing from a south-easterly direction and the latter from a north-easterly one.

Wind Rose:

The easterly in general are called Եւրօսք.

Աւրասզին is [wet] and bears heavy rain [north-east, 300°]. Ապելօղ is temperate, rain and sun [east, 270°]. Կիկիաս is dry and causes aridity [south-east, 240°].

The southerly generally is [sic] called Նօտոս. Եւրանատոս melts ice [south-east, 210°]. Նաւտոս makes thunder, lightning, and rain [south, 180°]. Եւանաւտոս makes misty fog [south-west, 150°].

The western generally are called Զեփիւռք. Ղիփս bears rains [south-west, 120°]. The Զեփիւռ moves plants [west, 90°]. Արգէստէս forms clouds [north-west, 60°].

The northern generally are called Վաւռէք.

The Թրասկիայ makes the snow [north-west, 30°]. Ապարքտիաս is cold and bears hail [north, 0°]. The Զաւղէ straightens clouds and binds rains [north-east, 330°].

Հարաւայինք որք Նօտոսք կոչին: Այն որ մերձ յարեւելս է, Եւրոնօտոս կոչի. հալէ զպաղս: Եւ որ մերձ յարեւմուտս է՝ Լիւանօտոս.⁴⁰ առնէ մառախուղ. մէջ. եւ վրդովումն յամպս: Իսկ միջինն է՝ Նօտոսն, առնէ որոտ. եւ փայլակն. եւ անձրեւ խիստ:

(B)

Արեւելքս: Առ հասարակ. Եւրօսք կոչին: Աւրասզին է եւ տաղատափ բերէ: Ապելօղ բարէխառն է անձրեւ, եւ արեւ: Կիկիաս չոր է եւ ցամաքասուցիչ:

Հարաւայինք հասարակ. Նօտոս կոչի: Եւրանատոս հալէ զպաղս: Նաւտոս առնէ որոտ փայլակն. եւ անձրեւ: Եւանաւտոս առնէ մառախուղ մէջ:

Արեւմտանքս հասարակ Զեփիւռք կոչին: Ղիփսն անձրեւս բերէ: Զեփիւռն շարժէ զծաղիկն: Արգէստէս կազմէ զամպս: Հիւսիսայինքս հասարակ վաւռէք կոչին: Թրասկիայն առնէ զձիւնն: Ապարքտիաս ցուրտ է եւ կարկտաբեր: Զաւղէն նեղէ զամպս եւ կապէ զանձրեւս:

II. The second passage occurs in Vol. VI, ch. 56 and discusses the arrangement and number of the tribes of Israel camped around the Tabernacle in Sinai. Grigor mainly relies on the Biblical text (Nu. chs. 2 and 3) for his information. His only deviation from the text is his typological exegesis of the position of Levitical cohort of Kohath in the south. According to Tat'ewac'i, this prefigured Christ's priestly and royal lineage because Bethlehem is south of Jerusalem.

As in the case with the previous passage, (A) generally preserves better readings than (B). There are three instances where (B) has clearly preserved a better reading than A: 1) in the

⁴⁰B Եւանոտոս.

calculation of the number of forces in the tribes on the western side of the Tabernacle; 2) in the calculation of the number of forces in the tribes on the northern side of the Tabernacle; and 3) in the use of a genitive plural rather than singular in reference to the 'tribes' of Israel. In these three instances, we have followed the reading of (B) over that of (A). Otherwise, (B) does not contain substantially different readings.

Concerning the dwelling of the congregation of Jews.
Question: How did the twelve tribes used to dwell?

[Answer:] The total [number of] those who passed [through the desert] on this occasion was 600,000, which is 60 myriads, and 3,650.⁴¹

The twelve tribes dwelt on the four sides of the Tabernacle; in the middle of them with the Levitical tribe was the Tabernacle.⁴³

On the eastern side dwelt three tribes: Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun. Their forces [numbered] 186,400.⁴⁵

On the southern side [dwelt] three tribes: Ruben, Simeon, and Gad. And their forces [numbered] 151,450.⁴⁹ And in between these there was a way [to] the Tabernacle.⁵⁰

And to the west, which is the seaside, [there were] three tribes: Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. And their forces [numbered] 108,200.⁵³

Վասն բանակելոյ ժողովրդեանն Հրէից:

[Հարցումն:] Որպէ՞ս բանակէին բ.ժ.ան ցեղքն:

[Պատասխանի:] Բովանդակ անցեալքն ի հանդէս զ.ճ.ն.⁴² էին, որ է կ. բիւր եւ զ.ն..ռ.ծ:

Ի դ կողմն⁴⁴ խորանին բանակեցան բ.ժ.ան ցեղքն. եւ ի մէջ նոցա խորանն էր Ղեւտական ցեղաւքն:

Ի⁴⁶ յարեւելից կողմն⁴⁷ բանակէր զ ազգ⁴⁸, Յուդայ. Իսաքար. եւ

Զաբղոն: Ժ.բ. բիւր եւ ց.ն. զաւրք նոցա: Ի⁵¹ հարաւակողմն⁵² զ ազգ: Ռուբէն. Շմաւոն. եւ Գադ: Ժ.ե բիւր եւ ո.ն. ծ զաւրք նոցա: Եւ ի յայս մէջս չու էր խորանն:

Եւ յարեւմտից որ է⁵⁴ ծովակողմն⁵⁵, զ ազգ: Եփրեմ. Մանասէ. եւ Բենիամին: Ժ.⁵⁶ բիւր եւ ը.ռ.բ.ճ.⁵⁷ զաւրք նոցա:

⁴¹Nu. 1:46, 2:32 (Arm.). According to the Masoretic text and the Septuagint (with variants), the total is 603,550 not 603,650; see below for the cause of the discrepancy.

⁴²B n. n.

⁴³Nu. 1:53, 2:17.

⁴⁴B f. <ն.

⁴⁵Nu. 2:3-9.

⁴⁶B om.

⁴⁷B կողմանէ

⁴⁸B f. +ե

⁴⁹Nu. 2:10-16.

⁵⁰Nu. 2:17.

⁵¹B om.

⁵²B հարաւայ կողմն.

⁵³Nu. 2:18-24. According to the Armenian Biblical text (Nu. 2:24) their forces totalled 108,200, not 108,100 as the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. This discrepancy accounts for the difference in the total reckoning of the tribes as noted above.

⁵⁴B էր.

⁵⁵B f. <ն.

⁵⁶A բ.ժ.ան.

⁵⁷B փ.ժ.

And to the northern side [there were] three tribes: Dan, Asher, and Naphtali. Their forces [numbered] 157,600.⁵⁸

Likewise also the Levites dwelt around the Tabernacle among the twelve tribes, and the Tabernacle was in the middle of them thus.⁶² For there were three sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.⁶³

The cohort of Gershon [dwelt] in the west,⁶⁹ of Merari in the north,⁷⁰ and of Kohath—which is the tribe of priests—in the south.⁷¹

It signified that God would come from the south, from the royal and priestly tribe, since Bethlehem is south of Jerusalem.

Whereas Moses and Aaron and the other priests [dwelt] on the eastern side where they ministered the Holy of Holies.⁸⁰

Եւ ի հիւսիսոյ կողմն⁵⁹ գազգ: Դան. Ասեր. եւ Նեփթաղիմ⁶⁰: Ժ.ե. բիւր եւ լ.ն.⁶¹ զաւրք նոցա:

Նոյնպէս եւ Ղեւտացիքն շուրջ զխորանաւն բանակէին ի մէջ բ.ժ.ան ցեղիցն⁶⁴. եւ խորանն ի միջի⁶⁵ նոցա այսպէս: Զի գ էին որդիք⁶⁶ Ղեւեայ. Գեթսոն⁶⁷. Կահաթ. եւ Մերար⁶⁸:

Գեթսոնի գունդն յարեւմտից:⁷² Մերարեայն⁷³ ի հիւսիսոյ: եւ⁷⁴ Կահաթոն որ է ցեղն⁷⁵ քահանայից ի հարաւոյ⁷⁶: Որ նշանակէր՝ աստուած ի հարաւոյ⁷⁷ եկեսցէ, ի թագաւորի եւ ի քահանայի ցեղէն: զի բեթլէհէմ⁷⁸ հարաւ⁷⁹ է երուսաղէմի:

Իսկ մովսէս եւ ահարաւն⁸¹ եւ այլ քահանայք⁸² յարեւելից կուսէ ուր սուրբն սրբոց էր պաշտէին:⁸³

⁵⁸Nu. 2:25-31.

⁵⁹B մողմ.

⁶⁰B նեփթամիմ corr. text.

⁶¹A n. n.

⁶²Nu. 1:53, 2:17.

⁶³Nu. 3:17.

⁶⁴A ցեղիւն.

⁶⁵B մէջ.

⁶⁶B f. +ն.

⁶⁷B Գեթէսոն corr. text.

⁶⁸B f. +ի.

⁶⁹Nu. 3:23.

⁷⁰Nu. 3:35.

⁷¹Nu. 3:28-29.

⁷²B +եւ.

⁷³B ձմերարայնի: ձ in red.

⁷⁴B om.

⁷⁵B ցեղքն.

⁷⁶B յարաւոյ.

⁷⁷B յարաւոյ.

⁷⁸B բեղղէմ.

⁷⁹B յարաւ.

⁸⁰Nu. 3:38. B adds: "As is printed on the opposite page."

⁸¹B ահարոն.

⁸²B f. +ն.

⁸³B + որպէս դրոշմեալ է. ի միւս դէմ. թղթիդ.

The illustration which accompanies this text (f. 176v /354/) has been copied and is reproduced here. For the sake of clarity, each area where text appears in the illustration has been assigned a number. That number occurs in the subsequent list with its corresponding text. We may note that Mesrop Xizanc'i has reversed north and south in his illumination. The letters depicted in the lower band of arches (nos. 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30) remain unintelligible to us.⁸⁴ They neither represent numerical calculations nor do they bear any relation to the text of the *Քիրք Հարցմանց* or to the Biblical text. In the Armenian Epitome of Epiphanius' *De Gemmis*, various gems are correlated with the children of Jacob and the apostles; but none of the names of the gems resembles the letters appearing here.⁸⁵ Grigor Tat'ewac'i, in the fifth homily of the *Winter Volume* (*Զմեռան Հատոր*) of his *Sermonary* (*Քարոզգիրք*), expounds the significance of the number twelve and its relation to the twelve tribe of Israel to whom Christ preached, but again there is no correspondence to anything here.⁸⁶

1. Աստ տապանական սրբութեան
2. զէ. ամիսս զծ[ագր]եցաւ խորանն
վկ[ա]յութե[ան] յանապատին Սինայ
Հարաւ
3. Ղեւտացիք որդիքն Կահաթու: փց{...}
7. Գադ
8. դրոժ
9. Ռոբէն
10. Ղցշ
11. Շմաւոն
12. էթյ

Հիւսիս

5. Ղեւտացիք որդիք Մերարացն
բովանդանդանն ամենայն ժ{...} տացիք
Իթթ
19. Ասեր
20. Ղրշ
21. Դան
22. զոժ
23. Նեփթալիքն

1. Here is the Tabernacle of holiness
2. The tent of testimony in the desert of Sinai was drawn in 7 months.

South

3. Levites, sons of Kohath, p'c'?
7. Gad
8. droc (?)
9. Ruben
10. dc's (?)
11. Simeon
12. ēk'y (?)

North

5. Levites, sons of Merari, ... every...?⁸⁷
19. Asher
20. drš (?)
21. Dan
22. zoč (?)
23. Naphtali

⁸⁴It may be worth noting that a stone bowl in the museum of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem similarly possesses unintelligible combinations of letters depicted on four sides. The bowl was found in the chapel of Poleuctos in Jerusalem and moved to the museum in 1968; the inscription will be published by Prof. Michael Stone of the Hebrew University.

⁸⁵BLAKE 1934, STONE 1989.

⁸⁶GRIGOR TAT'EWAC'I 1998, p. 33-34; LA PORTA 2001, p. 130, 231-236, esp. 234. On number symbolism in Armenian, see THOMSON 1976.

⁸⁷This text is difficult to ascertain. No word բովանդանդանն exists. It appears connected to the word բովանդակ meaning 'whole, complete'. The ժ... after ամենայն, 'every', may be the first letter of an abbreviation for the word ժողովուրդ, 'congregation'. The տացիք might be [Ղեւ]տացիք, 'Levites'; while Իթթ remains enigmatic.

24. եվն

24. evn (?)

Արեւելք

4. Մովսէս եւ [Ա]հարոն

East

4. Moses and Aaron

13. Իսաքար

13. Issachar

14. Երտն

14. ertn (?)

15. Յուդա

15. Judah

16. էտ

16. ēt (?)

17. Ջաբուղոն

17. Zebulun

18. եւն

18. ewn (?)

Արեւմուտք

6. Ղեւտացիք որդիք Գերշոնի

West

6. Levites, sons of Gershon

25. Բենիամին

25. Benjamin

26. Գրն

26. grn (?)

27. Եփրէմ

27. Ephraim

28. դշ

28. dš (?)

29. Մանասէ

29. Manasseh

30. բսյ

30. bsy (?)

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