

## THE SCENE OF THE LAST JUDGEMENT IN THE ART OF ARMENIAN MINIATURIST AVAG (14<sup>th</sup> CENTURY)

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One of the representative figures in the medieval Armenian art is Avag Całkoł. The artist was educated at the University of Glaĵor, where his teacher was Esayi Nĉec'i – head of the University of Glaĵor. Miniaturist Avag's artistic heritage has survived in ten manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. The greater part of them – six manuscripts, were copied and illustrated in Tabriz and in Soltaniyeh (with its Ordubazar quarter). Among them there are two Gospels from M 7650, A.D. 1329 and M 212, A.D. 1337–40, where the scene of the Last Judgement was depicted. The miniaturist has portrayed an expanded iconography of the Last Judgement. It begins with the scene of the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead and ends with the scene of Hell.

In literature, these miniatures are mentioned very briefly, without stating any specific issues. This paper is the first attempt to study the iconographic system of the miniatures, in order to understand: a) the formation of the Last Judgement iconography in the art of miniaturist Avag and its parallels with Eastern and Western Christian art, b) the textual sources that influenced the development of iconography, including not only the biblical story, but also the apocrypha and visions of saints, c) the meaning of some iconographic details in accordance with the commentaries of medieval Armenian authors.

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<sup>1</sup> On the life and work of miniaturist Avag see **Sargsyan L.**, Miniaturist Avag (life and manuscript heritage), BM, v. 22, Yerevan, 2015, pp. 73–88 (in Armenian).

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

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In the Gospel A.D. 1329 a series of full-page miniatures of the life of Christ are followed by miniatures of the Last Judgement (26v, ill. 1 and 27r, ill. 2), while in the Gospel A.D. 1337–40 they are accompanied by the text in the Gospel of Matthew 79v (ill. 3 and 80r, ill. 4).

The miniatures of the Last Judgement in the Gospel A.D. 1329, compared with miniatures of the preceding period, are the closest parallels to the images of the Last Judgement from the Gospel A.D. 1311 of T'oros the Deacon (ill. 5 and 6)<sup>2</sup>, the parent manuscript of which is M 10859. At the same time, the miniatures of Avag represent a more detailed and developed iconography.

The scene of the Second Coming of Christ (26v) is divided into three horizontal rows. In the upper register, Christ sits on the tetramorphic throne, and the Mother of God and John the Baptist are depicted on both sides of Christ. The images are accompanied with inscriptions [Տ]Է[Ր] [Բ]ՐԻՍՏՈ[Մ] (Lord Christ), [ԱԾ]ՈԿ[ԱԾ]ԻՆ (Mother of God) and [Յ]Ո[Վ]ՀԱՆՆԷՍ (John). Christ in His Majesty (Rev. 1:8) is portrayed without mandorla. He raises His right hand to the Mother of God in a gesture of benediction and with the left hand holds the open Gospel on His left knee. The clothing of Christ recalls the Rev. "... one like a Son of man, dressed in a long robe tied at the waist with a belt of gold" (1:13). I. Rapti explains this system of iconography by the example of the miniature from the Gospel A.D. 1337–40, with the idea of Theophany of the Lord<sup>3</sup>. According to L. Zakaryan, the painter tried to emphasize the image of Christ as Heavenly Judge<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> **Der Nersessian S.**, The Chester Beatty Library: A catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts with an Introduction on the History of Armenian Art, V. I, Dublin, 1958, p. XXXII. **S.D.N.**, documents no. 695, p. 1v, no. 368, p. 40r, 41r, 42r, 43r, 45r, 46r and 47r, no. 367, p. 3r. The parallel between the system of illumination of the two Gospels is visible not only in the scene of the Last Judgement but also in the preceding miniatures, see **Zakaryan L.**, An Episode from Armenian - Arabic Cultural Relations, "Etchmiadzin", 2003, no. 8, p. 96–106 (in Armenian).

<sup>3</sup> **Rapti I.**, Le Jugement dernier arménien: réception et évolution d'une imagerie eschatologique médiévale, "Cahiers archéologiques" n. 56, Paris, 2015, p. 104. The Gospel is mistakenly dated back to A.D. 1336, see *ibid.*, p. 102. The image of Jesus Christ on the throne surrounded by tetramorph, is interpreted as *Theophany* by many authors, see e.g. **Réau L.**, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, tome Second, iconographie de la Bible, II, Nouveau Testament, Presses, Universitaires de France, 1957, pp. 688–9.

<sup>4</sup> **Zakaryan L.**, Avag Całkoł, "Etchmiadzin", 1985, no. 8, p. 52 (in Armenian).

The earliest depictions of Christ, surrounded by the tetramorph (Ezek. 1:4–12, Rev. 4:6–7), are found in wall paintings<sup>5</sup> in the Armenian art of the early Middle ages. S. Der Nersessian compares the miniature of Avag with the sculpture of the Dome of Horomos monastery and the miniature from the Gospel copied in the village of Berdak in 1306, and notes that such iconography has been known in the Armenian miniature art since the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. It is interesting that in the miniatures from Vaspurakan there are examples where the image of the enthroned Christ, surrounded by tetramorph, is accompanied with the inscription *Սուրբ Երրորդությունն է բազմալ յաթոռս չորեքկերպեան (Holy Trinity is seated on the tetramorphic throne)*<sup>7</sup>. A. Leyloyan-Yekmalyan explains this unusual depiction of the Holy Trinity with the reading of the Gospel of John “... the one and only Son, who is God himself and is in closest relationship with the Father” (1:18) and notes that it emphasizes the doctrine of the Armenian church<sup>8</sup>. E. Vardanyan explains the mystery of the Holy Trinity on the example of the sculptured Dome of Horomos monastery with the interpretations of medieval Armenian authors – Vardan Anec’i and Hovhannēs Koze’r<sup>9</sup>. To the above – mentioned explanations I will add a quotation from the Vision of the Armenian writer Hovhannēs vardapet Ga’r nec’i (13<sup>th</sup> c.). In this Vision one reads, “I saw myself in the Holy city of Jerusalem ... and the Triune Godhead sits on His throne of Glory, gives restitution to the righteous and to sinners, and all the saints gather around Him ...”<sup>10</sup>. Each one of the four symbols of the tetramorph – man, lion, ox and eagle, holds a Gospel.

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. the mural from the Church of Saint Stephen in Lmbat (7<sup>th</sup> c.), see **Der-Nersessian S.**, *L’Art Arménien, Orient-Occident*, Paris, 1977, p. 71, fig. 46, **Дурново Л.** *Очерки изобразительного искусства средневековой Армении*, М., 1979, с. 139–40, илл. 85, **Vardanyan E.**, *The Sculpted Dome of Hořomos Monastery, Žamatun: An Armenian Apocalypse in Hořomos monastery: Art and history*, Paris, 2015, edited by E. Vardanyan, Paris, 2015, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> **S.D.N.**, document no. 368, pp. 39r, 40r.

<sup>7</sup> **Leyloyan-Yekmalyan A.**, *L’art du livre au Vaspurakan XIVe–XVe siècles. Étude des manuscrits de Yovannēs Xizanc’i*, Paris-Louvain, 2009, p. 151–2, fig. 138–9, 141–5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> **Vardanyan E.**, *op. cit.*, p. 257–8.

<sup>10</sup> Hereafter the annotated translation will be followed by the Armenian text – «Տեսանէի զիս ի սուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ ... և ահա Երրորդական աստուածութիւնն նստեալ է յաթոռ փառաց իւրոց, առնէ հատուցումն արդարոց և մեղաւորաց, և սուրբք ամենայն առ նա ժողովին ...», see in the Book of Papers, V, Bibliography of the Fathers, “The Vision of

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

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The depiction of the Mother of God and John the Baptist on both sides of Christ represents an iconography of Deesis, which was previously known in the Armenian Art<sup>11</sup>. The depiction of Deesis as part of the Last Judgement is mostly known to us since the 13<sup>th</sup> c. monuments, e.g. the wall paintings of the Church of Saint Mother of God in Axt'ala (ill. 8), two miniatures by T'oros Roslin (M 10675, 85v, A. D. 1267-8 and BAL 539, 109v, A. D. 1262, ill. 7) and the above-mentioned miniature from the Gospel of T'oros the Deacon (DU 559, 2r). S. Der Nersessian and I. Rapti compare the miniatures of T'oros Roslin and Avag Całkoł<sup>12</sup>. With some similarities, the miniature of Avag corresponds more to the miniature of T'oros the Deacon, where the tetramorphic throne of Christ is depicted, and the main difference is that the wings of four symbols are absent in the miniature of Avag.

According to Ch. Walter, the Christian tradition attributes a special tradition to Mother of God and John the Baptist for two reasons, first due to their close connection with Christ as His family members and second, due to their acknowledgement of His divinity<sup>13</sup>. Many scholars explain the gesture of the Virgin

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the man of God, the holy and ascetic clergyman Hovhannēs Gaṛnec'i", Sahak Mesropean Library, Tbilisi, 1901, pp. 530–531.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. the wall paintings of the Holy Cross Church in Ałt'amar (A.D. 915–921) and the St. Peter and St. Paul Monastery in Tat'ev (A.D. 930). Both in Ałt'amar and in Tat'ev, they are depicted in the Eastern apse. According to N. Thierry, the example of Ałt'amar does not correspond to the scene of the Last Judgement (further we will see that the Second Coming of Christ is represented in the conch above the southern door), see **Thierry N.**, *Les peintures de l'Eglise de la Sainte-Croix d'Agthamar (915–921)*, The second international symposium on Armenian Art, Collection of reports, v. III, Yerevan, 1978, p. 182. In case of mural painting of the monastery of Tat'ev there is no exact hypothesis that it refers to the scene of the Last Judgement, as the scene of the Last Judgement is situated on the Western wall, see **Kotanjyan N., Drambyan I.**, *The Wall Paintings of Tat'ev, "Etchmiadzin"*, 2013, no. 8 (August), pp. 23–4 (in Armenian). In the Armenian miniature art one of the earliest examples known to us is the 11<sup>th</sup> c. full-page miniature from the Gospel of V 1400, see **Janashian M.**, *Armenian Miniature Paintings of the Monastic Library at San Lazzaro*, v. I, Venice, 1966, p. 27, Plate XXII.

<sup>12</sup> **Der-Nersessian S.**, *The Chester Beatty Library ...*, v. I, p. 75, reference 2, **Rapti I.**, *op. cit.*, p. 103–104.

<sup>13</sup> **Walter Ch.**, *Two Notes on the Deesis*, REB, Tome XXVI, 1968, p. 327.

and John the Baptist not only as intercession, but as adoration<sup>14</sup>. The meaning of adoration is contained in Rev. 7:11–12 referring to the attitude of the tetramorph and the angels surrounding Christ. However, according to I. Myslivets, the main intention of depicting the Mother of God and John the Baptist next to Christ is their intercession to the Son of God<sup>15</sup>. In the formation of the iconography of the Last Judgement in Byzantine tradition, the Vision of Saint Gregory played an important role which was described in “The Life of Saint Basil the Younger” (A.D. 944/952). The Second Coming of Christ in this Vision is described together with the Mother of God and John the Baptist<sup>16</sup>. There also exists an Armenian source on this topic. In the paragraph from the Vision of Hovhannēs Gaṙnec’i it is written, “I was observing an astonishing hill and saw inside the veil the Mother of Lord with opened arms in supplications before the Holy throne, and the twelve chairs of the apostles were placed, and those who were glorified, were seated for judging, and there I saw groups of shiny crowns in the ranks of saints – apostles and prophets, patriarchs and martyrs, and they all glorified God<sup>17</sup>...”. Some details from the above-mentioned description will be seen below.

The Second Coming of Christ is glorified by two archangels depicted on the left and right sides of Deesis (Mat. 25:31, John 1:51, Rev. 7:11-12). They both wear traditional loros. The sky is depicted in the form of a scroll which archangels Gabriel and Michael roll: on it the inscription *ԳԱԼԱՐԻՆ ԵՐԿԻՆՔ ՈՐՊԵՍ*

<sup>14</sup> E.g. **Der Nersessian S.**, Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century, V. I, Dumbarton Oaks research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C., p. 63, Walter Ch., op. cit, p. 325–327.

<sup>15</sup> **Мысливец Й.** Происхождение «Деисуса», Византия, Южные славяне и Древняя Русь. Западная Европа, М., 1973, с. 60–62.

<sup>16</sup> **Дергачева И.** Топосы иного мира в «Житии Василия Нового» [Электронный ресурс] // Язык и текст langpsy.ru. 2016, т. 3. №4. URL: <http://psyjournals.ru/langpsy/2016/n4/Dergacheva.shtml> (дата обращения: 09.03.2018) doi: 10.17759/langt.2016030404, с. 37–38. **Гурьянов Н.** Страшный Суд Божий, видение Григория, ученика святого и Богоносного отца нашего Василия Нового Цареградского, М., 1984, с. 12. I am grateful to the theologian Gevorg Kazaryan, for indicating this source.

<sup>17</sup> «Նկատէի եւ ի բլուրն զարմանալի և տեսանէի ներքոյ վարագուրին առաջի սրբոյ աթոռոյն զՄայրն Տեառն Աստուծոյ յաղաչանս բազկատարած, եւ եղան երկոտասան աթոռ առաքելոցն, եւ նստան ի դատաստան փառազարդեալքն, եւ անդ էր տեսանել հոյք արեգականց թագազլովս սրբոցն պարք՝ առաքելոցն եւ մարգարէիցն, հայրապետացն եւ մարտիրոսացն, եւ ամենեքեան ի մի բերան փառաւորեցին զԱստուած ... », see Book of Papers, V, Bibliography of ..., p. 531.

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

ՄԱԳԱՂԱԹ (The Heavens Rolled Up Like A Scroll, Is. 34:4) is barely visible. The same inscription is written in the miniature of T'oros Roslin (BAL 539, 109v). Still, the miniature of Avag Caḡkoḡ is distinguished by the mentioning of the names - [Գ]Ա[ԲՐ]ԻԷԼ, [ՄԻԺԱՅ]ԷԼ (Gabriel, Michael) over their heads. The depiction of the heavenly hierarchy surrounding Christ or Deesis is canonical iconography, but the inscriptions with their names cannot often be found. This may be because of their absence in the canonical texts. The names of angels (usually the names of Michael and Gabriel are mentioned) come from the apocryphal sources<sup>18</sup>. One of the earliest examples that mentions the names of the archangels is the wall painting on the conch of the apse of Cappadocia Cross Church (Hacli Kilise) from the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup>. In the Armenian art of the preceding period, there is the family mausoleum of Tigran Honenc' in Ani, which was frescoed before 1212 with the scene of Deesis, surrounded by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, where their names are mentioned in Armenian. Most probably, there were other examples too, since the number and condition of the surviving artworks is not sufficient for the final conclusion. The lack of visual materials in the Armenian environment is compensated by literary sources. In the Vision of St. Gregory the Illuminator<sup>20</sup>, to the question of the Angel, "Why don't they adore the God than the Throne", the Saint answers, "Because He is frightful and astonishing, and the archangels Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel are on the right and left of the Throne of Divinity, and the long-haired seraph...."<sup>21</sup>. The image of the two seraphim with six wings that

<sup>18</sup> **Negrău E.**, The Double-sided Icon in Dintr-un Lemn Monastery, *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, v. VII, Bucharest, 2016, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> **Thierry N.**, L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques (IIIe-XIIIe siècles), *Actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hardt*, 29 février-3 mars 1976 (*Études et documents publiés par la Section d'histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève*, n° 11), Geneve, 1979, p. 321, fig. 3.

<sup>20</sup> This example of apocryphal literature is known from a fragment written in 1208 (V 570, see **Sargisean B., Sargsean Gr.**, General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts from the Mekhitarists' Library in Venice, v. III, Venice, 1966, pp. 67–68 (in Armenian), **Sargisean B.**, *Studies on the Apocryphal Literature of the Old Testament*, Venice, 1898, p. 452 (in Armenian). "The Vision of St. Gregory the Illuminator" was also preserved in Syriac and Arabic texts. I refer to the paper presented by the arabist Ester Petrosyan (publication is in process), who presented it during the International Armenological Conference dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of academician Levon Khachikian in June 2018.

<sup>21</sup> «Աստուծոյ ընդէ՛ր ոչ պազանեն, քան աթոռոյն ... Զի ահեղ եւ զարմանալի է, եւ շուրջ կան զաթոռով Աստուածութեան, ընդ աջմէ եւ ընդ ահեկէ, եւ սուրբ հրեշտակա-

cover their body, recalls the reading from Is. 6:1-3, in which their faces too are covered. The wings of seraphim and archangels are outlined with the red color that symbolizes the Divine fire<sup>22</sup>.

In the second row, there are twelve apostles, gazing at one another in a dynamic movement. Above their figures one can find the inscription *ԱՌԱՔԵՆԱԼՔՆ ԺԲ*. (the twelve apostles). According to Mat. 19:28, here the apostles act as judges. They hold closed Gospels and only two of them are portrayed holding scrolls. The depiction of the apostles in a lower row from Deesis, according to T. Velmans, was canonical for Armenian, Georgian and Cappadocian art in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>, while S. Der Nersessian gives a hypothesis that before Roslin's miniature (BAL 539, 109v) such an iconography existed in Armenian Art, e.g. the fresco of the conch of the southern door of the Holy Cross Church of Aht'amar<sup>24</sup>. Miniaturist Avag continues the same iconography, depicting the apostles seated in a semicircle. According to I. Rapti, miniaturist Avag was perhaps influenced by the iconography of Pentecost<sup>25</sup>. Later, in the Gospel A.D. 1436 (M 5543), the tetramorphic throne of God is represented with the Pentecost<sup>26</sup>. It is known that in Pentecost the Christological disputes are resolved before the Second Coming<sup>27</sup>. The first two apostles to the right and left are probably St. Paul and St. Peter. In the scene of Pentecost from J 1941 (8r), Avag depicted St. Paul on the right side, and accordingly, St. Peter was portrayed on

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պետն Միքայիլ եւ Գաբրիէլ եւ վարսաւոր սերովբէն ...», **Sargisean B.**, Studies on the Apocryphal Literature ..., p. 468.

<sup>22</sup> **Холл Дж.** Словарь сюжетов и символов в искусстве, перевод с английского и вступительная статья А. Майкапар, М., 1996, с. 62.

<sup>23</sup> I refer to **Chookaszian L.**, On the Full Page Illustrations of the Last Judgment in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Toros Roslin, Logos im Dialogos: Auf der Suche Nach der Orthodoxie, Gedenkschrift fur Hermann Goltz (1946–2010), Hrsg. von A. Briskina – Muller, A. Drost – Abgarian, A. Meibner, LIT-Verlag, Berlin-Munster-Wien-Zurich-London, 2011, p. 290.

<sup>24</sup> **Der-Nersessian S.**, Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1973, p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> **Rapti I.**, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> See the image on <http://www.armenianart.org/nyuter/Engl.-Van-Xizan.pdf>, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> **Thierry N.**, Le Jugement dernier de Axtala ..., p. 164, the same in **Лидов А.** Росписи монастыря Ахтала: история, иконография, мастера, М., 2014, с. 132.

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

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the left side. It is a well-known iconography for both Byzantine and Western artworks<sup>28</sup>.

In the third row, two angels meet each other, as if flying. The depiction of the angels recalls the miniature of T'oros the Deacon (ill. 5), as well as the wall painting of Axt'ala monastery (ill. 8). However, Avag Całkoł's miniature is different from Armenian and even Byzantine prototypes<sup>29</sup> with the expressive and dynamic movement of the angels. The inscription ՁՕՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ (the powers) is written over their images. Medieval Armenian philosopher and theologian Grigor Tat'evac'i in his study on the choir of angels writes about the *powers* as *rulers* based "On the Celestial Hierarchy" of Dionysius the Areopagite<sup>30</sup>.

The image of the Last Judgement continues on the next folio. It begins with twelve portraits of high-ranking ecclesiastics, seven of which are depicted in the first row, and five in the second one. All of them have nimbus on their heads, eight of them also tiaras decorated with crosses in the upper part. They wear episcopal vestments: a long mantle and omophorion decorated with crosses. On the nimbus of the first figure (on the left) the inscription ՍԵՂՐԵՍ (Selbes) is written – so on the nimbus St. Sylvester is depicted. The "Hagiography" of Roman Pope was translated from Greek into Armenian in 678 by Grigor Ĵorop'orec'i<sup>31</sup>. In the Armenian art, the portrait of St. Sylvester is known from the frescoes of the monastery of Axt'ala and from the church of Tigran Honenc' (13<sup>th</sup> c.). In miniature art, the portrait of the Pope occurs more often, e.g. the miniature of the Lectionary of king Hetum II (A.D. 1286, M. 979, 8r). A. Lidov explains the preference to depict the Latin saint in such an important place in the fresco of Axt'ala, with the influence of the unitor movement, which started in Armenia in 12<sup>th</sup> c. and continued during 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>32</sup>. According to I. Drampian, in the Lectionary of King Hetum II, it is associated with the "Hagiography of St.

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<sup>28</sup> Kouymjian D., Identifying the Apostles in Armenian Narrative Miniatures, "From Byzantium to Iran: In Honour of Nina Garsoian", Atlanta, 1996, p. 457.

<sup>29</sup> According to A. Lidov, the wall painting of the monastery of Axt'ala is influenced by the mosaic of the Last Judgement scene in Santa Maria Assunta church in Torcello, see Лидов А., op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> See Tat'evac'i Gr., Book of Questions, reprinting of the publication of Constantinople in 1729, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 134–135.

<sup>31</sup> Shirinian M.E., The "Hagiography of Sylvester" and the "Chapter of Concord", BM, no. 17, Yerevan, 2006, p. 54.

<sup>32</sup> Лидов А., op. cit., p. 72, 82.



Gregory”, when patriarch Sylvester met King Trdat and St. Gregory while visiting Rome at the invitation of Emperor Constantine<sup>33</sup>. In the case of our miniature, I will interpret it with the fact that Avag was an antiunitor artist, and it was under the rule of St. Sylvester when the Christian Church anathematized the heresy of Arius and his doctrine in 325 at the council of Nicea (though it is known that the Pope could not attend the meeting). Later we will see the depiction of Arius in Hell in the miniature of the Last Judgement. The Pope is portrayed with a scroll in his right hand, while the other six hold the Gospel. The arms of some of them (the third and fourth ecclesiastics in the first row from the left) are extended in a gesture of blessing.

Who are the other eleven clergymen and why are they portrayed here? Unfortunately, the poor preservation of the inscriptions on their nimbuses makes it impossible to read their names. Perhaps these are the twelve universal fathers of the Armenian Church<sup>34</sup>, among whom was St. Sylvester. According to L. Zakaryan, in the center of the first row the image of Esayi Nċec’i<sup>35</sup> is portrayed. The only difference in the image of this saint from others is his hood, which resembles the portraits of St. Nersēs Šnorhali (M 591, 3v, BER 279, 2v), or Hakob the Catholicos (M 2627, 422v) known to us from Armenian miniature art. We cannot exclude that Esayi Nċec’i is represented here, since in some of his portraits he has the same hood on his head, though the garment is different<sup>36</sup>. Perhaps, St. Gregory the Illuminator is depicted, as we have such non canonic iconographic examples in the scene of the Last Judgement in Armenian art. Such is the Gospel copied in 1475 in Berkry (BOB 1327, 25v)<sup>37</sup>, or another Gospel of the same year

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<sup>33</sup> **Drampian I.**, *The Lectionary of King Hetum II*, Yerevan, 2004, p. 99.

<sup>34</sup> See their names in **Ghazaryan A.**, *Church Fathers*, *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia*, ed. by H. Ayvazyan and others, Yerevan, 2002, pp. 305–306 (in Armenian).

<sup>35</sup> **Zakarian L.**, *Un Artista Anti-Unitore del XIV secolo, “Roma-Armenia”*, a cura di Cl. Mutafian, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 1999, p. 178.

<sup>36</sup> See the reproductions of the images in **Der Nersessian S.**, *Les portraits d’Esayi Nċec’i, supérieur de Glajor*, *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian*, ed. D. Kouymjian, Lisbon, Galouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986, p. 231–232, 237, 240, fig. 1, 2, 4, 6.

<sup>37</sup> See the reproduction in *Treasures in Heaven, Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, **Mathews T., Taylor A., Evans H., Merian S.**, edited by T. Mathews and R. Wieck, New-York, 1994, cat. n. 16, fig. 103.

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

copied by scribe Aristakes (BAL 540, 14v)<sup>38</sup>. A quotation from the Vision of St. Hovhannēs *vardapet* Gaṛnec'i is noteworthy, "I saw our Illuminator and the mediator of life Gregory, walking with a delightful crown of light out of numerous angels, and while he was entering the procession, the angels and the celestial forces were beautifying Him, and other churches of firstborns were glorifying Him"<sup>39</sup>.

The Biblical story mentions the twenty-four Elders who worship the Judge (Rev. 4:4, 10, 5:8, 14, 11:16–17, 19:4). It seems that the depiction of the twelve Holy Fathers, together with the twelve apostles, directly corresponds to these readings. According to L. Reau, the twelve apostles symbolize the New Testament and the Elders – the Old Testament, thus combining the Old and the New Sacraments<sup>40</sup>. In the commentaries of Rev. 4:4 one can read, "A priest (multitude, like rainbow around the throne) here means superior ranks of ecclesiastics of the church – catholicos, bishop, priest ... first, they are considered to be the twenty and four prophets, but indeed, they are the superiors and chosen from the patriarchs, prophets and apostles"<sup>41</sup>. In another miniature of the Last Judgement, below the tetramorphic throne of Christ, the seven chosen are portrayed and above them the inscription *նահապետք* (the patriarchs) is written<sup>42</sup>. In the miniature of Avag, the seven chosen hold seven golden lampstands, as written in Rev. 1:12–13, 20, 4:5. These readings are interpreted as follows, "Symbolically, seven stars are seven angels, that is the bishops of the

<sup>38</sup> See the reproduction of the image in **Der Nersessian S.**, *Armenian manuscripts in the Walters ...*, p. 46, 48, pl. 211.

<sup>39</sup> «Տեսանէի զԼուսաւորիչն մեր եւ զկենաց առիթն զՍուրբ Գրիգոր, բիւրաւորաւ լուսեղինաւք հրաշագարման թագիւ եկեալ, եւ մինչ մտանէր ի հանդէսն, երանէին զնա հրեշտակք եւ երկնային զաւրք, այլ եւ եկեղեցիք անդրանկաց փառաւորէին զնա ... », see *Book of Papers*, V, *Bibliography ...*, p. 531.

<sup>40</sup> **Réau L.**, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, t. II, *Iconographie de la Bible*, II, *Nouveau Testament*, Presses, Universitaires de France, 1957, p. 690.

<sup>41</sup> «Քահանայ (բազումք, ծիածան շուրջ զաթոռովն նման) աստ նշանակ է զվեհագոյն աստիճանաւորս եկեղեցւոյ՝ թէ կաթողիկոս, թէ եպիսկոպոս, թէ քահանայ ... Այսոքիկ նախ վարկին գոլ քսան եւ չորք մարգարէքն, բայց ստոյգն է, զի սոքա են վեհագոյնքն եւ ընտրելագոյնքն ի նահապետաց, ի մարգարէից, և յառաքելոց ...», see **Aghamalean Bardumeants P.**, *Commentary of the Book of Revelation of St. John*, abbreviated from different interpreters, Calcutta, 1846, p. 76 (in Armenian).

<sup>42</sup> **S. D. N.**, CD II, folder "Dublin", Chester Beatty, Ms. 569.

churches, and the seven lampstands are the seven churches”<sup>43</sup>. The depiction of the seven candlesticks appear in Armenian miniature art of the 17th century under the influence of European engravings<sup>44</sup>. The miniature of Avag differs from the above examples as the seven Elders hold the lampstands, and this seems to be one of the earliest in Armenian Art, since I could not find another parallel example.

In Armenian Art the scene of the Second Coming of Christ accompanied by the *Elders* (or the righteous) is known from the frescoes of the Holy Cross church of Aht’amar<sup>45</sup>, where according to S. Der Nersessian, two rows of nimbed figures also represent the apostles<sup>46</sup>. The depiction of the Holy Fathers as *Elders* or the righteous who have inherited the Kingdom of God is a traditional iconography of the Last Judgement of Byzantine and Western artworks<sup>47</sup>.

The next horizontal row represents the Resurrection of the Dead with two trumpeting angels. The latter wear their traditional *loros*. Some of the dead, who were resurrected, walk towards the angels, some rise from their graves (Ezek. 37:12–13), and the souls of others are still represented in wrappings. S. Der-Nersessian interpreted the last detail on the example of the miniature of T’oros the Deacon (Rev. 6:9)<sup>48</sup>. In the Armenian miniature art, the figure of an angel (or angels) is often accompanied with the inscriptions *փորքն զարրիելեանքն գրչեն*

<sup>43</sup> «Խորհրդապէս՝ եօթն աստղերն են եօթն հրեշտակք, այսինքն՝ եպիսկոպոսք եկեղեցւոյ, եւ եօթն աշտանակքն՝ եկեղեցիքն», see **Aghamalean Bardumeants P.**, Commentary of the Book of Revelation ..., p. 27–8.

<sup>44</sup> **Merian S.**, Illuminating the Apocalypse in Seventeenth-century Armenian manuscripts: The Transition from printed book to manuscript, in “The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition, A Comparative Perspectives”, Essays Presented in Honor of professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, ed. by **K. Bardakjian** and **S. La Porta**, Brill, 2014, pp. 614–615, figs. 3–5.

<sup>45</sup> **Der-Nersessian S.**, Aght’amar Church of the Holy Cross, Harvard, 1965, p. 47–48, **Thierry N.**, Les peintures de l’église de la Saint Croix d’Aghtamar ..., p. 187.

<sup>46</sup> **Der-Nersessian S.**, Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters ..., p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> **Der-Nersessian S.**, Aght’amar Church ..., p. 47. **Brenk B.**, Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des Ersten Jahrtausends, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, band III, Wien, 1966, p. 87, Abb. 25, p. 131–133, Abb. 45–46, 48, **Nicolaïdès A.**, Le Jugement Dernier dans l’église de la Panagia Moutoullas à Chypre. Une peinture inédite de la second moitié du XIVe siècle, Bulletin of the Christian and Archeological Society (in Greek), no. 18, Athens, 1995, p. 76.

<sup>48</sup> **Der Nersessian S.**, The Chester Beatty Library ..., v. I, p. XXXI.

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

(the trumpets of Gabriel are blowing)<sup>49</sup>, *Գաբրիելի փողն գոչէ* (the trumpet of Gabriel is blowing)<sup>50</sup> or *գաբրիելեան փողն* (Gabriel's trumpet)<sup>51</sup>. The four resurrected dead have put their right hands to their lips, as if they are amazed or afraid of their sins<sup>52</sup>. They differ from others not only by their gestures and movements, but also by their blue or red clothes that cover their waist. In this way, the artist tried to show that their souls had already joined the resurrected bodies, dressed according to Byzantine iconography<sup>53</sup>. In the "Commentary of the Holy Gospel of Matthew" by Hovahnnēs Erznkac'i, the author interprets the reading 24:31 as follows, "the winds blow everywhere, or to the four elements in which the bodies of people are released, immediately return"<sup>54</sup>. The iconography of the resurrection of the chosen from their graves resembles the frescoes of the monasteries of Tat'ev and Axt'ala. The recent ones, according to Thierry, are more associated with Western iconography than the Greek one<sup>55</sup>. S. Der Nersessian compares the iconography with the miniature of the Resurrection of Lazarus from another Gospel, illuminated by Avag and Mxitar Anec'i (J 1941, 5r)<sup>56</sup>, where together with Lazarus, five dead are depicted in their graves. The same iconography is visible in two miniatures from the school of Arc'ax (13–14 cc.), where the images of the dead are accompanied with inscriptions *Ղազարոս* (Lazarus, M 6303, 4r), *Սոքա այլ Ղազար* (Those are other Lazaruses, 4r, 4820, 3r), *Ղազար եկաց ի գերեզմանէն* (Lazarus came from the grave, 3r), *Ղազարի*

<sup>49</sup> DU 576, 16v, see the reproduction in **Arakelyan M.**, Mesrop of Khizan: An Armenian Master of the Seventeenth Century, London, 2013, p. 43, fig. 27.

<sup>50</sup> BAL 543, 14r, see the reproduction in **Der Nersessian S.**, Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters ..., p. 32, pl. 158.

<sup>51</sup> **S. D. N.**, CD X, folder New York, Kévorkian 11, photographie 21.

<sup>52</sup> Thus I. Rapti explains the gesture of the two dead by the example of the miniature of the Gospel of M 212 (79v), see **Rapti I.**, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>53</sup> **Chookaszian L.**, op. cit., p. 296, reference 82.

<sup>54</sup> «Հողմունք հնչեն յամենայնս, կամ գշորս տարերս՝ յորում լուծեալ են մարմինք մարդկան, իսկոյն վերադառնան», see in Commentary of the Holy Gospel of Matthew, created by St. Nersēs Šnorhali until no. 17 of the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter, and then finished by blessed Hovhannēs Erznkac'i-Corcorec'i, Constantinople, 1825, p. 512.

<sup>55</sup> **Thierry N.**, Le Jugement Dernier d'Axtala ..., p. 157.

<sup>56</sup> **S. D. N.**, document no. 695, p. 24r.

*գերեզմանը* (The grave of Lazarus, 3r)<sup>57</sup>. So, just as in the scene of the Resurrection of Lazarus, the miracle of the resurrection of the dead is depicted step by step, similarly, Avag has depicted the resurrection of the dead in the scene of the Judgement.

In the third row, two angels (without trumpets) and a kneeling image of a churchman in front of them are depicted. The analysis of this image in comparison with other similar examples suggests that this is the self-portrait of the artist, it has parallels with other self-portraits of Armenian miniaturists from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., such as the portrait of T'oros the Deacon (ill. 6)<sup>58</sup>. The parallels between miniatures of Avag and T'oros the Deacon are emphasized by the absence of Paradise in contrast to the frescoes of Axt'ala or the miniature of Röslin (BAL 539, 109v).

The depiction of Hell in the scene of the Last Judgement is interesting not only in terms of its iconography, but also because it shows the theological doctrine that the artist followed. The red background, symbolizing the fire of Hell, reminds us not only of Mat. 5:22, 18:9, 25:41, Mark. 9:43, 47, but also of the Apocalypse of Peter<sup>59</sup>. On the left side is the weighing of souls represented by two balance - scales which symbolize justice (from left) and human sins (from right). The contours of the four devils with long tails are visible below the right scale. Devils torture the five sinners in Hell. The latter are dressed in clerical outfit, indicating that they are clergymen. The punishment of ecclesiastics was not the artist's innovation. It follows a traditional iconography, such as the mosaic of the Last Judgement in the Church of St. Mary Assunta in Torcello or the fresco of the Church of Panagia in Cyprus<sup>60</sup>. In the miniature of Avag C'ałkoł, one of the sinners is depicted with a scroll<sup>61</sup> in his hand and is descending to the dark gate of Hell with hanging head. The torture of the sinners in this iconography resembles

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<sup>57</sup> See the reproduction in **Hacopian H.**, *The Art of Artsakh Miniatures*, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 110, 124.

<sup>58</sup> For more details on this subject see in **Sargsyan L.**, *Observations on the Self-portrait of Miniaturist Avag (XIV c.)*, "Etchmiadzin", 2018, no. B (February), 85–101.

<sup>59</sup> **Angheben M.**, *Le Jugement derniers byzantins des XIe–XIIe siècles et l'Iconographie du Jugement Immédiat*, "Cahiers archéologiques" n. 50, Paris, 2002, p. 123.

<sup>60</sup> **Nicolaïdès A.**, op. cit., p. 74, fig. 2.

<sup>61</sup> This detail can symbolize the false prophetic doctrine (Mat. 7:15), which I will discuss in detail by the example of the Last Judgement miniature of the Gospel of M 212.

### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

the description of sinners in Hell from the apocryphal reading of the Vision of the Holy Mother of God Mary, “And again the Holy Virgin saw (that) many stood with hanging heads, and their tongues were tied with burning flame. And the Mother of God said ... what are those? And the angel said: those are high priests that are in front of the Lord’s table and break the incorruptible body, and throw into the chalice, and are not careful that a drop from the cup and from the bread may fall down, they suffer this way. And others from the priests who harbor spite and serve the mass are tortured by the devil”<sup>62</sup>.

Later, in the 17<sup>th</sup> c., the Gospel of Avag was copied by scribe and miniaturist Nikoľayos Caľkarar in Kaffa (the Crimea)<sup>63</sup>. The artist illustrated the scene of the Last Judgement by maintaining the main iconography, sometimes making some changes to it<sup>64</sup>. In the Gospel A.D. 1688 (M 312, 18r, ill. 9, 10) a kneeling figure is illustrated as in the prototype. A question arises – is it just a copy or a self-portrait of Nikoľayos? The artistic heritage of Nikoľayos has reached us in manuscripts copied between 1647–93, we also know that the artist died in 1693<sup>65</sup>. In 1688, the artist was supposed to be at an advanced age, while the image of the

<sup>62</sup> «Եւ դարձեալ ետես սուրբ Կոյսն (զի) բազումք կախեալք կային գլխիվայր, եւ լեզուք նոցա կապեալ ի հրակիզմանէ բոցոյն: Ասէ Աստուածածինն ... Զի՞նչ են սորա: Ասէ հրեշտակ. Սորա քահանայապետքն են, որ կան առաջի սուրբ սեղանոյն եւ զանապական մարմինն բեկանեն, եւ արկանեն ի սկիհն եւ ոչ զգուշանան, որ թէ կաթ մի ի բաժակէն եւ ի հացէն անգանի ի վայր, այսպէս չարչարին: Եւ այլք ի քահանայից, որ ռխ պահեն եւ պատարագ մատուցանեն, ընդ սատանայի տանջին», see in “The Vision of Holy Mother of God – Mary, who saw the torture of sinners”, Museum of Armenian Old and New Literature, v. II, Apocryphal Book of the New Testament, preface by **F. Esayi Tayec’i**, Venice, 1898, p. 443 (in Armenian), **F. B. Sargisean**, General catalogue of Armenian manuscripts from the Mekhitarists’ Library in Venice, v. II, Venice, 1924, pp. 771–82 (in Armenian). The manuscript contains the writings of the Armenian author Movses Erzncac’i (1250s–1323 A.D.). The exact date of the manuscript is unknown, B. Sargisean dates it from XIV–XV cc., *ibid.*, pp. X, XIII.

<sup>63</sup> See detailed in **Sargsyan L.**, Observations on the Self-portrait of Miniaturist Avag (XIV c.), “Etchmiadzin”, 2018, no. B (February), pp. 99–100.

<sup>64</sup> See in M 7680 (11v, 12r), 6673 (11v, 12r), 7618 (12r), 7665 (11v, 12r), 289 (15v, 16r), 8177 (11v, 12r), 312 (17v, 18r), 10584 (7v, 8r), 6992 (13v, 14r), 7623 (447v, 448r), 7618 (11v, 12r), 10420 (11v, 12r), 1353 (without page numbering), 7680 (11v, 12r), LOB 13895 (14v, 15r), HT 4 (15v, 16r), BSB, Cod. Arm. 25 (11v, 12r). In the Gospels M 10420 there are no images of sinners in Hell (12r), 8177 (11v), 7618 (11v), or the Bible M 7623 (447v) two powerful angels are absent, in the Gospels of M 7680 (12r) and 7623 (448r) a dragon is depicted in Hell.

<sup>65</sup> **Guevorkian A.**, Bibliography of Armenian Illuminators of IX–XIX cc., Cairo, 1998, p. 594.



**Illustration 1**

The Second Coming of Christ, M 7650, 26v.  
The illustration was provided by the doctor of  
historical sciences Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan.



**Illustration 2**

Fathers, Resurrection of the Dead, Weighing of  
the Souls and the Hell, M 7650, 27r. The  
illustration was provided by the doctor of  
historical sciences Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan.





**Illustration 3**

Resurrection of the Dead and the Hell, M 212, 79v. The illustration was provided by the doctor of historical sciences Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan.



**Illustration 4**

The Second Coming of Christ, M 212, 80r. The illustration was provided by the doctor of historical sciences Gevorg Ter-Vardanyan.





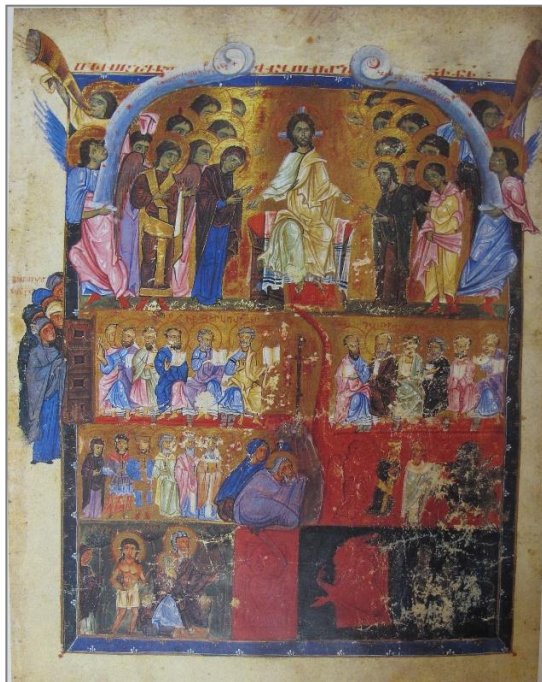
**Illustration 5**

Deesis, DU 559, 2r. Colored illustration was taken from the following book - S. Der-Nersessian, The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts, V. II, Dublin, 1958, frontispiece.



**Illustration 6**

Resurrection of the Dead, HY, Hazarian Collection, 142, 2r. Colored illustration was taken from the following book – H. Evans, Treasures in Heaven, Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts, Edited by T. Mathews, R. Wieck, Pierpont Morgan Library, New-York, 1994, pl. 22.



**Illustration 7**

The Last Judgement, BAL 539, 109v. Colored Illustration was taken from the following book - H. Evans, Treasures in Heaven, Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts, Edited by T. Mathews, R. Wieck, Pierpont Morgan Library, New-York, 1994, pl. 14.



**Illustration 8**  
The Last Judgement, Holy Mother of God Church of Axt'ala. The illustration was provided by photographer Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



**Illustration 9**  
The Second Coming of Christ, M 312, 17v. Colored illustration was provided by the direction of Matenadaran.



**Illustration 10**  
Holy Bishops, Resurrection of the Dead and Hell, M 312, 18r. Colored Illustration was provided by the direction of Matenadaran

kneeling figure seems quite young. So the first hypothesis, regarding the copying from the original, seems more probable.

In the Gospel A.D. 1337–40 in the scene of the Last Judgement Avag kept the main iconographic features with some alterations. In the scene of the Second Coming, the two cherubim and the angels that are represented as powers, are not depicted. There are no inscriptions next to the figures. The image of Christ sitting on the tetramorphic throne has an interesting unusual detail for Armenian art: the right side of His torso is open and blood flows from it. This detail, that symbolizes the Incarnation and the Sacrifice of Christ at His Second Coming, according to I. Rapti, is a Western influence, which was imported in the Mediterranean art in images of some posthumous apparitions of Christ but not in the images of Christ Pantokrator<sup>66</sup>. The Western influence is also visible in some writings, e.g. on the title page of the Gospel of Luke, instead of the letter Ղալր (Ł) the letter Լյու (L) was used, which corresponds to the Latin or Greek versions (M 7650, 181r, M 212, 153r). In the Gospel, which is depicted as an open book, the damaged inscription Յ[ԻՍՈՒՍ] Ք[ՐԻՍՏՈՍ] Տ[Է]Ր (Lord Jesus Christ) is written. This page ends with a semicircular arch that seems to remain unfinished.

On the second page, the Resurrection of the Dead and the Hell are represented. The depiction of twelve Holy Fathers with the self-portrait of the painter and two angels in front of him is absent. The images of the two sinners are accompanied with the inscriptions ՆԵՍ[ՈՐ] (Nestor) and ԱՐԻՈՍ (Arius), who descend to the Hell, where with the three arched niches the sufferings are distinguished<sup>67</sup>. Their names prove my opinion about the prophetic false doctrine. The depiction of heresies in this scene was not an unusual iconography. In the double-sided icon of Dintr-un Lemn Monastery in Valcea (in between the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> are represented with inscriptions “priests” and “Arius”<sup>68</sup>.

This iconographic detail once again emphasizes the relation with the Vision of St. Gregory, where together with Deesis, the twelve apostles and the twelve Holy Fathers and the names of Nestor and Arius are mentioned among other

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<sup>66</sup> **Rapti I.**, op. cit., p. 104. For the combination of Passion of Christ with His Second Coming in the scene of the Last Judgement see also **Brenk B.**, op. cit., p. 235–237.

<sup>67</sup> M. Angheben gives this interpretation by the example of Greek Gospel P 74, where the Hell is represented by six arched niches, see **Angheben M.**, op. cit., p. 123, fig. 15.

<sup>68</sup> **Negrău E.**, op. cit., pp. 102, 110–111, figs. 2, 4.



### **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

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heretics<sup>69</sup>. We do not know whether the “Life of St. Basil the Younger” was known among Armenians in Greek or in translation. Armenian masters could use the Byzantine iconography based on this “Life” without acquaintance with its written source. However in his commentaries of the Gospel of Mat, “He will separate the people from one another as a shepherd ...” (25:32–3) Hovhannēs Erznkac’i comments as follows, “To say “one” against Nestorians, who divided into two sons ...” «Մի ասելն նախ ընդդէմ նեստորականացն, որք յերկուս որդիս բաժանեցին ...»<sup>70</sup>.

In the Armenian art, I could not find a parallel example of mentioning the names of heretics. According to L. Zakaryan, Avag has expressed his attitude to the antiunion movement, which the Armenian church led against the uniting of churches headed by Catholic missionaries<sup>71</sup>. I. Rapti explains this by the fact that the painter who was also a churchman, depicted the punishment of heretics, gave them hope for forgiveness<sup>72</sup>. The hypothesis of L. Zakaryan describes this motive more clearly. The patron of this Gospel was Peşgen Orbelian, who was a true follower of his father – prince Burt’el Orbelian, who in his turn was a strong defender of the Armenian church<sup>73</sup>. The atmosphere of church disputes was so strong that later, in 1356–58, miniaturist Avag in his colophon would write: “the Armenians and the Latins were opposed to each other” (*«Ազգ հայոց և լատինացւոյն հակակեալ միմեանց»*, M 6230, 505v). Arianism and Nestorianism as heretical movements were always condemned by the Armenian Church and there are many literary sources about it. I am considering the sources of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., which will help us understand to what extent the depiction of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> cc. heresies in this miniature was actual for that time. Metropolitan Step’anos Orbelian of Syunik’, in his work related to Dyophysitism, almost in all twelve chapters condemns the doctrine of Nestor and gives such descriptions as

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<sup>69</sup> Гурьянов Н., op. cit., p. 12–3, 27–8; Дергачева И., op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>70</sup> Commentary of the Holy Gospel of Matthew ..., p. 538–539.

<sup>71</sup> Zakarian L., op. cit., pp. 176, 179, ill. VI. 79, the same in Mutařian Cl., L’Arménie du Levant (XIe–XIVe siècles), Paris, 2012, t. I, p. 711, t. II, ill. 148.

<sup>72</sup> Rapti I., op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>73</sup> Khachikyan L., The Burtelian Branch of the Family of Orbelians of Syunik’, Bulletin of Matenadaran, no. 9, 1969, p. 176 (in Armenian), Zakarian L., op. cit., p. 179.

“heretical” and “cursed”<sup>74</sup>. The doctrines of Nestor and Arius were condemned in the paper of Esayi Nĕcec’i, which was addressed to pro-Latin *vardapets* (doctors in theology) of Cilicia<sup>75</sup>. This paper illustrates the disagreements between the Cilician patriarchate and the metropolitic seat of Syunik’. It is important to understand whether the movement against the union of churches was in progress in Tabriz and in Soltaniyeh, where Avag copied and illustrated his Gospel. Step’anos Orbelian describes the unitor movement as a contagion, also mentioning T’avriz<sup>76</sup>. Esayi Nĕcec’i in the epistle addressed to the leader of the Armenian Church in Atrpatakan, tĕr Matt’ĕos, and the Armenian Christians, warned them to stay away from the Latin unitors<sup>77</sup>. Later, the Roman historian, Clement Galanos, mentioned Soltaniyeh as the fourth important Catholic missionary center in the East after Maragha, Tp’ĭs (Tbilisi) and Caffa (Crimea)<sup>78</sup>.

Summarizing the present study, it is important to note that together with the miniatures of T’oros the Deacon, those of Avag are intermediate between the miniatures (such as those by T’oros Rōslin) which used to be depicted on a single page, and, miniatures of the 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> where on either one or two pages Christ is usually depicted with four trumpeting angels on the Cross and the weighing of souls or Hell represented below. In comparison with the above mentioned examples, the miniatures of Avag represent a more developed iconography. The biblical texts, apocrypha, and also the visions of saints, have had full or partial influence on the formation of the iconography of the Last Judgement scene in the

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<sup>74</sup> **Orbelean St.**, Refutation against to Dyophysites, Constantinople, 1756, pp. 57, 119 (in Armenian).

<sup>75</sup> According to G. Hovsepian, it was written in 1321, see **Petrosyan S.**, The Papers of Esayi Nĕcec’i, “Etchmiadzin”, 1985, XI–XII, p. 97 (in Armenian).

<sup>76</sup> **Orbelean St.**, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>77</sup> **Khachatryan P., Kyoseyan H.**, Selected Bibliography of the Armenian Church, Etchmiadzin, 2003, p. 655 (in Armenian).

<sup>78</sup> **Galanos K.**, Conciliation of the Holy Armenian Church with the Great Roman Holy Church. V. I, Rome, 1650, p. 527 (in Armenian). More detailed on this subject see После Марко Поло. Путешествия западных чужеземцев в страны трех Индий, перевод с латинского и староитальянского языков, введение и примечания **Я.М. Света**, М., 1968, с. 58, **Khachikyan L.**, The Armenian Principality of Artaz and the School of Corcor, BM, Yerevan, 1973, pp. 125–210 (in Armenian), **Richard J.**, La papauté et les missions d’Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XVe siècles), École Française de Rome; Palais Farnèse, 1977, p. 180–181 and etc.

## **The Scene of Last Judgement in the Art of Armenian Miniaturist Avag...**

art of Avag. The variety of textual sources, due to which this iconography was formed becomes more interesting in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and it is possible to interpret certain iconographic details in accordance with the commentaries of medieval Armenian authors.

### **Abbreviations**

BM- Bulletin of Matenadaran

Etchmiadzin – Review of Religious Studies and Armenology, Etchmiadzin

Ezek. – Ezekiel

Is. – Isaia

Mat. – Matthew

REB – Revue des études byzantines

Rev. – Revelation of John

S. D. N. – Archives of Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Matenadaran, Yerevan

### **Collections of manuscripts**

BAL – Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

BER – Berlin State Library, Oriental Manuscripts, Berlin

BOB – Boston Public Library

BSB – Bavarian State Library, Munich

DU – Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

HT – Hartford Seminary Library, Hartford

HY – Western Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America, Hollywood

J – Saint James Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem

LOB – British Library, Oriental Manuscripts, London

M – Matenadaran, Yerevan

P – National Library of France

V – Library of Mekhitarists, Saint Lazare, Venice

### **Table of Transliterations from Armenian**

Ա ա – A a	ժ ժ – Ž ž	Շ շ – Č č
Բ բ – B b	Ի ի – I i	Մ մ – M m
Գ գ – G g	Լ լ – L l	Յ չ – Y y
Դ դ – D d	Խ խ – X x	Ն ն – N n
Ե ե – E e	Ծ ծ – C c	Շ շ – Š š
Զ զ – Z z	Կ կ – K k	Ո ո – O o
Է է – Ē ē	Հ հ – H h	Չ չ – Ć ć
Ը ը – Ө ө	Ձ ձ – Ĵ ĵ	Պ պ – P p
Թ թ – T' t'	Ղ ղ – Ł ł	Ջ ճ – J j

**Sargsyan L.**

Ռ ռ – Ր Ր	Յ ջ – Շ շ	Ֆ ֆ – Բ Բ
Ս ս – Տ տ	Ի լ – Վ վ	Ո լ ու – Ս ս
Վ վ – Վ վ	Փ փ – Ք ք	+և - ew
Տ տ – Տ տ	Ք ք – Կ կ	
Ր ր – Ր ր	Օ օ – Օ օ	

**ԱՀԵՂ ԴԱՏԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԹԵՄԱՆ ՄԱՆՐԱՆԿԱՐԻՉ ԱՎԱԳԻ  
ԱՐՎԵՍՏՈՒՄ (XIV ԴԱՐ)**

ՍԱՐԳՍՅԱՆ Լ.

**Ամփոփում**

Միջնադարյան հայ արվեստի ինքնատիպ ներկայացուցիչներից է մանրանկարիչ Ավագը, ով կրթություն է ստացել Գլաձորի համալսարանում՝ աշակերտելով Եսայի Նչեցուն։ Նրա ձեռագրական ժառանգությունից մեզ է հասել տաս ձեռագիր, որոնց զգալի մասը՝ վեցը, ստեղծվել են Սուլթանիեում և Թավրիզում։ Այդ ձեռագրերի մանրանկարների շարքում առանձնանում են Մաշտոցյան Մատենադարանում պահվող երկու Ավետարանների Ահեղ դատաստանը պատկերող մանրանկարները (Հ<sup>մ</sup> 7650, 1329թ., Հ<sup>մ</sup> 212, 1337–40 թթ.)՝ Քրիստոսի երկրորդ գալստյան ու մեռյալների հարության և դժոխքի տեսարաններով։

Գրականության մեջ այս մանրանկարները հիշատակվել են հպանցիկ, առանց մանրամասն քննության։ Սույն աշխատանքը մանրանկարների պատկերագրության վերլուծության առաջին փորձն է, որտեղ առաջ ենք բերել հետևյալ հարցադրումները. ա) Ահեղ դատաստանի պատկերագրությունը հայ արվեստում և նկարիչ Ավագի մանրանկարների դերը դրա զարգացման գործում, բ) պատկերագրական որոշ մանրամասների կապը արևելաքրիստոնեական և արևմտաքրիստոնեական արվեստի ստեղծագործությունների հետ, գ) այն բնագրային աղբյուրների քննությունը, որոնք ազդեցություն են ունեցել պատկերագրության ձևավորման վրա՝ սուրբգրային բնագրերը, պարականոն գրվածքները և սրբերի տեսիլքները ներառյալ, դ) պատկերագրական առանձին մանրամասների ուսումնասիրությունն ըստ հայ միջնադարյան մեկնողական գրականության։

## СЦЕНА СТРАШНОГО СУДА В ИСКУССТВЕ АРМЯНСКОГО МИНИАТЮРИСТА АВАГА (XIV ВЕК)

САРКИСЯН Л.

### Резюме

Одной из значимых фигур средневекового армянского искусства является миниатюрист Аваг, получивший образование в знаменитом Гладзорском университете, где его учителем и духовным отцом был другой выдающийся деятель армянской культуры – Есаи (Исайя) Нчеци.

Художественное наследие Авага известно по десяти дошедшим до нас иллюстрированным кодексам, из которых шесть рукописей созданы в Тавризе и Султании. Среди миниатюр этих рукописей выделяется сцена Страшного Суда, представленная в двух Евангелиях из собрания Матенадарана (рук. №. 7650, 1329 г. и №. 212, 1337–1340 гг). В указанных манускриптах композиция занимает сразу два листа и представляет расширенную иконографию Страшного Суда. Сцена начинается Вторым Пришествием Христа, далее идет воскресение мертвых и завершается изображением ада.

В научной литературе миниатюры Страшного Суда были упомянуты вскользь, а также не был проведен соответствующий иконографический анализ последних. Данное исследование является первой попыткой всестороннего анализа миниатюр. В частности, в статье затрагиваются такие проблемы как: а) иконография Страшного Суда в средневековом армянском искусстве и значение миниатюр Авага в ее развитии; б) определение связи некоторых деталей сцены с восточными и западными иконографическими образцами; в) выявление текстов, повлиявших на формирование иконографии указанных миниатюр, включая Библию, апокрифы, видения святых; г) интерпретация некоторых иконографических деталей в контексте армянских средневековых комментариев.