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

HAKOBYAN Z.
hakobyanzaruhy@ysu.am

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

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

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

St. Gregory church became widely known among public since the archaeological excavations of Nikolaos Marr in Ani, and the scholar was the first to describe the monument as Armenian-Chalcedonian, particularly considering the frescos, as well as the church and the commissioner as Chalcedonian.

---

3 ММII Н.Я. Ани, с. 85-86; ММII Н.Я. Аркаун, монгольское называние христиан в связи с вопросом об армянах-халкедонитах. Кавказский культурный мир и Армения (под. ред. П.М. Мурадяна), Е., 1995, с. 248.
scholars have shared his opinion\(^4\). At the same time, the further examination of
the inscription on the building by Paruyr Muradyan allowed to find out that initially St.
Gregory was built as an Armenian Apostolic Church\(^5\) and only later was handed to
the Chalcedonians, therefore its commissioner, Tigran Honents, was also a follower
of the national church and was well known as a constructor or renovator of other
Apostolic churches (St. Hripsime of the Kusanants monastery, Cathedral of Ani,
Bekhents monastery)\(^6\). Unfortunately, the inscription gives no detail how the
church passed to the Chalcedonians, however, the fact is obvious from its inner
decorations as well as the construction of the columned porch and the chapel of
the west side (these were not planned initially). Besides that the frescos were
created when the church had already passed to the Chalcedonians. This fact is
accepted both by historians and art scholars, and there is only some disagreement
regarding the date when the frescos were created.

Summing up the opinions regarding the dating of the frescos, it should be
mentioned that some of the scholars consider that the frescos of the church were
created right after the construction of the church from 1215 to 1220 while the
murals of the porch and the chapel were made in the second quarter of the century
until 1250s (N. Okunev, N. Sichov, D. Gordeev, V. Lazarev, L. Durnovo, S. Ter
Nersesian, N. Thierry, A. Kakovkin\(^7\)). As another opinion claims, the decoration of

\(^4\) Орбели И.А., op.cit., p. 12, 126; Амиранашвили Ш.Я. История грузинского искусства, 
М., 1963, с. 114 et al.

\(^5\) Мурданян П.М., Строительство и комиссия церкви Тигранян Оценда по памятникам
eпиграфики, «:\"\ualevel5Кишпушшвыцшшщшщшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшшşı

\(^6\) Mahé J.-P., Le testament de Tigran Honenc: la fortune d'un marchand arménien d'Ani
aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles

\(^7\) Ожуков Н. Город Анис «Сарье годы» (октябрь), СПб., 1912, с. 11; Сычев Н.П.
Аниская церковь, раскопанная в 1892 г. (Христианский Восток, т. 1, вып. 2, СПб., 1912, с.
219); Гордьев Д.П. Отчет о поездке в Ахальццкский уезд в 1917 году. Росписи в Чулеве, Сапаре
и Зарзме, «Известия Кавказского историко-археологического института в Тифлисе»
( здесьафет: ИКАИИТ), т. 1, Петроград, 1923, с. 9; Лазарев В.Н. История византийской
живописи, т. 1, М., 1986, с. 145; Дурново Л.А. Очерки изобразительного искусства
средневековой Армении, М., 1979, с. 152; Der-Nersessian S., L'art Armenien (reprint), Paris,
1989. P. 164-165; Thierry N. et M., L'Église Saint-Grégoire de Tigran Honenc (1215), E.P.H.E.,
Ve Section Archéologies I, Louvain-Paris, 1993, p. 103-108; Кановкин А.Я. О датировке,
респисей храма св. Григория в Ани, его часовни и прит-вого (Византийский временник,
the church was carried out in 1250s and afterwards successively, the porch and the chapel (T. Toramanyan, P. Muradyan, A. Lidov). The fact that frescos of St. Gregory Church of Ani were created by Armenian-Chalcedonians is first of all established due to Georgian and partly Greek inscriptions. It is known that Armenian-Chalcedonians being subject to Byzantine and later to Georgian Orthodox church used Georgian and Greek inscriptions from the confessional point of view, so the inscriptions were bilingual or trilingual. This question has been addressed quite a lot in different studies devoted to Armenian-Chalcedonians. At the same time, for those scholars who were almost unaware of the confessional belonging of the monument and particularly for those who had been involved only in the artistic examination of frescos, the Georgian inscriptions were a reason for considering the monument to be Georgian. It should also be added that not only the usage of the Georgian language but also the term “Georgian” (and its counterpart “Gurji”, Georgian in Turkish) in Middle Age Armenia and its neighboring territories which were populated by Armenians, had a


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

10 E.g. the frescos of the church N: 7 of Saberebee (X c.), Adrianopolis Gospels (N: 887, St. Lasar, Venice, 1007), Khachen Gospels (N: 949, University of Chicago, beginning of XIII c.).

confessional meaning and was applied to identify the Armenian-Chalcedonians and their monuments\textsuperscript{12}.

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

Speaking about the combination of different languages, it should be mentioned that there are no multilingual inscriptions in Georgia except for the Armenian-Chalcedonian monuments there, since the Georgian church is homogeneous in its sense. Whereas in Armenia where, in fact, there were both communities – Orthodox and Armenian Apostolic, the language is a kind of a marker\textsuperscript{14}. If Armenian inscriptions in the frescos are proof that they belong to the national church (Holy Cross of Ahtamar 915–921, Bakhtagheh XIII c.), the bilingual and trilingual inscriptions testify their Armenian-Chalcedonian origin. As A. Lidov mentioned, in Armenia in XIII century, the Georgian and Greek inscriptions should be regarded as features of confessional rather than national belonging\textsuperscript{15}. It is also grounded by the fact, that XIII century was a new period of flourishing of the Armenian-Calcedonian community.

The confessional relevance of the frescos is also decided taking into account a range of iconographic specifics. In the context of the church decoration the apse and the dome as the more sacred parts are of primary importance. So their

\textsuperscript{12} A case in point is the “Georgian” church of Ani (in fact the name is not known), the conventional name of which (adopted by N. Marr as a working version) shows that it is an Armenian-Calcedonian building. It is proved by the lengthy inscription in Georgian on the Southern wall with a message from the Georgian Catholics which ends with a line in Armenian. See Марр Н.Я. Надписи Епископии..., с. 1433; Марр Н.Я. Анi, таб. XLII; Ուղիղէկայ ՈՒ., Հայկական աշխարհի մասին, т. 35–37:

\textsuperscript{13} Ուղիղէկայ ՈՒ., Հայկական աշխարհի մասին, т. 61–62:

\textsuperscript{14} Арутюнова-Фаданян В.А. Армяне-халкедониты. Терминология (Вестник ПСТГУ, III. Филология, 2013, вып. 5 (35), с. 9–20).

\textsuperscript{15} Лидов А.М. Искусство армян-халкедонитов, ИФЖ, 1990, № 1, с. 77.
Hakobyan Z.

decoration more than any part of the church is conditioned by the liturgical tradition and correspondence to the iconographic canon.

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

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

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

\(^{16}\) Thierry N. et M., L'église Saint-Grégoire..., p. 24–25; Кановкин А.Я. О датировке росписей..., c. 110.

\(^{17}\) Лазарев В.Н. Система живописной декорации византийского храма IX–XI веков; Лазарев В.Н. Византийская живопись, М., 1971, c. 98–99; Лазарев В.Н. История..., с. 63.

\(^{18}\) Дурново Л.А. Фрески монастыря Киранц. Материалы из архива Л.А. Дурново, Е., 1990, c. 8. It should be mentioned that due to the collapse of dome in Akhtala the composition of the dome is unknown to us, and the church of Kobayri is a basilica without a dome.

\(^{19}\) Чубинашвили Г.Н. Пещерные монастыри Давид-Гаредж. Очерк по истории искусства Грузии, Тбилиси, 1948, с. 78–79; Вирсалац Г. Т. Основные этапы развития грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи, II Международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусств [отдельный оттиск], Тбилиси, 1977, с. 9; Привалова Е. Роспись Тимотесубани. Исследование по истории грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи, Тбилиси, 1980, с. 16; Velmans T., La koine grecque..., с. 685–700.
Thus, it can be claimed reference to the Byzantine rule was more commonplace in Georgian frescoes which can probably be explained by another, earlier tradition of the region. In this sense, the fresco of New Church in Tokali in Cappadocia (50s of X century)\textsuperscript{20} or the similar compositions\textsuperscript{21} of X–XI centuries of Tayk (Ishkhan, Khakhul)\textsuperscript{22} are of significance.

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

The next iconographic depiction is the scene of “The Eucharist” peculiar to Armenian-Calcedonians. According to the Byzantine iconography it considered one of the most important topics related to Orthodox liturgy. This is the very composition that we see in St. Gregory church of Ani as well as in other Armenian-Calcedonian frescos of Akhtala, Haghbat, Kobayr, Kirants\textsuperscript{25}. “The Eucharist” highlights the depiction of its confessional belonging.

\textsuperscript{20} Thierry N., La Cappadoce de L’antiquity au Moyen Age. Brepols, 2002, p. 171, pl. 83.
\textsuperscript{22} The usage in sculptures from VII–XI cc. of the “Ascension of Cross” may testify of the wide spread the composition in Transcaucusus (Jvari of Mtskheta, P'tgml). And according to the researchers, initially there was an image of the Cross in the domes of Ateni Sion (10–11th cc.) and the Holy Cross of Aghtamar (915–921). See Дурново Л.А. Очерки..., с. 149; Ампаниявили Ш.Я. История..., с. 160.
\textsuperscript{24} L. Durnovo’s notes and sketches on deciphering this composition are grounded since the scholar had a chance to research the frescos in earlier period 1943 and 1957 in a better condition.
\textsuperscript{25} Какованин А.Я. Росписи церкви Григория..., с. 106; Thierry N. et M., L’église Saint-Grégoire..., p. 25; Лидов А.М. Росписи монастыря Ахтала..., с. 68–71; Дурново Л.А. Очерки..., с. 149, 152; Дрампян И.Р. Фрески Кобаїра, Е., 1979, с. 9–10, 11.
Hakobyan Z.

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

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

In the first one the scene of “Eucharist” is devided into two parts and is “shifted” toward the side of the apse yielding its place to the figures of St. Nicholas and St. Seldestros of Rome\(^\text{28}\), while in the church of Holy Virgin this setup is complemented with the image of Christ carrying the cross and with the scences of miracles of Christ\(^\text{29}\), which is rare\(^\text{30}\). In the mentioned frescos, the combination of

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


\(^{30}\) The composition of the apse of Kintsvisi is unique especially for the cycle of the images (“Miracles of Christ”). The Calcheldonian layer of the Holy Cross church in Haghibat is contemporary to Kintsvisi and which also has Christological scenes – “Annunciation”, “Nativity”, “Presenta-
The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions...

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

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

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

The inclusion of Gregory the Illuminator among the Fathers of the Church is quite ordinary. Being the forefather and the patron saint of the Armenian church, he was also canonized within the Ecumenical Church. It happened in IX century when by the order of Potios the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Life of Gregory was included in the Byzantine Menology of Simeon Metafrast (the veneration day of Jesus at the Temple”) “Baptism” (see Дурново Л.А. Очерки..., c. 149, 152). However, in contrast to Kintsvisi, in the Holy Cross of Haghiyat the scenes do not disrupt the established composition and are given in a separate row – below the “Eucharist”.

32 Муравьев А.Н. Грузия и Армения, ч. II, СПб., 1848, с. 277; Гордеев Д.П. Отчет о поездке в Ахалцихский уезд в 1917 году. Росписи в Чуке, Сапаре и Зарске, ИКИЯИ, т. 1, Петроград, 1923, с. 8; Thierry N. et M., L’Église Saint-Grégoire..., p. 23.
33 In Akhtala – there is another well-known Armenian-Calchdonian monument of XIII century with the latin saints Selcestros and Clementos of Rome who are traditionally depicted in the apse of Byzantine church as well as with Ambrosios of Mediolan who was not one of the Church Fathers. Such highlight on Latin Fathers, according to A. Lidov, could be explained by the Church Union widely discussed in XII–XIII cc. and the active participation of Armenian-Chalcedonians in the discussion. See Лидов А.М., Росписи Ахтала..., с. 82–84 (there – the appropriate bibliography).
34 Patriarch Potios, one of the prominent religious leaders of Constantinople (50–80s of XI c.) gave a lot of importance to Gregory Parthian since the Early Middle Ages the veneration of the latter among Armenians, Georgians, Abkhazians, Albans, Syrians and Copts contributed to con-
is the 30th of September). These events greatly contributed to the worshiping of the Illuminator and the dissemination of his image in the Orthodox world. It should be mentioned that the image of St. Gregory are better known in the Byzantine (XI to XIV cc.) and adjacent monuments (Old Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Georgia) rather than in Medieval Armenian art. However, referring to Vrtanes Kertogh's tacts between Eastern Churches. That was the reason why the Illuminator’s image appeared at the same time in St. Sophia in Constantinople (see Πηγές του Ιησού, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Λαμπράκης, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Πηγές, 1958, No 8–9, Ε, 113–15; Mango C., Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul, Washington, 1962, p. 95–98; Mango C, Hawkins E. J.W., The Mosaics of St. Sophia in Istanbul. The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 1972, vol. 28, p. 1–41; Der Nersessian S., Les portraits de Grégoire l’Illuminateur dans l’art byzantin, Études byzantines et arméniennes, t. 1, Louvain, 1973, p. 55–60) and relics of the Illuminator, St. Hripsime and St. Gayane are exposed to worship in St. Sofia (see Πηγές του Ιησού, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Πηγές, Ι. Πηγές, 1901, Ε, 263–265: Der Nersessian S., Les portraits..., p. 57) In the times of Potios the Greek original of Agathangeghos appeared.

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

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

37 St. Gregory’s image is in Ateni Sion (fresco of X or XI cc.), in Betania, Samtavisi, Kazreti. See Качокин А.Я., О датировке ..., с. 111, примеч. 22.

38 The earliest image of Gregory the Illuminator in Armenian art is known to be on the Eastern façade of Aghtamar Church, it is also known to be on the patterns of Cilician applied art.
famous treatise "Concerning the Iconoclasts" we can confirm that in the Early Medieval Armenian art there was a tradition of depicting the image of the Illuminator since the author speaks on the images of St. Gregory and other saints in VII century churches and that period matches with the time when the worshiping of the national saint reached its height.

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

If the Illuminator's images of the Church in Ani can be interpreted from the perspective of Orthodox traditions then it is absolutely different when we see Gregory's sons Aristakes and Vrtanes among the Church Fathers. Their images in the frescoes of Ani are unique. It is known that Aristakes and Vrtanes inherited successively the chair of Catholicos from Gregory the Illuminator, they are among the saints of the Armenian church with their days of reverence and has never been

---

40 Марр Н.Я. Крещение армян, грузин, абхазов и аланс святим Григорием, "Записки Восточного отделения императорской Академии наук" (hereinafter: ЗВОИА), 1905, т. 16, с. 154–155; Мурадян П.М. Кавказский культурный мир ..., с. 12–13; Арutyunova-Фиданян В.А. Повествование..., с. 56, 206–207.
41 It is considered that Gregory the Illuminator's image is on the monument of Odzun (VII c.) (see Մայրացում Ա., Օձուն Եգիպտոսից Արմաների Երաժշտություն. ՊՐ, 1965, № 4, էջ 214–215; Հերոսում Ա., Օձունի Յուրաքանց Հայաստանի Մեկնարկության Սկզբնական Եղբայր. Երևան, 2005, էջ (հեղինակ), էջ 79–80), as well as in the “heavenly garden” of Zvartnots (see Մայրացում Ս.Կ. Զարգարյան. Պատմական պատմության երաժշտության բազմազանությունը (Արմենիացի մեկնարկության Սկզբնական Եղբայր), Երևան, 2006, էջ (հեղինակ), էջ 84):
42 Мурадян П.М. Кавказский культурный мир ..., с. 20; Арutyunova-Фиданян В.А. Повествование..., с. 56.
43 Aristakes (264–333) and Vrtanes (262–341) were famous as religious leaders fighting against pagans. They are remembered on the holiday of "Gregory the Illuminator’s Son and Grandsons". See Սուրեն Վարդանյան, Հայոց երաժշտության պատմություն, Երևան, 1981, էջ 239; Օրիան Ս., Եռաչ․ Շատրվանցայի Եկեղեցու Եղբայր. Երևան, 2001, էջ 109–110;
venerated by other churches even though the Byzantine sources mention Aristakes as a participant of the first Ecumenical Council (325, Nicea)\textsuperscript{44}.

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

The last saint in this series is Leontius of Caesaria whose image should also be linked with Gregory and the Armenian historical tradition. Though Leontius participated in the first Ecumenical Council and the Archbishop of Caesaria, however he was not canonized as a saint of Ecumenical Church and of course has not been ranked among the Church Fathers\textsuperscript{46}.

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

This concept is confirmed once again in the wall painting of the church with the life story of Gregory the Illuminator which is unique. According to some scholars, the emergence of the vast hagiographical cycle of Gregory in the Honents Church was preconditioned by the strong interest for local saints highly developed in XII–XIII centuries. The hagiographical cycle dedicated to St. Gregory in Ani is

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{44} Հաջորդական Գ., Հայկ Ազատ Հայաստանի յարդիկ Հռոմեաքուսային, Առաջին կառավարության (Հայաստան), կ., 2016, № 2, էջ 21.
\footnote{45} Պիտու Ա.Մ. Հայաստանի տարածությունը, էջ 80–81.
\footnote{46} Although Leontius of Caesaria does not have a veneration day, it is worth mentioning that Armenian Apostolic and Orthodox churches have a veneration day for the fathers of church who took part in the Ecumenical council, and it includes Leontius as well. I express my gratitude to G. Kazaryan for consultations on theological and hagiographical questions.
\end{footnotes}
unique in the Eastern Christian art of the period. The cycle being presented in two rows, occupies the Western part of the church as well as the Western part of the Southern and Northern walls including Westward façades of the North-Western and South-Western pylons. The scenes are accompanied by inscriptions thus making the subjects quite clear. Generally, they are represented in historical chronology though there are some “deviations” which aim to highlight the more important topics placing them in the visible parts of the cycle. It consists of 18 scenes which present the key events of the Illuminator’s life. The six of them refer to the tortures⁴⁷, two refer to the holy Virgins (including St. Nino/Nun) [fig. 8]⁴⁸ and the tenth represents the event of adoption and establishing of the new faith in Armenia⁴⁹. Even from the selection of the topics it is obvious that except for the tortures the majority of the images (10 scenes) are dedicated to the history of the adoption of Christianity in, Armenia thus underlining the national and religious milieu where the cycle was created.

From this perspective, the interpretations of some scholars of the cycle are unacceptable. We particularly mean N. Thierry’s conclusions according to which a) the frescos of St. Gregory Church of Ani were created by a Georgian painter and were intended for the Georgian community of Ani⁵⁰ (?) b) the emergence of the scene where Nino is having a Vision is perhaps the idea of the Georgian painter or a compromise with the customer⁵¹. The generalizations of E. Eastmond regarding the fact are not grounded either. a) The cycle of Gregory is more centered on the Illuminator himself rather than on Tiridates or the Conversion of Armenia, b) it is meant to popularize the Illuminator’s veneration rather than symbolize the Christianization of Armenia c) The history of Christianization of Armenia loses its

⁴⁸ Those are “The Martyrdom of St. Virgins”, “The Miraculous Appearance of the Life-giving Pillar to St. Nino”.
⁵⁰ There is no information about the activity of Georgian community in Ani in the sources.
⁵¹ Thierry N., The Wall Painting..., p. 69.
primary significance since parallel with St. Gregory’s Vision there is also St. Nino’s Vision – the story of Conversion of Georgia52.

However, it is clear that the inscriptions in Georgian served a proof for both authors but at the same time it is obvious that they contain the pivotal events of Armenian history which are more important than the language of the inscriptions. Proceeding merely from the scenes of the Life of Gregory it can be assumed that the second important character is Tiridates the Great who is depicted at least in 5 scenes53, as well as his sister Khosrovdukh. In the only image which depicts the Caucasian – the Georgian, Abkhaz, Alan kings54 going forward to the Illuminator coming from Caesaria, the Armenian king Tiridates leads the procession. Taking these details into consideration it is hard to imagine that the compositions were a product of not Armenian but that of a mixed Armenian Georgian environment since the Armenian king is in the center of the events and these are the key events of the Armenian history.

To interpret the cycle properly it is important to notice that according to the Medieval tradition, St. Gregory was a pan-Caucasian illuminator55 as it is illustrated in the Greek and Arab versions of the Life of the Illuminator56.

53 Those are “St. Gregory in Front of Tiridates”, “King Tiridates, kings of Abkhazia, Georgia, Albania Come to Meet St. Gregory”, “Tiridates Meets St. Gregory in Bagavan”, “Baptism of Tiridates and His Relatives”, “King Tiridates Appeal to St. Gregory Who had Left for Mount Sepuh”.
54 According to Arabic and Greek versions of Agathangelos’ History, as well as according to Khorenatsi, Pavstos Buzand, Draskhanakertsi, Gandzaketsi, Arsen Sapareli and Juansher Gregory the Illuminator sent preachers and monks to Georgia and lands of Laz and Abkhaz and baptized their kings in the Aratsani. The Illuminator ordained his grandson Gregory as Archbishop of Georgians and Albans. See Օրբիշառ Յ., Աշխարհագրություն, հ. Ո, էջ 107-108; Մուրադյան Պ.Մ., Հայերեն բժիշկության պատմություն, Երևան, 2002, էջ 986;
55 Մարգուկ Ֆավակիչ, Գիտության ցուցանմուշներ և առարկա Գահառ Սպարտայինություն (Գիտության ցուցանմուշ), Դևան, Երևան, 2013;
Regarding Nino’s Vision depicted in the cycle, the following should be mentioned. St. Nino’s topic is very harmonious and logical in this story and cannot “diminish” either the significance of St. Gregory’s Vision or the role and meaning of the life by any means. It cannot “alter” it’s ideological base.

This fact is preconditioned by ecclesiastical tradition. First, it should be mentioned that St. Nino is a saint with her veneration day also in the Armenian environment57, because according to her life, she was one of the virgins with Hripsime who had joined them from Rome to Armenia and from here by “heavenly instruction” went to Georgia for preaching58. Movses Khorenatsi’s information about St. Nino dates much earlier than Georgian sources. There he mentions the erecting of the cross of Christ by the saint in Mtskheta59. According to her Life in Georgia, she was reared by an Armenian nun from Dvin and spoke Armenian60, which is quite a significant fact by itself.

The references of St. Gregory and St. Nino’s images and their lives have deep historical roots. According to the life of the Saint and the history of Christianization of Georgia, St. Nino’s preaching covered the territories stretching to the North of the river Kura and what lay to the South was connected with the name of Gregory and this brought to the intermingling of their veneration in the Early Middle Ages61.

Only after the final split of the two Churches which in fact occurred at the beginning of VIII century62, Nino became the sole Illuminator of Georgia and St. Gregory that of Armenia. However, for Orthodox Armenians, who have always

57 The Armenian Church celebrates the commemoration day of St. Nune (Nini) and St. Mane next Tuesday of the “Holiday of St. Echmiadzin Cathedral”. See Հայաստանի Երկր, Հայոց երիտասարդության պատմություն, Երկր, թ., 1997, էջ 186–188:
58 Մեծբանու Ս.Ն., Հայոց երիտասարդության պատմություն, Հայաստան և Հայրապետություն, Երկր, 1949:
59 Մեծբանու Ս.Ն., Հայոց երիտասարդություն, էջ 231–232:
60 Մեծբանու Ս.Ն., Հայոց երիտասարդություն, էջ 172; Հայաստանի Երկր, էջ 16; Կարս, Կարս, Լենուան Կարս, Հայաստան և Հայոց երիտասարդություն, Էջ 48.
61 Մեծբանու Ս.Ն., Հայոց երիտասարդություն, էջ 231–232:
62 The question of split of Armenian and Georgian Churches started in 608. However, during the further political developments, the council of Karin and the activities of several successive pro-Byzantine Catholicses postponed that process for almost a century. And only at the beginning of VIII century the separation of the churches was realized and was expressed by several key events; the council of Manazkert (726), a new “national” version of St. Gregory’s Life where he is already mentioned as only the Illuminator of Armenia appeared, and it was followed by the history of conversion of Georgians headed by Nino.

200
referred to the roots of the Transcaucasian Church, the parallel of the stories of the saints was traditional and during the rule of the Zakarians, when Orthodox Armenians were subject to the Georgian Church, it acquired a special significance.  

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

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

---

63 There is another circumstance that attaches importance to St. Nino’s story in the Church of Ani. According to historical data, St. Nino’s cross was brought to Armenia by the efforts of St. Shushanik and the hermit Andreas and in 1098 to Ani by the order of the Catholicos Barsel I. Nino’s cross remained in Ani until 1239 when it was again taken back to Mtqkheta upon the request of the Queen of Georgia Rusudan. See აღწერა ე., მონიშნები ორგან, ნ, ო, წმინდა, 1784, თ. 550—551.  

64 Амиранашвили Ш.Я. История грузинской монументальной живописи, т. 1, Тбилиси, 1957, с. 53.  

65 St. Hripsime’s image is also in the fresco of refectory of the Lavra of the Davit-Gareji monastery. See Мурадян П.М. Армянская эпиграфика Грузии..., с. 177.  

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

67 Дурново П.А. Фрески Киранц..., с. 22.  

68 Лидов А.М. Росписи монастырь..., с. 152.  

69 Translation by P. Muradyan: See Мурадян П.М. Проблема конфессиональной..., с. 63.  

70 Каковкин Я. Я. Сцена «Удивительное явление Животворящего столба» в росписи храма Григория (1215 г.) в Анш (Зограф, 1989, № 20, с. 2).
The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions...

St. Nino’s Vision in Honents harmoniously adds to the story of St. Gregory both in the artistic sense and symbolism since both these scenes are the largest in the cycle, are located not far from each other so that they are perceived in parallel, their concepts are identical (the protagonist is in the center and the light is shed from above). The story lines of the stories are also identical – the pillar going down washed in the light of God71.

This “sameness” is preconditioned by the fact that the community member to whom the frescos were addressed perceived both of those events as inseparable national Christian traditions, where St. Nino is represented as the spiritual heir of Gregory the Illuminator and the follower of the works of apostles while the revelation of the pillar is a symbol of divine providence and victory72 which intermingles those events with the Christendom73.

The examination of inscriptions also proves that the frescos were created by Armenian-Chalcedonians. Analyzing some of the Georgian inscriptions of the Church of St. Gregory, which refer to the Illuminator’s life and which are the most extensive, P. Muradyan has discovered a number of very important peculiarities. They are the grammar and syntactic errors and mistakes as well as a considerable amount of Armenianisms which let us assume that the parts taken from the Life are translated from the Armenian original, it is even beyond doubt that the Georgian version of the Life was also known74.

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

---

71 Каковкин А.Я. Сцена «Чудесное явление…, с. 2-4; Лидов А.М. Видение св. Нино в росписи церкви Тиграна Озенца в Ани. Институт истории археологии и этнографии им. И.А. Джавахишвили, XXIII научная сессия молодых ученых (15-17 ноября 1988), Тбилиси, 1988, с. 68-70.
72 Pillar is one of the famous symbols of the Bible. Pillar, fiery pillar or a pillar covered in smoke as symbols of divine presence are observed in Exodus (Exod. 13:21); Apostoles and saints are called pillars of church (Mat. 16:18; Gal. 2:9, Rev. 3:12).
73 Каковкин А.Я. Заметки об особенностях житийного цикла Григория Просветителя в церкви Тиграна Озенца, ПрОГ, 1990, № 2, с. 236; Каковкин А.Я. Роспись церкви Григория...
74 Мурадян П.М. Армянская эпиграфика Грузии..., с. 62-66; Мурадян П.М. Проблема конфессиональной..., с. 187-189.
75 Мурадян П.М. Армянская эпиграфика Грузии..., с. 52; Мурадян П.М. Строительство и конфессия..., с. 180.
Coming back to the frescos proper, it should be mentioned that of course the fact that the frescos of Tigran Honents have stylistic similarities chronologically close to Georgian murals is acceptable, and this is surely a subject of a different study and is considered as one of the artistic peculiarities of the monument. But we also believe it is important to highlight that for any monument the local cultural environment, customer and the community it is addressed to are of critical importance since these factors are the prerequisites of the ideology of the monument.

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

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

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

АКОПЯН З.

Резюме

Церковь Тиграна Оненца в Ани была построена в начале XII в. Иконографическая программа ансамбля в целом следует византийской традиции, а сцены имеют грузинские и греческие надписи, в силу чего ряд
специалистов рассматривают их в контексте грузинского искусства. Одна-
ко некоторые важные сцены ансамбля соответствуют византийскому кано-
ну, но в то же время они не характерны для грузинских памятников дан-
ного периода. Кроме того во фресках присутствуют образы, которые свя-
заны с армянской историей. К примеру, в житийном цикле Св. Григория
(18 сцен) отражены события, связанные с принятием христианства в Ар-
мении, а также многократно повторяется изображение царя Трдата, что
было бы весьма странны для грузинского памятника. В пользу грузинской
версии не говорит и присутствие сцены Видения Св. Нино, так как в гру-
зинских ансамблях XIII в. житийный цикл Просветительницы Грузии прак-
тически не известен, но он есть в другом армяно-халкидонитском ансамб-
ле – во фресках Киранц.