KÜTAHYA TILES AND POTTERY FROM THE ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM

I

The Pictorial Tiles and Other Vessels

INCLUDING A CATALOGUE OF
INSCRIBED AND DATED ARMENIAN POTTERY

BY

JOHN CARSWELL

AND AN EDITION OF THE ARMENIAN TEXTS
WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

C. J. F. DOWSETT

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THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JAMES interior of the Etchmiadzin Chapel

PREFACE

In the seventeenth century, Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem made many gifts to the convent of St. James, and the cathedral and its dependent churches were greatly enriched by their generosity. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the patriarchate fell into financial difficulties, owing to the unscrupulous conduct of agents sent from Constantinople to administer its affairs. These difficulties were resolved largely through the efforts of two men, Yovhannēs and Grigor ('the Chain-bearer'), who were in 1717 elected patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem respectively, and who managed to extricate the convent from its debts. It then entered a new period of prosperity, and amongst other projects the churches were redecorated. To this period belong the tiles and pottery which form the main subject of the present work.

In Jerusalem, the Armenians were jointly responsible with the Greeks and Latins for the maintenance of the Holy Places, and during the second decade of the eighteenth century the question of repairs to the Holy Sepulchre became urgent. The necessary *firmans* were obtained from the Ottoman government to carry out these repairs, mainly to the cupola above the Holy Sepulchre, and it appears that at one moment (*c.* 1718) the three leading churches agreed to co-operate in its restoration. For this purpose, the Armenians had made in Kütahya in north-western Turkey, a series of pictorial tiles with biblical subjects, donated by Armenian families in the town.

These tiles were never actually installed in the Holy Sepulchre, although the reason for this is not known. Whether the agreement between the three churches proved impracticable, or whether the Greeks and Latins objected to the specifically Armenian character of the tiles, is a matter for speculation. The Turks may even have objected to them on the grounds that the Christians had to adhere stringently to the rule that restoration meant only making good the fabric, exactly as it was before. Instead, the tiles were included amongst those used to decorate the churches of the Armenian convent. More than fifty of the pictorial tiles formed a series. Their order was determined by an Armenian chronicle painted on the lower margins; when they were placed in the convent, they were rearranged out of sequence. The tiling of the churches was the responsibility of a monk named Ełia, who in 1737 recorded his efforts in the colophon of a manuscript now in Jerusalem. Besides these tiles, more than ten thousand decorative tiles of many different patterns were used on the walls. Most of these were also made in Kütahya, and they form an unparalleled collection, virtually unknown, of tiles from that town. At the same time, pottery was also made in Kütahya for Jerusalem. This included bowls and dishes painted by the same artist who made the pictorial tiles, as well as votive offerings in the shape of ewers, basins, incense-holders, and hanging ornaments, donated by Armenians as souvenirs of their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

When the present study was begun in 1960, it was the writer's intention to publish only the pictorial tiles in the Etchmiadzin chapel of the cathedral of St. James. But during the years that followed, it appeared that there were others belonging to the series, hidden away in odd and unsuspected corners of the convent, as well as in collections abroad, which should also be included. At the same time it was evident that the Jerusalem collection could provide an excellent starting-point for a comprehensive study of the Kütahya pottery industry, an account that has so far been lacking. This led to research in museum and private collections of Kütahya pottery throughout the world, so that as much comparative material as possible could be included.

For publication the work has been divided into two parts, intended to complement each other, but each complete in itself. This volume is the first part, and is devoted primarily to the pictorial tiles and pottery and their history. Here I must acknowledge a great debt to

my friend Professor C. J. F. Dowsett, who has translated all the Armenian inscriptions and reconstructed the series; without his efforts, in Jerusalem and in Oxford, it would have been impossible to have produced the work at all. Whilst Professor Dowsett provided the translations and notes on the inscriptions, the detailed descriptions and drawings of the tiles and pottery are my responsibility alone. Included also in the first part is a catalogue of all inscribed and dated Kütahya pottery, from many different sources besides Jerusalem, which provides a basis for any further study of the Kütahya industry.

The second part is such a study, utilizing the inscribed material as well as Armenian and other records, to trace the history of the Kütahya industry from its origins in the mid fifteenth century to the present day. It became clear in the course of this study that the Kütahya potteries were active at the same time as the Isnik industry in Turkey, and that the importance of their contribution to the development of Turkish pottery has been underestimated. Besides the chronological survey, the second part consists of an illustrated catalogue of the different types of decorative tiles amongst the thousands in the Armenian churches in Jerusalem. The position of each tile is shown on plans of the walls. This laborious work was necessary on two counts; first, in order to ascertain that no type had been overlooked, and provide a guide for future students; and second, to determine whether individual tiles were put up before 1737 by Elia, and not the result of later patching.

That the two volumes are liberally illustrated with colour plates is due to the generosity of the Publications Committee of the American University of Beirut; the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon; the National Association of Armenian Studies and Research, Harvard; and the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. It is with pleasure that I acknowledge here my indebtedness to all these institutions. Miss Myrtle Winter was responsible for taking many of the photographs, in sometimes very difficult situations (unforgettable was her virtuosity at the top of a twenty-foot ladder, whilst photographing one of the tiles, C 7.)

During seven years of frequent visits to Jerusalem, I have been generously afforded every facility by Patriarch Yeshige Derderian; the Grand Sacristan, Archbishop Hairig Aslanian; and the Keeper of the manuscripts, Bishop Norayr Bogharian. The Patriarch's secretary, Mr. G. Hintlian, has always been most helpful in practical matters, as has Mr. Sahak Kahvedjian, the custodian of the Gulbenkian Library in the convent. Working in the churches, any measure of success I have had has been largely due to the trust and assistance of the Reverend Garabed Antreassian, whose intimate knowledge of the convent is unrivalled. Long days spent working in the quiet of the Armenian cathedral are amongst my pleasantest memories of Jerusalem. Nor must I omit to mention the help and friendliness of the nuns, custodians of the church of the Holy Archangel.

The field work was financed by successive grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Research Committee of the American University of Beirut. The preparation of the material for publication was aided by grants from the British Academy; the Nubar Pasha Fund, Oxford; and the Dean's Fund, of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, of the American University of Beirut. I was also helped by a grant from St. Antony's College; and by the Faculty of the Oriental Institute, who found space for me to work whilst I was in Oxford. I would also like to thank Mr. Albert Hourani for his advice and hospitality; and Dr. Kathleen Kenyon for her help and encouragement.

Numerous institutions allowed me to study and record their collections of pottery for publication, including the British Museum; the Victoria and Albert Museum; the Royal Scottish Museum; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Musée Céramique de Sèvres; the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels; the Cincinnati Art Museum; the Benachi Museum, Athens; the Arab Museum, and the Gezirah Museum, Cairo; the National Museum, Damascus; the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jordan; the museum of the Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice; the Museo Ceramico, Faenza; the Topkapu Sarayı Museum, Istanbul; the Isnik, Kütahya, Kayseri,

and Konya museums in Turkey; and the Ankara Ethnographic Museum; to the Directors and staff of all of them I extend my thanks.

Mr. Robert Gulbenkian has kept a kindly eye on the progress of my research for a number of years, and to his credit is the discovery of one of the most important tiles in the pictorial series. I am indebted to the present owner, M. Soustiel, for allowing me to include it in this publication. In London, the late Mr. Arthur Lane helped me greatly, as did also Mr. Basil Gray, and Mr. Ralph Pinder Wilson. In Turkey, Dr. Oktay Aslanapa assisted me by letting me see the results of his excavations at Isnik. In the United States, I was much helped by Dr. Manoog S. Young, Director of the National Association of Armenian Studies and Research. Mr. Gerald Reitlinger has continued to be an encouraging critic of many aspects of my work. Dr. G. Lewis and Dr. D. Richards helped me by translating Turkish and Arabic inscriptions on some of the objects. Mr. Robert Charleston aided me by arranging for samples of Turkish pottery to be taken from specimens in the Victoria and Albert Museum. So did the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, and Professor D. C. Baramki, Curator of the Museums of the American University of Beirut. The samples were analysed by Mrs. Anne Millet, in the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and Art History, Oxford, by courtesy of the Director, Dr. E. Hall.

Various private collectors have allowed me access to their collections, for which I am most grateful. The Misses Godman, of Horsham, let me study several objects, and were also kind enough to agree to two famous pieces from the Godman Collection being drilled, so that a scientific analysis could be made of their fabric. Mr. H. Kurdian, of Wichita, Kansas; the late Mr. Alexander Benachi, of Alexandria; Lady Rayleigh, and the late Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Brocklebank, of London, also allowed me to study their collections. In Beirut, I have been greatly helped in the printing of photographs by Mr. Der Simonian, and his assistant Mr. George Baboudjian; most of these were finely mounted by Mr. Mawby, in London, who assisted me in a number of ways. I would specially like to thank Dominie Herman for her skill and efficiency in typing out a complicated manuscript.

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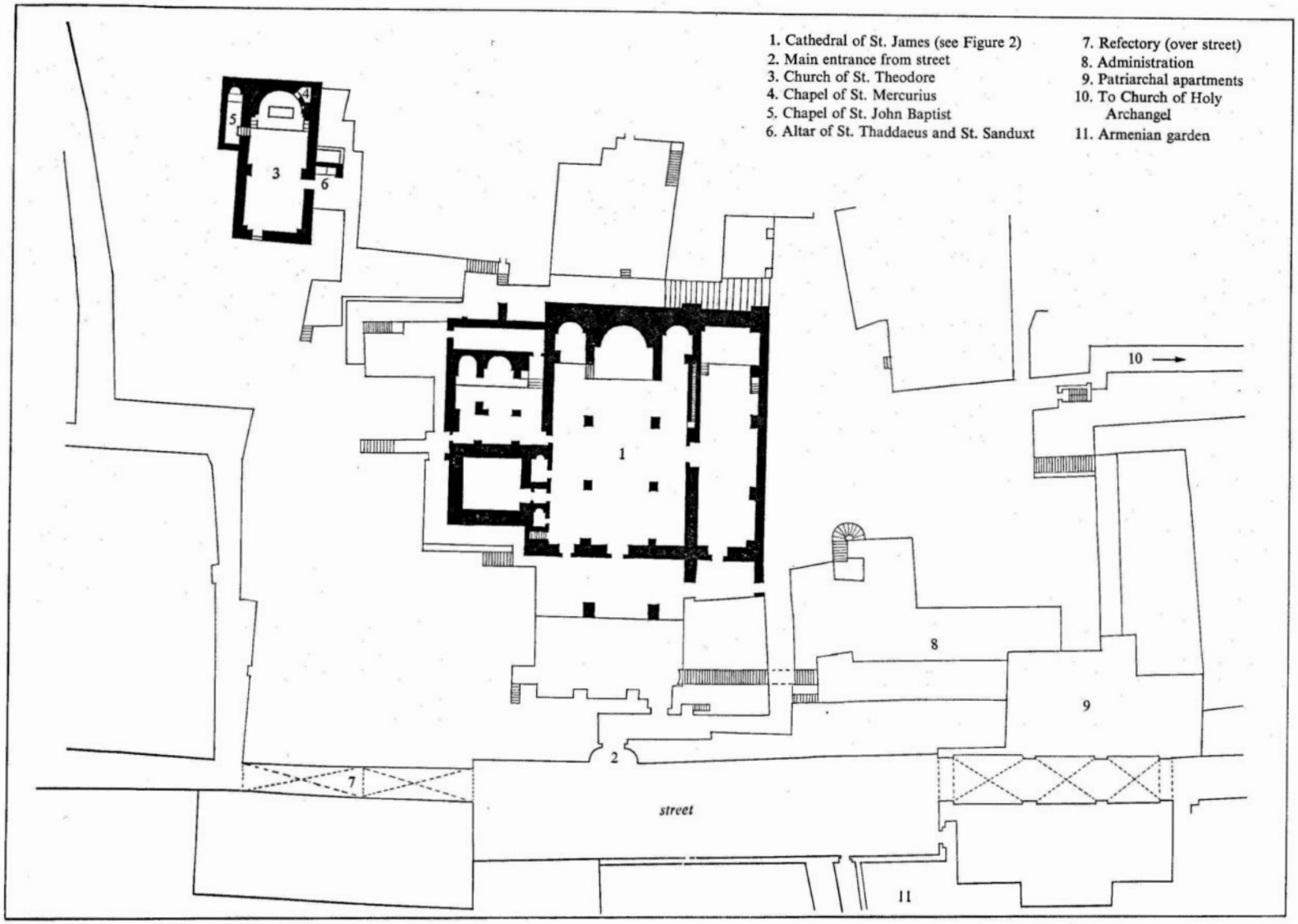


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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE ARMENIANS ON MOUNT ZION

THE Armenian quarter is on the summit of Mount Zion, and occupies almost a tenth of the old city. It is in the south-west corner of Jerusalem, and its boundaries are the city wall; the old Jewish quarter to the east; and the Citadel and the Assyrian convent of St. Mark to the north. This part of Jerusalem has been within the walls since at least Herodian times, and the palace of Herod the Great was in approximately the same location as the Citadel. At the end of the first century, the camp of the Roman legion Xth Fretensis occupied the south-west angle of the city; subsequently this area was built over, during the Byzantine and medieval periods.[1] The Armenian quarter is now divided by a road running from north to south. Between the road and the city walls, the land is free of buildings, and since the early eighteenth century it has been cultivated as a garden attached to the patriarchate. The complex of buildings which comprises the Armenian convent, of many different periods and levels, is on the east side of the road, behind a high wall pierced by a single gateway.

Armenians were living in Palestine in Roman times, when they found occupation as merchants, and as mercenaries. With the establishment of Christianity in Armenia as the official state religion at the beginning of the fourth century, the number of Armenian Christians in Palestine grew, and Jerusalem became an important centre for Armenian pilgrims. Monastic foundations sprang up, and typical of them was a monastery founded by St. Euthymius in the fifth century, between Jerusalem and Jericho, where Armenian and Greek monks lived and worshipped together. St. Euthymius himself was an Armenian, from Melitine.[2] Later, in the seventh century, the Armenian writer Yarut'iwn recorded that there were some seventy Armenian churches and monasteries in the Jerusalem area.[3] Both during the Persian invasion and the Moslem conquest, the Armenians must have suffered from the general fate of the Christian population of Palestine. The remains of several mosaic floors with Armenian inscriptions on the Mount of Olives, and another floor of a church, north of the present Damascus gate, show that the Armenian community survived these depredations.

Precisely when they established themselves on Mount Zion is difficult to determine. According to Armenian tradition, they have held the shrine of St. James since the first century, but in fact they have been in continuous possession of the cathedral only from the twelfth century, when they bought the property from the Georgians. As for the shrine of St. James, located in the north wall of the cathedral (PLATE 26; Figures 1 and 2), it is hard to reconcile its traditional antiquity with the fact that no mention is made of it by either pilgrims or travellers before the twelfth century.

St. James, son of Zebedee and brother of John, was beheaded in A.D. 44 by order of Herod Agrippa, and according to the Armenian tradition his head was brought to the Virgin Mary, sitting in the house of James, who ordered it to be buried close at hand.[4] His tomb was located in Jerusalem as early as the fourth century, and in the sixth century the anonymous pilgrim from Plaisance refers to it as being on the Mount of Olives. In the eighth century the aprocryphal Acts of St. James set the scene of his martyrdom and burial in Jerusalem, but in the ninth century the body of St. James, complete with head, was discovered in a Roman tomb at Compostella. This conflict was resolved by one pilgrim, John of Würtzburg,

[1] Kenyon, Kathleen, 'Excavations in Jerusalem', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, Jan.–June, 1964, pp. 16–17; Jan.–June, 1965, pp. 18–19.

[2] Vincent, H., and Abel, F. M., *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris, 1922, ii, p. 519. See also Sanjian, A., *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion*, 1965, chap. 1.

[3] Yarut'iwn (Anastasius) of Armenia, 'Les LXX couvents arméniens de Jérusalem', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii, 1884, p. 394.

[4] Ormanian, Malachia, *Haykakan Erusalem, Nkaragir Aṙaǰoyn Srboc' Yakobeanc'* [*Armenian Jerusalem*], Jerusalem, 1931, p. 32.

who described the Armenian cathedral *c.* A.D. 1165, and concluded that the body was in Compostella, and the head was in Jerusalem.[1]

Père Vincent's detailed architectural investigation of St. James's Cathedral[2] revealed that there is no evidence for the present shrine being any earlier than the twelfth century. He does, however, draw attention to the building immediately to the north of the shrine (Figure 2, *2*), which he convincingly shows to be a much older structure. This is a chapel dedicated to St. Minas and St. Sargis, which with another chapel above, forms a two-storied building. This, Vincent suggests, is the fifth-century martyrium of St. Minas, built by the lady Bassa, friend of the Empress Eudoxia. The lady Bassa visited Jerusalem on pilgrimage, and she was responsible both for building the martyrium and a nunnery. She installed an Armenian monk (like Euthymius, also from Melitine) called Andrew as *hegumen* of the martyrium. The upper half of this building can still be seen from the roof of the Armenian convent, where it rises from the sea of terraces which conceal the lower part. Present access to it is through a door from the chapel of St. Makar; this doorway is clearly a later addition. The chapel above is entered either by a door on the terrace, or by climbing an internal staircase, concealed in the north wall of the cathedral; when the building was free-standing, there must have been an external staircase. The nunnery has yet to be identified.

The buildings must have suffered during the Persian invasion in the seventh century, and again after the Arab conquest. The next addition to the complex was apparently the church of St. Stephen, now the sacristy, which was added to the martyrium on the east side. After the sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 1070, the Georgians, who were on friendly terms with the conquerers, were allowed to erect a church and a monastery dedicated to St. James. It is this church which now forms the main part of the cathedral.[3]

The Armenians acquired the buildings from the impoverished Georgians in the twelfth century, and Armenian inscriptions from this period have been discovered, some of which are now affixed to the courtyard wall, at the west end of the church. These include the earliest, an inscribed stone dated A.D. 1151 found during the construction of a gallery on one side of the courtyard. Other inscriptions refer to Abraham, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who died in A.D. 1192, and Bishop Vardan of Kars, who died in A.D. 1238.[4] Inside the cathedral, there are inscriptions on the west wall dated A.D. 1286, 1351, and 1442. After the Armenians came into possession of the cathedral, the main section was slightly re-aligned, the three chapels were apparently constructed in the north wall, and the north and west sides of the martyrium were enclosed. At this time the martyrium appears to have been re-dedicated, with two altars, to St. Minas and St. Sargis. Later, the east end of the cathedral was extended and two chapels built above the altar, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. A wooden door at the foot of the concealed stairway in the south wall leading to these chapels is a fine example of medieval Armenian carving.[5] It is inscribed and dated A.D. 1355/6, but it cannot have been intended for its present location, as a vertical section has been removed from the centre so that it would fit into the narrow passage.

The main entrance to the cathedral was originally on the south side, where the carved doorway in twelfth-century style can still be seen. Later, an arcade was added along the whole length of the cathedral, and this in turn was blocked up to form the Etchmiadzin Chapel (FRONTISPIECE). At the same time the present main door of more modest proportions, was pierced in the west wall. In A.D. 1835 a women's gallery was built as an extension to the west, supported on arches forming an arcade, with a staircase leading up from the Etchmiadzin chapel.

There are three more churches belonging to the patriarchate of St. James. Two of them, the churches of St. Theodore and the Holy Archangel, are within the convent, and the third, the church of the Holy Saviour, is outside the walls of Jerusalem, to the south. Although

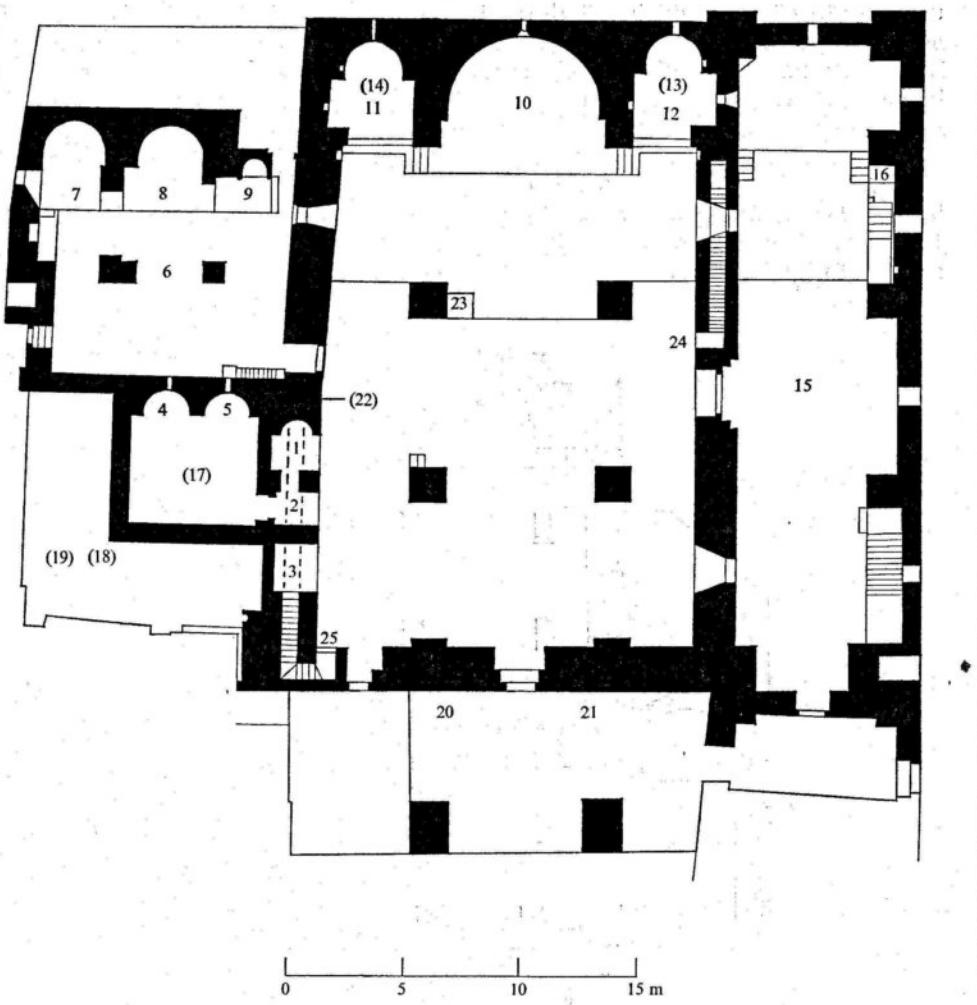
[1] John of Würtzburg, *Description of the Holy Land* (trans. A. Stewart), Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1896, p. 45.

[2] The Armenians refer to the Cathedral as that of the (two) St. James; see p. 105.

[3] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., pp. 522, 552.

[4] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 10.

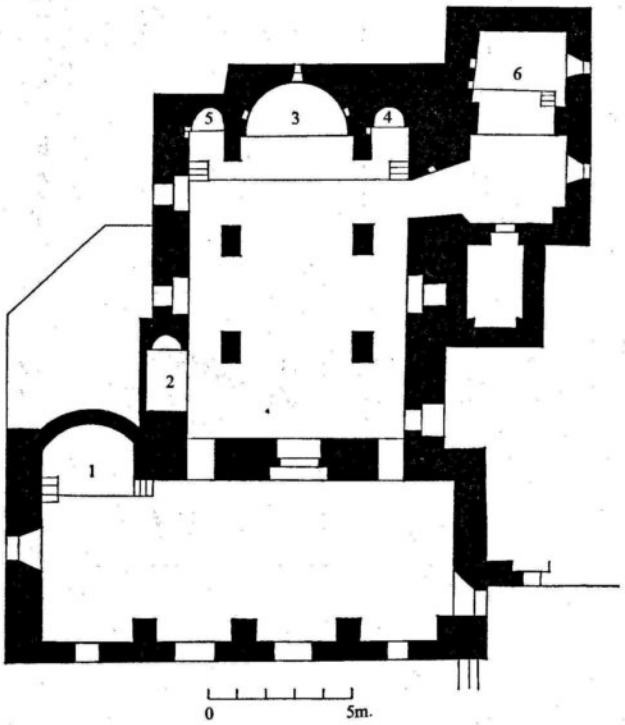
[5] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., pp. 555–6 and fig. 225.



1. Chapel of St. James
2. Antechamber to Chapel of St. Minas and St. Sargis
3. Chapel of St. Makar
4. Altar of St. Minas
5. Altar of St. Sargis
6. Church of St. Stephen (Sacristy)
7. Altar of Cyril of Jerusalem
8. Altar of St. Stephen
9. Altar of St. Gregory the Illuminator
10. Main altar of St. James
11. Altar of St. John Baptist
12. Altar of Virgin Mary
13. Chapel of St. Peter (above)
14. Chapel of St. Paul (above)
15. Etchmiadzin Chapel
16. Altar of Sinai
17. Chapel of the Apostles (above)
18. Chapel of the Holy Cross (above)
19. Chapel of the Ascension (above)
20. Altar of St. George
21. Altar of St. Nicholas
22. Altar of St. Nishan (above)
23. Patriarchal throne
24, 25. Entrances to concealed staircases

FIG. 2. The Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem (after Vincent).

they may be of earlier origin, all three churches were acquired by the Armenians in medieval times. The church of St. Theodore (now transformed into the manuscript library) is just north-east of the cathedral (Figure 1, *3*). On the south side of the church is a porch, leading to the entrance; inside is a simple vaulted nave, with a raised altar platform, and a sacristy to the north. According to Armenian tradition the church was built by King Hethum I, in memory of his son T'oros (Theodore) who died fighting against the Mamlūks in A.D. 1266. Ormanian considers it more likely that the church was built by T'oros's brother, Levon, who was captured by the Mamlūks and later made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[1] Vincent does not mention the church in his account of the other buildings associated with St. James.



1. Altar of the Torturing
2. Chapel of the First Prison of Christ
3. Main altar
4. Altar of Virgin Mary
5. Altar of St. John Baptist
6. Chapel of St. Hrip'simē

FIG. 3. The Church of the Holy Archangel (after Vincent).

The church of the Holy Archangel, and the nunnery, are at the south-east corner of the convent (Figure 3). The church has a nave with four central piers; on the south side is a chapel dedicated to St. Hrip'simē, and in the north wall is a tiny chapel, the First Prison of Christ. To the west is another chapel, with a porch and the entrance to the church on the south side. An inscription on the north wall refers to the 'restoration' of the church in 820/(inc. 19 December, A.D. 1370); and a second inscription is dated 811/(inc. 21 December, A.D. 1361). On architectural grounds, and the evidence of these two inscriptions, Vincent suggests that the church was built in the second half of the thirteenth century.[2] It should be remarked that the level of the floor is well below that of the surrounding courtyard and houses, which themselves appear to be medieval. Ormanian states that a church of the same name was mentioned by the Armenian writer Yarut'iwn before the eighth century.[3]

[1] Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 62–3. [2] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., pp. 500–4. [3] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 118.

The church of the Holy Saviour is outside the walls, close to the church of the Dormition. Between the church and the walls is the Armenian cemetery, and until 1948 the church itself was the traditional burying place for the Armenian patriarchs of Jerusalem. From 1948 till 1967, it was impossible to gain access to the church as it supposedly lay in no-man's land, between Jordan and Israel; in fact, the church was used as an Israeli machine-gun post. After the hostilities in 1967, the church was restored to the Armenians, who found it had suffered severely at the hands of its temporary occupants. The church is a simple vaulted structure, with an apse at one end (Figure 4); at the south-east angle is the chapel of the Second Prison of Christ. The church is built on the traditional site of the House of Caiaphas. Vincent found that there was an earlier structure beneath the church, with the remains of an important building and traces of mosaic, of fourth/fifth century date.[1]

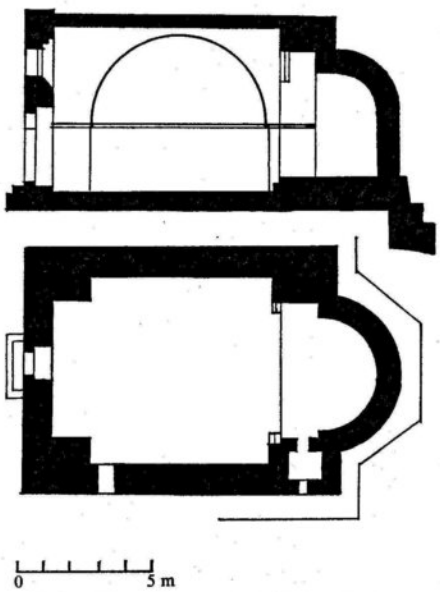


FIG. 4. The Church of the Holy Saviour (after Vincent).

Ormanian stated that the church was acquired for the Armenians by the monk Karapet Tospec'i in the fourteenth century.[2] It is first mentioned by a pilgrim, Poloner, *c.* A.D. 1421.[3] Two later travellers, Borrely (A.D. 1668) and Nau (A.D. 1674) both mention that a stone from the entrance of the Holy Sepulchre formed part of the altar.[4] The earliest gravestone noted by Ormanian is of a monk, Step'an T'oros Parontēr, who died in A.D. 1636.[5]

As well as the ecclesiastical buildings, the convent of St. James contains the residence of the patriarch, quarters for the monks and nuns, a seminary, a library, a printing-press, administrative buildings, a school and shops, and a complex of houses, courtyards, and rooms for Armenian residents, and pilgrims in season. Many of these buildings are medieval, but so far they have not been systematically studied. Recent excavations by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, in the garden between the road and the city wall, revealed buildings and part of a *sūq* of the Mamlūk period, and some of the buildings still standing inside the convent may be contemporary with these remains.[6] The refectory was

[1] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., pp. 497–500.
[2] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 135.
[3] *John Poloner's Description of the Holy Land* (*c.* A.D. 1421), trans. by A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, London, 1894, p. 15.
[4] Nau, M., *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1758, p. 102.
[5] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 135.
[6] Kenyon, loc. cit.

built in A.D. 1741 by Grigor Vardapet on vaults over the road to the Citadel and is at the north-west angle of the convent (Figure 1). According to Ormanian, the upper half of the refectory was tiled by T'eodoros Vanetzi in 1811.[1] Elia Vardapet states that he replastered the refectory in 1737, but this must have been an earlier structure.

B. THE PATRIARCHATE OF ST. JAMES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The history of the Jerusalem patriarchate in the period which immediately concerns this work depends on Armenian sources. The primary source is Mik'ayel Č'amč'eanc', *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* [*History of Armenia*], published in three parts in Venice in 1786, which describes events in Jerusalem and Constantinople in the early eighteenth century. More important information is contained in the colophon of a manuscript copied by Elia Vardapet in Jerusalem in A.D. 1737, which gives details of the installation of the tiles in the churches. Translations of relevant passages are given in the Appendix. Copious details are to be found in the works of Yovhannēseanc', *Chronicle History of Jerusalem* (1890), Alawnuni, *Ancient Armenian Monasteries and Churches in the Holy Land* (1931), and Sawalaneanc', *History of Jerusalem* (1931).[2] Some further details of a general nature are contained in Malachia Ormanian's *Armenian Jerusalem*, published in 1931; and a guide to *St. James*, prepared by various *vardapets*, which appeared in 1958; all these works are in Armenian. The only works in English are the short guide by the Revd. Garabed Antreassian (1956), and some brief, anonymous notes in a pamphlet published by the patriarchate in 1961. Although there must be important and useful documents in the archives of the Jerusalem patriarchate, they have not yet been studied.

In the seventeenth century, the patriarchate was reasonably prosperous. The chronicler Arak'el of Tabriz tells us that in 1651, Philippos, Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he stayed four months, and was well received by the Turkish *pasha*, the Greek Patriarch and the Latins. During his stay he had the main floor of the cathedral, which was very irregular, replaced with a new one, and also heightened the altar. Vincent considers it was he who was responsible for the creation of the Etchmiadzin chapel.[3] Among the more distinguished patriarchs was Eliazar Ayntabc'i, who had previously been patriarch of Constantinople. Arguing that communications were too difficult between the Armenian community within the Ottoman empire and the Holy See at Etchmiadzin in Armenia, which had been under Persian domination since the early seventeenth century, he had himself proclaimed patriarch in A.D. 1670, in opposition to the patriarch at Etchmiadzin. This proclamation was made in the Etchmiadzin chapel in Jerusalem, which had been created by walling in the arcades on the south side of the cathedral. A necessary adjunct of his office was *muron*, or holy oil, and he consecrated such a quantity of it that according to Ormanian, there was still some left in 1917.[4] However, after his rival, the patriarch at Etchmiadzin, died in 1680, Eliazar was able to succeed him two years later. As Ormanian summarized the affair, 'when once his ambition was satisfied, he was lacking neither in good intentions nor in ability, and all his efforts were in the right direction'.

It was during his Jerusalem tenancy that the patriarchal throne in the cathedral was donated by Meliton Keserac'i Arapoghlu, in A.D. 1680 (PLATES 25, 26). This splendid piece

[1] Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 25, 129.

[2] Yovhannēseanc' Astuacatur, *Žamanakagrakan Patmut'iwn Erusałēmi* [*Chronicle History of Jerusalem*], 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1890. Alawnuni, Mkrtič', *Haykakan hin vank'er ew eketec'iner Surb Erkrin mēǰ* [*Ancient Armenian Monasteries and Churches in the Holy Land*], Jerusalem, 1931. Idem, *Miabank' ew ayc'eluk' hay Erusałēmi* [*Monks and Visitors in Armenian Jerusalem*], Jerusalem, 1929. Sawalaneanc', Tigran, *Patmut'iwn Erusałēmi* [*History of Jerusalem*] translated from the Classical original into Modern Armenian by M. Nšanean, 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1931.

[3] Arak'el of Tabriz, *Livre d'Histoires* (trans. M. Brosset), St. Petersburg, 1874 (first Armenian edition, Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 429–30. Vincent and Abel, op. cit., p. 556; see also Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 15–16.

[4] Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, London, 1955, pp. 65–6.

of church furniture, inlaid with tortoise-shell and ivory, is in pure Turkish taste, including motifs such as groups of three circles filled with crescents. Henry Maundrell, an English visitor to Jerusalem in A.D. 1697, mentioned the throne in his account of the interior of the cathedral:

> . . . In this church are two altars set out with extraordinary splendour, being deck'd with rich mitres, embroider'd copes, crosses both silver and gold, crowns, chalices and other church utensils without number. In the middle of the church is a pulpit made of tortoise-shell and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy, or cupola over it, of the same fabrick. The tortoise-shell and mother of pearl are so exquisitely mingled and inlaid in each other that the work far exceeds the materials. In a kind of anti-chappel to this church [the Etchmiadzin chapel] there are laid up on one side of an altar, three large stones, esteem'd very precious; as being, one of them, the stone upon which Moses cast the two tables, when he broke them, in indignation, at the idolatry of the Israelites; the other two being brought, one from the place of our Lord's baptism, the other from that of his transfiguration.[1]

The transition from the apparent prosperity of the Armenian community in Jerusalem described by Maundrell at the end of the seventeenth century, to its impoverishment at the beginning of the eighteenth century, must have been rapid. According to Č'amč'eanc', by 1715 the patriarchate was in dire straits, both financially and morally.[2] He explains this by the fact that at that time the Jerusalem see was being administered directly by the patriarch of Constantinople, who each year sent two representatives to look after affairs; these had the titles of *papa* and *vekil*, and were chosen from the laymen and clergy respectively. As the offices were renewed each year, a consistent administrative policy was apparently impossible. More serious, the representatives used their positions unscrupulously for personal gain, and even the offices were bought and sold in Constantinople. In Jerusalem, successive representatives sold off all the valuables they could lay their hands on, such as chalices, gospels, incense burners, candlesticks, sistra, caskets, and other objects. At the same time, they were said to have persecuted the monks. Using the authority of the seal of the monastery of St. James, they borrowed money from the Moslems, as well as extorting further sums from pilgrims to Jerusalem. The authorities in Constantinople made an attempt to remedy the matter, but it was too late. The Moslem creditors foreclosed, and to the great disconcertment of the monks, soldiers and bailiffs were installed in the monastery.

Č'amč'eanc' relates that about this time, a monk called Yovhannēs Vardapet of Bitlis came to Constantinople in order to collect alms for the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Tarōn. He attracted the attention of the patriarch, Sahak Vardapet Apuč'exc'i, by his eloquence and integrity, and the Armenian community in Constantinople decided he had the necessary qualities to solve the difficulties of the Jerusalem patriarchate. He was elected *locum tenens* of the see, and sent to Jerusalem, accompanied by a coadjutor named Israyēl Vardapet (known also as Połos). Arriving in Jerusalem, he had hardly begun to retrieve the situation, when his sponsor was deposed, and a new patriarch of Constantinople, Yovhannēs Vardapet Gandzakec'i, elected in his place. The latter dispatched four of the previous agents to Jerusalem, who swiftly began to undo all the work that Yovhannēs had just started. The immediate effect was to convince the Moslem creditors that they stood no chance of being paid, so they secured a decree from Constantinople ordering the monastery and all its possessions to be sold. At this, the four agents decided themselves to sell the monastery of the Holy Saviour. The monks became thoroughly alarmed, and pleaded with the Moslem creditors; they at length agreed to wait for four years, and Yovhannēs gave his personal guarantee that the money would be found.

Yovhannēs returned to Constantinople in 1715. He told the Armenian notables that the mere repayment of the debts was not in itself sufficient, and urged that a patriarch should be appointed, to look after the Jerusalem community. Impressed by his views, the notables

[1] Maundrell, Henry, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, ed. David Howell, Beirut, 1963, pp. 132–3.

[2] Č'amč'eanc', Mik'ayel, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, vol. 3, ch. 46, pp. 768 ff. For a translation of the relevant text, see Appendix E. See also Sanjian, op. cit., pp. 110–14.

went further, and offered him the patriarchate of Constantinople (thus allowing him to appoint whom he wished to Jerusalem); he accepted, and on 16 September 1715, he was consecrated. The following day he himself consecrated Grigor Vardapet of Bitlis (a fellow pupil, like himself, of Vardan Vardapet of Amrdol monastery in Bitlis) as patriarch of Jerusalem. Grigor was reluctant to assume office, but with some encouragement from Astuacatur, the patriarch of Etchmiadzin, he finally left for Constantinople in 1717. Until Grigor should arrive in Jerusalem, Yovhannēs Vardapet Erusałemac'i (called Hannē) was appointed to Jerusalem as *locum tenens*.

Grigor Vardapet remained in Constantinople for three years, occupied with the task of raising money to pay off the Jerusalem debts, which amounted at that time to 800 purses of gold. He chose to hang a chain round his neck, and stood at the door of the church of the Holy Mother of God, declaring that he would never remove it until the debts were paid. This remarkable fund-raising device was so successful that he succeeded in his object, and he attracted so much attention that he was known even to the Turks, as *Zinçirli Vardapet* 'the chain-bearing vardapet'. The chain was finally removed in Jerusalem eight years later, and is supposed to form part of the Sinai altar in the Etchmiadzin chapel.[1]

In 1719 the campaign for funds suffered a major reverse, for there was a great fire in Constantinople, with much loss of life and property. The fire raged for 34 hours, from Unkapani to Çinar tepe, and there was also an earthquake;[2] 15,000 died and 50,000 houses were destroyed; the church of the Holy Mother of God was burned, and the two patriarchs had to find money to rebuilt it. At the same time, the Latins and Greeks had secured a Turkish *firman* to rebuild their parts of the Holy Sepulchre; the building was in a dangerous state of delapidation. The Armenians felt they also had to secure a *firman*, at further cost, for their part. They then sent word to Hannē Vardapet, who started work on the repairs in the Holy Sepulchre in 1720.

Eventually the two patriarchs had collected enough money to pay off the debts of the Jerusalem patriarchate. They also purchased some property in Jaffa, to provide the patriarchate with a regular income. At last, Grigor left the capital for Jerusalem, travelling from Constantinople with many pilgrims by way of Aleppo, where he also purchased property for the church. He finally arrived in Jerusalem on 12 February 1721 and, seated on the patriarchal throne, he paid off all the debts and redeemed the pledges. A period of prosperity then commenced for the church in Jerusalem, and Grigor ordered the repair and decoration of all the churches and monasteries under his surveillance. He built a wall round the convent, the altar of the Holy Cross in the cathedral, and constructed rooms for pilgrims. He repaired the monastery in Bethlehem, and in 1725 built a convent in Jaffa, with a church dedicated to St. Nicholas. He repaired the monastery [nunnery] of the Holy Archangel in Jerusalem, and added an altar dedicated to St. Hṙip'simē. In 1727, with the permission of a *firman* obtained by Yovhannēs in Constantinople, he repaired the cathedral of St. James and added many of the sumptuous decorations that still survive to this day.

Č'amč'eanc''s account of the repairs carried out in 1727 with the authority of the *firman*, is detailed by the monk Ełia Vardapet, in the colophon of a manuscript he copied in 1737.[3] Ełia Vardapet was actively engaged in this work of restoration, and seems to have much enjoyed his labours as a plasterer and decorator; perhaps he found these practical pursuits a relief from the tedium of manuscript copying. The list of his activities in the ten years between the granting of the *firman* and his record of them is formidable. Ełia Vardapet was responsible for the redecoration of the cathedral of St. James, the Etchmiadzin chapel, and the church [sacristy] of St. Stephen; the replastering and tiling of the chapel of the Head of St. James, the chapel of St. Makar, the church of St. Sargis [and St. Minas, i.e. the annexe

[1] Ormanian, *Armenian Jerusalem*, p. 27.

[2] The inscription on tile B 20 mentions the earthquake.

[3] Colophon of Jerusalem MS. no. 154, by Ełia Vardapet, son of Yovsep', of Caesaria, copied in A.D. 1737, *apud* Norayr Bogharian, *Catalogue of Jerusalem MSS*, vol. ii, pp. 67–8. For the full translation of the colophon, see Appendix D. Vincent, op. cit., p. 557, maintains that tiles were brought from Kütahya by Ełia as early as 1712, 'd'après une inscription de l'église'. I have been unable to locate any such inscription.

to the Treasury], the chapel of the Holy Cross, the church of the Twelve Apostles, the church of the Holy Spirit, and the church of the Holy Archangel. Ełia also worked hard on the construction of the church of St. Theodore, and painted red and tiled the administrative offices (*tntestun*)[1] and the entire wine-store. He replastered the refectory (*seŧanatun*) and 260 rooms, '. . . not to mention other official and private, noteworthy and insignificant places'. He also replastered the monastery of the Holy Saviour, and the church of the Holy Mother of God in the Syrian monastery. He replastered the Armenian section of the church of the Nativity, in Bethlehem; the church of the Holy Trinity, and the refectory, reconstructing the large hall.[2] Ełia also rebuilt the courtyard of Mel(i)tōn Agha, the house of T'ērzi Vardanenc', the house of Khač'er Ghalfa (*Kalfa*), the house of the painter Yakob, in all forty houses '. . . in some with the same companions and in others with special labourers I plastered to the glory of God'. He mentions the less humble activities of his superiors, who repaid all the debts of the monastery and produced 'gold and silver ornaments, and gold-spun brocades, precious stones and priceless pearls, all of which it is impossible to list', and enclosed the monastery with a strong wall. He concludes his account with a prayer for the long life of the aged patriarch Grigor, which was well received as he lived twelve years more, until 1749.

C. THE ARMENIANS AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

Mention has already been made of the repairs undertaken by Hannē Vardapet to the Armenian part of the Holy Sepulchre in 1720; here it is appropriate to outline briefly the relationship of the Armenians and the other Christian sects during the history of their joint possession of the Holy Sepulchre. Today, the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians are equal partners in the shrine, with equal rights; but this was not always so, and in the past the situation was often further confused by the intervention of other sects, such as the Georgians, Abyssinians, Copts, and Assyrians.

During the early centuries the Armenians and the Greeks maintained the Holy Places together amicably, and after the Persian invasion in the seventh century, they co-operated in the restoration of the churches. After the Arab conquest in A.D. 638, the Christians in Palestine became a despised minority, although it must be acknowledged that the Moslems were generally tolerant towards their subjects until the eleventh century. The Moslems were careful to define the privileges of each sect, and took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining law and order, adjudicating in disputes about the Holy Places. This tolerance came to an abrupt end with the succession of the Fatimid Caliph Hakīm, who ordered the complete destruction of the Holy Places in A.D. 1009.

During the Crusader period and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Armenians, along with the other Eastern churches, worshipped in the reconstructed church of the Holy Sepulchre. After the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 1229 the church came again under Moslem administration, and the keys were entrusted to two Moslem families, who still retain them to this day. In A.D. 1244, the Kharazmians massacred priests in the Holy Sepulchre, damaging the Edicule and generally sacking the church. At this time, the stone from the Chapel of

[1] Traces of these decorations have completely disappeared.

[2] 'Grigor the Chain-bearer did some repairing in Bethlehem. First he closed the interior of the refectory, from which access may be had to several underground caves. . . . This great refectory, which was previously a stable, he converted into a church in the name of the Holy Trinity. He built two altars, to the right and left, and dedicated them to the sons of Zebedee. . . . Yet a short time later the church was again converted into a refectory. The community as well as the pilgrims feed there on Christmas eve, and the soldiers accompanying them to keep order used to sleep there too'—from an Armenian chronicle of the eighteenth century, quoted by Hamilton, R. W., *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, A guide*, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 100. This large hall, supported by a central row of columns, known as the School of St. Jerome, but dating from the twelfth century, was divided into two floors by Ełia Vardapet. It has recently been restored to its original state by the Armenians. On a visit in 1963, the writer saw the caves in the floor in the course of excavation, and also noted that the north wall had a core of columns, partially exposed where the masonry had fallen. Unfortunately no record of the excavation was made.

the Angel at the entrance to the Edicule was broken; the Armenians are supposed to have transported part of it to the church of the Holy Saviour (House of Caiaphas) where it forms part of the altar. By the fifteenth century, the Edicule was in Franciscan hands; the Armenians had been supplanted by the Georgians on Calvary, and the chapel of St. Helena was held by the Assyrians. Expelled from Calvary, the Armenians bought part of the gallery of the Rotunda, where they constructed an altar. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, minor repairs were made to the Edicule, and in A.D. 1555 it was completely razed and rebuilt on the plan which was to survive until a fire in the early nineteenth century, when it assumed its present form.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw some lively skirmishes between the sects and a general increase in tension. As happened with the other Holy Places in Jerusalem, the privileges of the various sects inside the Holy Sepulchre were subject not only to the fortunes of war; the exchange and barter of various parts of the church directly reflected the changing economic and political power of the sects concerned. The temporary ascendancy of one sect over another and the vicissitudes of the different Christian communities resulted in a ferocious struggle for power. The major protagonists in this struggle were the Greeks and Latins, but the Armenians also played a part. Each advantage obtained was so jealously guarded that even today, any suggestion of an infringement of the *status quo* arouses the strongest feelings. In the seventeenth century the Greeks and the Armenians both managed to add to their property, at the expense of the other denominations. The conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks under Selim I in A.D. 1516 resulted indirectly in an advantage for the Greeks over the Latins. The Greeks were represented by their patriarch at Constantinople, who was the head of their *millet*, and in the second half of the seventeenth century he certainly had considerable influence at the Porte. The Latins, however, with no *millet* of their own, were dependent on the offices of the French ambassador, and such diplomatic intervention on their behalf as he could exercise. In the meanwhile, other sects were loosing their place in the Holy Sepulchre. The Georgians, who had previously held a privileged position under the Moslems, were unable to meet the heavy taxes demanded by the Moslems for their rights in the church, and were put out of the Holy Sepulchre in A.D. 1644; a similar fate befell the Abyssinians, who retired to the roof. Between A.D. 1630 and 1637, the right to pre-eminence in the Holy Places changed back and forth no less than six times between the Greeks and the Latins. In A.D. 1637, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes III, finally obtained a *firman* in favour of the Orthodox, which was undisputed until A.D. 1674.

The second half of the seventeenth century was dominated by the urgent question of repairs to the Holy Sepulchre. As the sects who owned the different parts of the structure were unable to co-operate, the church was quite likely to fall about their ears. In particular, the framework of the dome of the rotunda, built some six hundred years previously by the emperor Monomachus, was in an alarming state of disrepair. Although permission was granted by the Porte for its restoration in A.D. 1691, nothing was started owing to the fervent opposition of the Greeks, who wished to be uniquely in charge of the repairs. Finally, in A.D. 1719, after the Greek patriarch Chrysanthos had obtained permission to reduce the bell-tower adjoining the Holy Sepulchre, which had partly fallen as the result of an earthquake in A.D. 1545, the French ambassador Marquis de Bonnac gained permission for the Latins to repair the dome. However, no sooner had the Latins started on these repairs than they were set upon by a band of three hundred Moroccans, intent on massacre; only the swift intervention of the Turkish *cadi* of Jerusalem and his provision of a guard assured that the work was carried out. The bell-tower was demolished, the adjoining buildings razed and reconstructed, and the dome of the rotunda was completely rebuilt, exactly as before; the Turkish *firman* stipulated that no changes or additions whatsoever were to be made in the plans. At the same time, although defeated in their object of restoring the Holy Sepulchre jointly with the Greeks and the Latins, the Armenians repaired the floor of the chapel of

St. Helena, which they had acquired from the Assyrians, and performed various other minor repairs.[1]

[1] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., pp. 291–300. An interesting footnote to the repairs of the Holy Sepulchre is surprisingly to be found in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*. Rousseau met a Greek priest in Boudry, for whom he acted as a translator, as he knew Italian; the priest was the Archimandrite of Jerusalem, and had been commissioned to make a collection in Europe for the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre. They joined forces and as an interpreter Rousseau was so successful as an intermediary with the Senate of Berne that they gave a considerable donation. After they parted company, the priest intended to go to Germany and make his way back via Hungary and Poland. The priest had with him letters from many sovereigns, including the Tsarina; he spoke only Greek, Turkish, and *lingua franca*. See *Confessions* (1732), *Œuvres Complètes* I, ed. B. Gagnebin and M. Raymond, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, 1964, p. 156.

II. THE PICTORIAL TILES

FORTY-FIVE inscribed pictorial tiles intended for the repairs to the Holy Sepulchre in A.D. 1719 still survive in the convent of St. James; these include several which only exist in a fragmentary state. Two more fragments of tiles belonging to the same group are now in the Musée Céramique de Sèvres, and were probably acquired by the French consul in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century. A third tile has recently come to light in Paris, and is now in the possession of M. Soustiel. From the incomplete inscriptions on the tiles, it is clear that there are others, still missing.

In Jerusalem, the tiles are scattered throughout the convent of St. James,[1] although the majority are fixed to the walls of the Etchmiadzin Chapel adjoining the cathedral, where they serve to animate panels of blue tiles of more abstract design. On the north side of the chapel they are arranged in a vertical and two horizontal rows; on the south wall is another vertical row, with a single tile nearby to the east. The two horizontal rows of tiles, on either side of the doorway leading from the cathedral, were collected by the verger, the Revd. Garabed Antreassian, from various parts of the convent thirty years ago, and assembled in their present order; this accounts for their absence in Vincent's photograph of the interior of the chapel, published in 1922.[2] Although the two vertical rows of tiles, opposite each other on either side of the chapel, are not arranged in any logical sequence of subject or inscriptions, they fit harmoniously into the general scheme of tiles on the north and south walls. They are immediately below two capitals, once supported by columns removed during the conversion of the Etchmiadzin Chapel in the seventeenth century. The integration of the two rows of tiles with these remaining architectural features suggests that their present position was not fortuitous, and was probably devised by Elia Vardapet, during his redecoration of the chapel in the years between A.D. 1727 and 1737.

Elia Vardapet also mentions in the account of his work that he tiled the Chapel of St. Minas and St. Sargis, the antechamber to the Treasury; here three more tiles are set in the front of the altar of St. Minas. Some tiles are mysteriously hidden away inside cupboards in the Chapel of the Apostles above, also tiled by Elia, and accessible by a concealed staircase in the north wall of the cathedral. Outside the cathedral, a single tile has been set 7 metres high on the same wall just below the roof, only visible at a distance from the roof of the adjoining sacristy. In the church of the Holy Archangel, another tile is hidden behind a painting hanging in the tiny Chapel of the First Prison of Christ in the north wall; in the same church, a tile fragment is fixed in the angle of the north-west pier. Finally, the patriarchal collection contains a fragment of a pictorial tile, with two other cruder examples depicting the Virgin and Child which must be later Kütahya products.

The tiles can be divided into three groups. The first series, A, of eight tiles, is decorated mainly with Old Testament subjects, and the lower borders form part of a continuous Armenian inscription in *erkathagir* (uncial) letters. The second, series B, consists of twenty-seven tiles, of which the majority are painted with subjects drawn from the New Testament, linked by a continuous Armenian inscription in *bolorgir* (cursive) script. The third group, C, are painted with various subjects and scripts. They depict scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and pictures of various saints, in no particular sequence. The inscriptions on twelve of these tiles mention various individuals and families in Kütahya who donated tiles for the repairs to the Holy Sepulchre.

Several tiles mention the repairs to the Holy Sepulchre, ordered by the Patriarchs Yovhannēs, and Grigor, and carried out by Hannē Vardapet in 1720.[3] However, in the lapse

[1] For the exact location of the pictorial tiles, see the plans in volume II.

[2] Vincent and Abel, op. cit., fig. 199.

[3] See Appendix E.

of time between the making of the tiles in Kütahya and their arrival in Jerusalem, the original plan for the Armenians, Greeks, and Latins to co-operate in restoring the dome of the Holy Sepulchre must have gone awry, and the tiles were never used for their original purpose. Hannē Vardapet apparently only carried out minor repairs in the Holy Sepulchre to the Armenian sections of the church, the Chapel of St. Helena, and the chapel on the edge of the rotunda. Two of the tiles, C 18, 19, showing three patriarchs side by side, symbolize the collaboration with the other two churches for which the Armenians had hoped.

Exactly where the Armenians had anticipated placing the Kütahya tiles in the Holy Sepulchre is an interesting question. An inscription on A 1 shows that they were meant for the repairs to the dome; perhaps they were intended to face the bare stone piers of the rotunda, which support the arcades and the dome above. The miniature quality of the drawing and the inscriptions suggest that they must have been meant to be placed at eye-level, and the two continuous inscriptions that they were to be placed side by side, in sequence, with the donors' tiles fitting in where possible.

The number of tiles supplied from Kütahya in 1719 is also uncertain. Taking into account the obvious *lacunae* in the inscriptions, the Old and New Testament series must have numbered at least 45. The inscriptions on the donors' tiles in series C mention 165 tiles, which may have included series A and B, as well as non-pictorial tiles of a decorative nature. The inscription on C 14 records the donation of 15 tiles to the Holy Sepulchre, and as this tile is simply a modified version of a common Kütahya type, *Jerusalem type* 6, with the inscription replacing the lower part of the central medallion, and four additional angels, the other 14 were probably unadapted examples of this kind. Such tiles were used in quantity for the decoration of the Chapel of St. Minas and St. Sargis; and in the Chapel of the Apostles above, where they were used with picture tiles; and Elia Vardapet was responsible for decorating both chapels. Also, in both chapels, these tiles occur with inscriptions added in black, or incised in the slip; with additional decoration, in the form of crosses round the central medallion; or with additional ornament and crudely drawn birds in a dark red colour. One example is executed in polychrome, instead of blue; and a fragment of a tile of the same design found in an outhouse of the convent is painted in blue under a yellow glaze. These variations in design and technique, not known outside Jerusalem, and the mention of the Holy Sepulchre and the date A.D. 1718/19 on tile C 14, would suggest that this type was intended for use in the Holy Sepulchre, in conjunction with the pictorial tiles.

To return to the subject of the pictorial tiles, any study of them must also take into account a group of four dishes and two bowls, now widely dispersed, which are technically similar to the tiles and which also bear the same date, A.D. 1718/19. Correlation of the inscriptions on the dishes, bowls, and tiles, supplies not only the name of the artist who painted them, but also the identity of the person who conceived the scheme.

Three of the dishes are painted respectively with St. Michael (Victoria and Albert Museum), the Beheading of John the Baptist (Venice), and St. Sargis and St. Martiros 'the Holy Warriors' (Brussels); a smaller dish is painted with St. Sargis (Cincinnati). One of the bowls is decorated inside with the Twelve Disciples, and outside with a procession and a hunting-scene (Brussels); the other bowl is painted inside with Christ surrounded by the Twelve Disciples, with the Holy Sepulchre at the centre, and outside with naked children amongst flowers and leaves (Benachi Museum, Athens). Although all six pieces were made at the same time as the Jerusalem tiles, they were intended neither for the Holy Sepulchre, nor for St. James; the inscription on the Brussels bowl clearly states that it was for the personal use of Abraham Vardapet, *aṙaǰnord* of T'ak'irdagh, and his name, or monogram, appears on five out of the six pieces (Figure 5). Although the dishes and bowls are painted with religious subjects, their shape precludes them from being used for any ritual purpose; they could hardly serve either as patens or chalices. The hunting-scene on the outside of the Brussels bowl and the inscription on the Benachi bowl referring to the palliative effects of

wine-drinking, suggest that although the pieces were suitably decorated for a prelate, they were intended for domestic use.

The continuous inscription on the lower borders of the tiles in series A reveals that the same Abraham Vardapet, of T'ak'irdagh (Tekirdağ, 100 km. west of Istanbul), was responsible for the 'various pictures on ceramic' which were painted in Kütahya for the restoration of the cupola of the Holy Sepulchre, and to him must go the credit for this original contribution to the plans. His agent, responsible for carrying out the commission, was apparently the 'chorister Połos/Paul' mentioned in the inscription on tile A 6. Professor

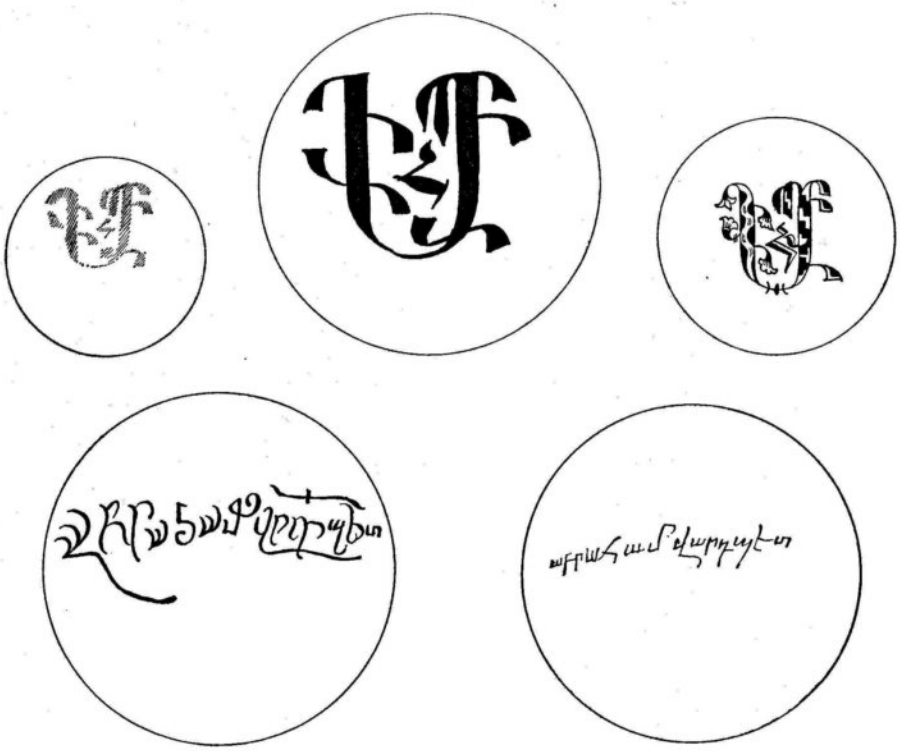


FIG. 5. Monograms and names of Abraham Vardapet on the vessels of A.D. 1718/19; *top*, Cincinnati dish, Venice dish, Brussels bowl, *bottom*, V and A dish, Brussels dish. *Scale*: $\frac{2}{3}$.

Dowsett points out (below, p. 27) that it is likely that the tiles in series B, at least, were paid for by Yovhannēs, son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat, and his family; and the same Yovhannēs is depicted as the sponsor on C 2. The name of the artist who painted both the tiles and the pottery is indicated on the inside of the Brussels bowl: 'For the use of Abraham Vardapet . . . was painted . . . by the labour of the chorister T'oros', as well as on the outer rim of the Benachi bowl: 'by the artist T'oros'. The tile of St. Theodore, C 1, refers to a chorister T'oros, and an Abraham: 'To the pilgrim Abraham the father of the chorister T'oros, at the gate of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection, Abraham Vardapet gave in (his) memory 47 tiles.' If Abraham Vardapet gave 47 tiles as a memorial to the pilgrim Abraham, father of T'oros, his gift would account satisfactorily for the donation of both series, A and B, which must have consisted of at least 45 tiles. 'Abraham Vardapet' and the 'pilgrim Abraham' cannot be the same person; the appelation *mahtesi*, a word denoting a pilgrim to the Holy Land, is conferred on a person in much the same way as *hajji* for a Moslem, and as far as is

known, Abraham Vardapet did not visit Jerusalem until 1719. Some details of the life of Abraham Vardapet Kretac'i are given in Appendix F.

Abraham Vardapet is mentioned neither by Č'amč'eanc' nor by Ełia Vardapet in their accounts, and it is not clear what role he played in the restoration of the fortunes of the Jerusalem patriarchate. From his own writings and other sources, one learns that he was *aṙajnord* of T'ak'irdagh, E. Thrace, from 1709 to 1734; *nuncio* to Jerusalem 1711–17; and first visited Jerusalem in 1719, staying for two years. Returning to T'ak'irdagh, he left for Etchmiadzin in 1734, to become the Catholicos; he held this office for three years, until he died. That he was still remembered and highly regarded in Jerusalem after 1727 (at least by Ełia Vardapet) is clear from the position occupied by the tile A 4, which mentions his office of *aṙajnord* of T'ak'irdagh, placed in the centre of the altar front of St. Minas, in the antechamber to the Treasury. This tile, which shows Abraham sacrificing Isaac, and thus further alluding to Abraham Vardapet, is flanked by two other tiles symbolizing the evangelists Luke and John; all three are now concealed behind the altar frontal. Further, the gold case of the splendid thirteenth-century Gospel of Queen Geran in the Treasury (Jerusalem MS. no. 2563) which was added in 1176/A.D. 1726–7 (see Appendix B, PLATE 46) mentions Abraham Vardapet in the dedication on the flap, along with the other vardapets, Grigor and Yovhannēs, who as patriarchs played a more conspicuous part in solving the financial and spiritual problems of the Jerusalem patriarchate in the early eighteenth century.

The text on the seven Old Testament tiles in series A refers to the dome of the Holy Sepulchre being repaired in A.D. 1718/19, and to tiles, made in K'ōt'uhia of Rūm, being painted with various pictures, by [order of] Abraham of C . . ., during his office as *aṙajnord* of T'ak'irdagh. The 'chorister Paul', on tile A 6, must be Israyēl Vardapet, 'also called Połos', who Č'amč'eanc' tells us accompanied Yovhannes Vardapet as coadjutor on his first visit to Jerusalem.

The text on the lower part of series B relates in a disjointed way to events mentioned by Č'amč'eanc'. Mention is made of the abbot [Grigor] of the monastery of St. John in Tarōn in the plain of Muš, [who with Yovhannēs of Bitlis, called Kolot] both pupils of Lord Vardan of the monastery of Amrdol, were elected as patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople respectively. Reference is also made to the arrival of Grigor in Constantinople, and his departure for Jerusalem; the troubles of the Armenian see in Jerusalem, and the extent of the debts of the monastery of St. James, 400 purses of gold (which is doubled in Č'amč'eanc''s account). The church of the Holy Sepulchre is referred to, and the 'three nations' (Armenians, Greeks, and Latins) for whom the dome was built; a disturbance is mentioned, involving the governor (*baron*), perhaps the same who intervened in the attempt by the three hundred Moroccans to prevent the Greeks repairing the dome. The tiles also tell of the fire in Constantinople in 1719 and the destruction of the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Kum Kapı; and of an accompanying earthquake, which is not mentioned in Č'amč'eanc''s description.

The other tiles with inscriptions are mainly interesting for the number of individual donations of tiles recorded, for the Holy Sepulchre repairs, by various inhabitants of Kütahya. Gifts are mentioned of 50, 25, 15, 10 (twice), 5, and at least three other tiles, as well as the 47 tiles on C 1. In all, the names of some 52 persons are mentioned in the dedications; an index of these names has been made, giving the tiles on which they appear, and their family relationships where specified (p. 76).

Apart from their epigraphic and historical significance, the picture tiles have considerable interest as works of art. They stem from a long tradition of Armenian manuscript illumination, and Kütahya was a centre for manuscript copying and illumination in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, Armenian illuminators in Turkey and Persia often adopted a consciously archaic style, turning back to the thirteenth century for inspiration.[1] One artist, Mik'ayēl of Tokat, says he copied a Gospel by T'oros Roslin

[1] Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, 1963, pp. 94–101.

(A.D. 1256) for the illustrations to his own work, produced in Sebastia (Sivas) in 1668/70. It may be only coincidental, but a 'Mik'ayēl of Tokat', and six members of his family, are mentioned in the inscriptions on three tiles, B 22, B 23, C 2. At the same time, western concepts of space began to be appreciated in eastern painting, and the influence of western compositions, transmitted through engravings, was also felt.[1] Whilst T'oros tended to turn to the past for the basis of many of his compositions, there is a freedom in his work which belongs to his age, whether it is attributable to western influence, or not. Although there are no *chinoiseries* in any of his work, the influence of the Chinese drawing of figures on porcelain, direct statements of fact, should not be overlooked. If T'oros was a manuscript illustrator, perhaps other works than the tiles can be attributed to him.

T'oros was a skilful artist, and although his style is primitive, there is a naturalistic feeling which must have been the result of his own direct observation of the world around him. The space in his compositions is shallow, but his figures move and turn within this space in a manner which is quite sophisticated. His painting of the *Healing of the Blind Men*, B 3, is a good example of this plasticity. The figures are placed in a row across the tile, with a feathery palm-tree on the right suggesting landscape; Christ blesses the two blind men, who kneel before him, gently touching the closed eyelid of the nearest man; to the left, two of the Disciples exchange glances. Although the scene is conveyed with economy, all the figures have form and relate to each other in a manner which is entirely natural and convincing. Apart from T'oros's skills in isolating the most important elements in the story and animating the scene, this tile also reveals his humanistic approach to the subject. The pathetic two blind men, the detachment of Christ, and the mere ordinariness of the Disciples are all succinctly conveyed, and this little tile is invested with an emotional power which is quite disproportionate to its size, and the means at the artist's disposal. Throughout the series, T'oros has tried to draw real people, not ciphers; and if this has occasionally tended towards caricature and disproportion, his figures are still vigorously alive. The technique of drawing directly on to the tile allows no chance for second thoughts or correction, and demands that the artist has a total conception of his subject before he starts. Examples of T'oros virtuosity in this respect can be seen in the drawing of the colt in the *Entry into Jerusalem* B 1, and the horses on the tiles of St. Theodore, and St. Eustace, C 1, B 15.

T'oros must have had a good working knowledge of the ceramic techniques necessary to produce the tiles, as the combination of black outline with washes of pure underglaze colours shows before firing only as slips of various shades of grey. As for the circles of red dots, capriciously filling the background of the tiles, they must have been added by another hand after T'oros had drawn the scenes. In the Annunciation tile, for instance, the composition depends on a space between the Angel and the Virgin to create the necessary tension between the figures, and this effect is diminished by three arbitrary groups of dots. Similar intrusions are to be noted in most of the tiles in the New Testament series; the scale of the dots in relationship to the delicacy of the drawing of the figures lends weight to the hypothesis that they were added by someone else, perhaps a potter with a misguided sense of *horror vacui*. If T'oros was responsible for the majority of the inscriptions, as well as the pictures, this would indicate that he was a man of some intellect, rather than just a potter who had a talent for drawing pictures. However, it should be noted that such groups of red dots are not unknown in Armenian manuscript illumination; in a set of Gospels, illuminated in A.D. 1479, similar red dots were used to decorate the background of paintings of the Evangelists.[2]

The idea of painting religious scenes on tiles was no novelty; pottery icons are known in Asia Minor as early as the eleventh century, and an icon of St. Theodore, discovered at Patleina, in Bulgaria, depicts the head of St. Theodore painted on a series of tiles, in a manner similar to the painting of the head of Christ, and St. John the Baptist, on two of the

[1] Carswell, J., *New Julfa*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, pp. 21–6.

[2] This manuscript is now in the Church of St. Minas in New Julfa; ibid., p. 55.

Kütahya tiles. These icons are believed to have been made in Asia Minor, and might conceivably be the work of Armenian craftsmen.[1] Closer in time to the Kütahya products are a series of pictorial tiles in the Armenian churches in New Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan, in Persia.[2] These tile panels are above the church doors. One panel, dated 1719, depicting *Adoration of the Magi*, is above the north door of St. George's Church; and another panel, the *Annunciation*, above the west door, is dated 1716/17. The same subject, differently treated but of the same date is above the west door of Julfa Cathedral, and a third *Annunciation*, above the south door of the Church of St. Sargis, is dated 1705. All four panels are executed in the *cuerda seca* technique, the artists apparently experimenting with the idea of using tiles to depict religious subjects. More sophisticated figures can be observed in seventeenth-century Safavid Persian tiles in the same technique, usually depicting drinking-parties, and these may have inspired the Armenian artists. That the church panels are the work of Armenian craftsmen can be verified by the Armenian inscriptions which accompany the pictures on the tiles.

Whether the Julfa tiles influenced Abraham, or T'oros, in giving them the idea for the Kütahya tile series must remain a matter for speculation. Certainly there had been nothing like them in Turkish pottery for the sixteenth and seventeenth century, although there are Isnik pieces with figurative motifs. A possible link with Persia is the appearance of a new colour, yellow, which was unknown in Isnik pottery; its appearance in the eighteenth century, at Kütahya and also at Tekfur Sarayı, might well have been the result of the arrival of Moslem or Armenian potters from Persia, where the colour was much used in the seventeenth century, for *cuerda seca* tiles, and also as an underglaze colour on lustre pottery.

Mention should also be made of a series of Dutch tiles, with biblical subjects, commissioned by Armenian merchants of the Zucar family, originally from Julfa. They were living in Spain in the seventeenth century, and the tiles were for the decoration of the church of Santa Maria in Cadiz. These tiles included both Armenian and Spanish inscriptions, and are dated 1670, 1671 and 1679.[3] Although there is no record of such tiles ever journeying eastwards, it is quite possible that some knowledge of the commission reached Turkey, particularly as the merchants were of a family originally from Persia, which must have retained close ties with the Armenian mercantile network, well established at that period. Another possible inspiration for the Kütahya tiles may have been the textiles, embroidered or painted with religious subjects, with which T'oros must have been familiar. Such textiles are still to be found amongst the collections of vestments and church furnishings in the churches in Julfa, and also in St. James, Jerusalem, and must also have found their way into the Armenian churches in Turkey. Particularly relevant are the *pintados*, painted cottons from South India, frequently commissioned by foreign patrons, including Armenians. These cottons are often decorated with religious subjects, and sometimes with Armenian inscriptions (PLATES 32, 33). One such cotton, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is painted with ten scenes, in two rows of five; four subjects duplicate those on the Jerusalem tiles (PLATE 32). Although there is no stylistic link between the cottons and the tiles, the idea of arranging the scenes like a strip cartoon is common to both, and may have suggested a sequence of tiles to T'oros. Another feature common both to the tiles and the cottons is the use of an arch, to frame various scenes or incidental figures. Armenian embroideries are also often designed with saints standing in an arcade, producing an effect like the paintings of the Disciples on the interiors of the Brussels and Benachi bowls.

COSTUME

Although the figures depicted on the tiles, bowls, and dishes are simply treated, they provide some general information about ecclesiastical and secular dress in Turkey at the beginning

[1] Talbot Rice, D., *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930; Frontispiece, pp. 19, 29–31.

[2] Carswell, op. cit., pp. 26–8.

[3] Santos Simões, J. M. Dos, *Carreaux Céramiques Hollandais au Portugal et en Espagne*, The Hague, 1959; pp. 104–8, plates xxvii–xxix.

of the eighteenth century, as well as indicating the sort of dress that the artist, T'oros, thought appropriate for the characters in the biblical scenes that he illustrated.

Christ is conventionally depicted wearing a long yellow robe with a blue cloak over his shoulders (B 2, B 3, B 6, B 9, B 11, B 27; in B 1, a green robe). The robe has long sleeves with tight cuffs and a round neckline, and one tile shows it apparently divided down the middle (B 9), and worn with a narrow girdle. The cloak has a wide hem, and is fastened in front, on the breast. In the *Washing of the Feet* tile (B 27), the sleeves are rolled up and the robe draped over the left shoulder. As a child, Christ wears a similar robe, in either white, yellow, green, or red with a white border; the cloak is draped over his left shoulder, and is either yellow, blue, or green (C 9, C 10, C 2, B 4). As a young man of twelve, preaching to the Jews in the Temple (B 10), Christ is dressed in a blue robe, with a golden *omophorion* draped over his shoulders and falling vertically in front decorated with crosses and a tasselled end; this is the dress of an Armenian bishop, as described by Ormanian.[1] On the *Flagellation* tile (B 12), Christ wears a green cloth and a crown of thorns. On the *Resurrection* tile (B 19), he wears a white loin-cloth, with a white cloak fastened in front, and carries a standard with a white pennant. In the tile of the *Doubting of Thomas* (B 21), Christ is dressed in a blue robe, open at the breast, and carries a standard with a yellow pennant. In all the tiles Christ is depicted with a moustache and a short dark beard, with long hair parted at the centre, sometimes shoulder length, and a halo.

The Virgin Mary is also traditionally dressed, wearing a yellow robe with a hemmed neckline and a blue mantle draped over head and shoulders (B 4, B 5, B 21, C 10); sometimes the robe is white (B 13, C 9), or green with a yellow hem (C 7); or the blue mantle has a yellow hem (B 4), or is white (B 7, C 9), or turquoise (B 10). In one tile (B 4), there is a green band across the Virgin's forehead, below the mantle. Another tile (C 2), shows the Virgin dressed more elaborately; she stands barefoot on a crescent moon, carrying the Infant Christ and a stalk of flowers, wearing a green robe with a blue mantle decorated with red spots, and a crown supported by kneeling angels carrying flowers.

With the Disciples, T'oros has made a definite attempt to give each an individual character, mainly by giving them different types of beard and features. All twelve Disciples are shown on the two bowls. On the inside of the Brussels bowl, one is shown beardless, seven with dark beards, two with curly fair beards, one with a divided white beard and one with a pointed white beard. On the Benachi bowl, two are beardless, six have dark beards, four have fair beards, and all stand carrying models of a church except for one with a white beard who kneels (? Judas); flanking Christ, one of the white-bearded Disciples carries a key (Peter), and the other, dark bearded, a sword. On the tiles, there is a similar characterization of the Disciples (B 1, B 2, B 3, B 7, B 9, B 11, B 21, B 27). The tile of the *Advent of the Holy Spirit* (B 7) depicts eleven Disciples: one beardless, seven with dark beards, and three with white divided beards. In the *Betrayal* tile (B 9), two Disciples have dark beards and three white divided beards; Judas himself has a white pointed beard. At the *Last Supper* (B 11), one Disciple is beardless, seven have dark beards, three white divided beards, and one (top, left, ? Judas) a white pointed beard. Thomas is shown on another tile with a dark pointed beard (B 21). Simon Peter is depicted at the *Washing of the Feet* (B 27), with a white divided beard; of the four other Disciples visible, one is beardless and the others have dark beards. As for dress, the Disciples wear girdled robes with round hemmed necklines and long sleeves with tight cuffs; over these they wear cloaks, generally held together in front, often with the hands beneath the folds (B 2, B 3, B 7, B 9, B 11, B 27, C 13). In the *Advent* tile (B 7) each Disciple is shown with a tongue of fire above his head. In the *Entry into Jerusalem* (B 1) they all carry palm branches.

In the Old Testament series, the prophet Isaiah wears a green robe with yellow cuffs and neckband, with a blue cloak, and a crown (A 1). In the *Garden of Eden*, Adam and Eve could be described as overdressed (A 3); Adam wears a long blue divided robe with a yellow girdle,

[1] Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, p. 151.

and a crown, and Eve is dressed in a similar robe and has a halo. In the tile depicting the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (A 4), Abraham wears a loose blue coat flaring out at the knees, over turquoise trousers, with yellow shoes and greaves; Isaac wears a turquoise robe fastened at the middle, with a girdle; God the Father emerges from a blue cloud dressed in a white robe with the lapels crossed over. Another tile (A 2), of which only part remains, shows the angel (? St. Matthew) also wearing greaves, with bare feet and sandals. Abraham appears in three other tiles (C 11, C 12, C 20) dressed in the same manner, except his coat has short sleeves, and in C 11, C 12, he wears a cloth over his right shoulder and arm under the folds of which he supports the sacrificial ram; Isaac appears a second time in C 20, wearing the same robe as in A 4. The prophet David playing his harp (A 8) is seated on a red and yellow spotted cushion, dressed in a blue robe with white sleeves, with a blue coat, wearing a crown; Saul stands before him in a trance, the Devil emerging from his mouth; he wears a long blue coat with wide sleeves, open to reveal a green divided robe with yellow borders and sash, with a turban on his head, elaborately wound and with a feathery cockade. On another tile (A 5), David kneels, his arms raised in supplication, in a yellow robe with a blue cloak draped over his shoulders and arms. Moses receives the *Tables of the Law* (? A 7) in a green robe with a blue cloak; he has a white beard and his white hair is parted at the centre with a curious knotted tuft; God is again shown reaching out of a blue cloud, in a white robe.

T'oros has painted various Saints on the tiles and other pieces of pottery associated with them. *St. John the Baptist* (B 23) is naked, except for a blue skin hanging over his right shoulder, and carries a forked standard with a white pennant; another tile, of his head alone (B 8) depicts him with straggly beard and dishevelled aspect, wearing a blue robe with a round collar. The *Beheading of St. John* on the tile (C 12) and on the San Lazzaro dish both show the Saint robed; on the dish, he also wears a cloak. *St. Catherine* sitting on the edge of her tomb (?) (C 3) holds a palm branch, symbol of martyrdom; she is dressed in a blue and yellow robe, with an open long green coat with wide sleeves, trimmed with ermine, and wears a crown and yellow slippers. *St. Theodore* on horseback (C 1) attacks a winged serpent with a long spear surmounted by a triple blue and yellow pennant; he wears a short blue robe with a yellow girdle, red trousers, and yellow greaves; on his head, a pointed helmet with a cockade is swathed with a mantle falling over his shoulders. Another fragment of a tile (C 4) of *St. Theodore*, shows him standing wearing a divided, belted turquoise tunic with short sleeves, over a slightly longer green robe with blue trousers and yellow greaves; he wears a circular shield on his back, strapped diagonally across his breast, and he carries a long spear. Another unidentified *Saint* on the same tile wears a green and blue cloak over a blue robe with turquoise trousers. *St. Eustace* (B 15) mounted on a white horse, carries a double-ended spear and wears a green belted robe with long sleeves, and a flowing yellow cloak fastened in front, with yellow knee-length boots; he has white hair and a divided beard. On the Brussels dish, two more equestrian saints, *St. Sargis and St. Martiros*, are shown riding side by side, embracing; both are beardless, and wear short belted robes with elbow-length sleeves, flowing cloaks fastened in front, and knee-length boots. *St. Sargis*, on the Cincinnati dish, rides on a white horse and carries a mace; he wears a short belted robe with a pleated skirt, and a cloak fastened in front, with high boots; behind him rides a child carrying a standard dressed in a long belted robe and wearing a round hat, or turban. *St. Stephen* is the subject of two tiles (B 18, B 25). On the first (B 18), showing his martyrdom, the tonsured saint kneels with arms raised above his head; he wears a *šapik* (alb)[1] with flowing sleeves trimmed in yellow, and a yellow humeral veil; over his left shoulder is a yellow *urar* (stole) with crosses and tasselled ends. On the second tile (B 25) *St. Stephen* stands similarly dressed and tonsured, with a *saghavart* (mitre) on his head; he also has a cloth over his left shoulder and arm, under which he supports the model of a church; with the other hand he swings a censer. Thus dressed, St. Stephen wears a typical deacon's costume, which has not changed

[1] Cf. Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 147 ff.

substantially, at least in Jerusalem, till this day (PLATES 21, 31 *b*). Another deacon, dressed in the same way, is on a tile at Sèvres (see B 22). Among other figures depicted on the tiles is King Trdat, on the Soustiel tile (B 26). The King kneels in prayer; he wears a robe, a cloak, and a crown.

The princess *Salome* appears twice, once on a tile (C 12) and on the San Lazzaro dish. On the tile she dances before the head of St. John, dressed as a courtesan; she wears a yellow belted coat decorated with red spots and a blue lining, half open at the bodice and flaring out below the knees; beneath are green trousers with yellow socks and high wooden pattens; in one hand she holds a flower and on her head she wears a crown with a cockade. On the Venice dish she is similarly, but simpler dressed, and under one arm she carries a tambourine. Two historical figures, the *Emperor Constantine and Helena*, are depicted by T'oros on another tile (B 14). Constantine wears a long flaring blue robe, decorated with a broad diagonally striped band, and blue boots; Helena is dressed in a blue mantle over a green robe; both wear crowns and the Queen has a halo.

Various dead persons are shown on the tiles. In the *Deposition from the Cross* (B 13), Joseph of Arimathea puts Christ into his shroud. Joseph is wearing a belted robe, with sleeves rolled up, a cloak fastened in front, and a turban. In the two versions of the *Raising of Lazarus*, Lazarus is shown once (B 2) completely wrapped in white bands, except for his face; in the second tile (C 13) he simply wears a robe. The tile of *Christ raising Jairus's daughter* (B 6) is explicit about the details of grave-wrappings; the body has been wound round with horizontal bands, leaving a V-shaped gap at the shoulders, showing the neck similarly wrapped; the head has been wound diagonally. On the dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the *Archangel Michael* stands on a corpse, grasping the dead man's soul by the hair; the corpse is dressed in a green loin-cloth, possibly with the feet tied together.

Angels occur in the designs through the series of tiles, and dishes. The most awesome is the *Archangel Michael*, on the dish referred to; he is dressed in a loose yellow blouse with short sleeves, with a green skirt caught between the legs in the manner of Turkish trousers; in the folds are revealed the shape of a face, with eyes, nose and mouth, and the sleeve ends are shaped like animal heads with tiny pointed ears; possibly this is an attempt to reproduce a Roman breastplate. The blouse has a wide blue hem at the neck and the angel wears yellow greaves, with sandals (?). He has varicoloured wings, and shoulder-length hair with a tuft at the centre parting. The three angels[1] (A 6), are seated at a semicircular table, wearing yellow robes with open blue cloaks, with long turquoise wings. The angel at the tomb in the *Raising of Lazarus* (B 2) is similarly dressed in green, with blue and black wings. The *Angel of the Resurrection* (B 20) dressed all in yellow, wears a robe, and is partially enveloped by a cloak fastened in front. The *Angel of the Annunciation* (B 5) stands dressed in a short green robe with long sleeves, with a yellow surplice, and turquoise wings. The three *Archangels Michael, Gabriel and Ariel* (C 6) wear short blue robes with short sleeves and yellow girdles; their lapels, as well as their trousers, are decorated with red spots on a white ground; over their left shoulders are draped short green cloaks; they wear high yellow boots. They have red spotted wings and each carries a sword and a scroll. The two *Angels holding the Veil* (B 24), stand wearing long blue or green robes, with contrasting coloured short-sleeved surplices; they have yellow wings and decorated halos. The angel in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (C 20) has a turquoise green robe, and green wings. There are two sorts of angel on the tile of the *Virgin Mary* (C 2); the two angels supporting the Virgin's crown wear long robes with girdles, fastened at the neck; the other nine angels around her are indicated simply by a pair of wings and a head with a halo. On the geometrically patterned tile (C 14) also intended for the Holy Sepulchre repairs, four angels of the same type have been added to the design, two with wings outstretched, two with wings together.

Amongst a variety of crowns, mitres, and hats, tall hats with long split brims are conspicuous. These are worn by figures at the *Raising of Jairus's daughter* (B 6), *Christ preaching*

[1] Cf. Genesis 18. 1.

in the Temple (B 10) and the *Flagellation* (B 12), where the context makes it clear that they must be Jews; they all wear robes with long-sleeved cloaks clasped in front. The hats have tall domed crowns, with the exception of one in (B 6), which is pointed; those in two tiles (B 10, B 12) have additional feathers stuck in the brim. Such hats, usually green in colour, are to be seen in Turkish miniatures, where they are usually worn by men in charge of guns and artillery. In a set of miniatures in the British Museum,[1] three men wear similar hats with split brims and feathers (PLATES 27, 28, 29); they are labelled:

[rūmelī spāhī]	'An Asian horseman'	(no. 69)
[rūmelī spāhī]	'A Spahis of Romanya'	(no. 70)
[tufekjī]	'A Gunnor'	(no. 58)

Here again the military context is evident. In an unlabelled manuscript on display in the Topkapu Sarayı museum, a man wearing a green doublet has a similar hat and carries a gun and a powder horn; another manuscript labelled 'XVII–XVIII century', shows two horsemen with green hats with similar split brims, and soft crowns. Why these hats should be used to depict Jews on the tiles is not clear. At the same time, Armenians in Persia were wearing hats with split brims, though the points were shorter, and rounded. Two engravings of Armenians in Persia, published the same year as the tiles were painted, show such hats;[2] so do paintings in the Bethlehem Church in New Julfa, Isfahan, which was built in 1628 and decorated later in the century; and a painting in a cell in the nunnery of St. Catherine, also in New Julfa (PLATE 30 *a*). A similar hat is worn by the attendant of an equestrian saint painted on the wall of an Athonite monastery (PLATE 30 *b*). Even today, the felt hats worn by the Bakhtiyari tribesmen in southern Persia have split brims, though of more abbreviated form; the writer bought one in the market in Shiraz as recently as 1964.

The donor who kneels before the Virgin (C 2), suggests the typical dress of Armenians in Turkey in the early eighteenth century. He is beardless, with a pointed moustache, and wears a long green robe with wide cuffs and lapels, fastened in front; he has a round hat, with what seems to be a wide fur border.

The soldiers depicted in the tiles, usually in the role of persecutors, may be presumed to represent contemporary Turkish soldiers (B 9, B 12, B 18, B 19, C 12, Venice dish). They generally wear short robes, fastened in front and sometimes belted, with either long or short sleeves; some have trousers, with knee-length boots or greaves. They wear a variety of helmets, some pointed and some draped with mantles falling over the shoulders (Venice dish, B 9, B 12). They are armed with a variety of weapons: halberds, spears, swords, scourges, whips, scimitars, and stones (Figure 6).

The Brussels bowl shows a procession of four soldiers and four men, emerging from the gates of a town. The four men wear short belted robes fastened in front, high boots, and round hats with shallow, domed crowns and inturned curly brims; the first two bear a model of a church, and the others a standard and a flag. Behind them are four soldiers carrying guns, standards, a pennant, and a flag. These soldiers wear similar short robes and high boots, with conical helmets with a tuft on top; they also carry circular shields. The enthroned figure to which they make their way must presumably be one of the three *vardapets* responsible for restoring the fortunes of the see in Jerusalem, perhaps Abraham Vardapet himself; he wears an alb with a chasuble, and an elaborate hat, or crown. On either side of the same bowl are two huntsmen; one, on foot, wears a short robe with a wide sash, trousers, and boots with greaves; on his head is an elaborately knotted turban with tasselled ends. Apart from his gun, which he appears to be loading, he has a powder horn slung over his shoulder. The other huntsman, mounted, is dressed like the four other soldiers on the bowl.

The tiles depict various orders of the clergy; the most striking are the three bishops on one tile (C 18) which symbolizes the joint activity of the three churches, Greek, Armenian, and Latin in the Holy Sepulchre repairs. They stand side by side, each wearing an alb with

[1] Sloane MS. no. 5258. [2] Ferriol, M. de, *Abbildung des Türchischen Hofes*, Nürnberg, 1719; plates 40, 41.

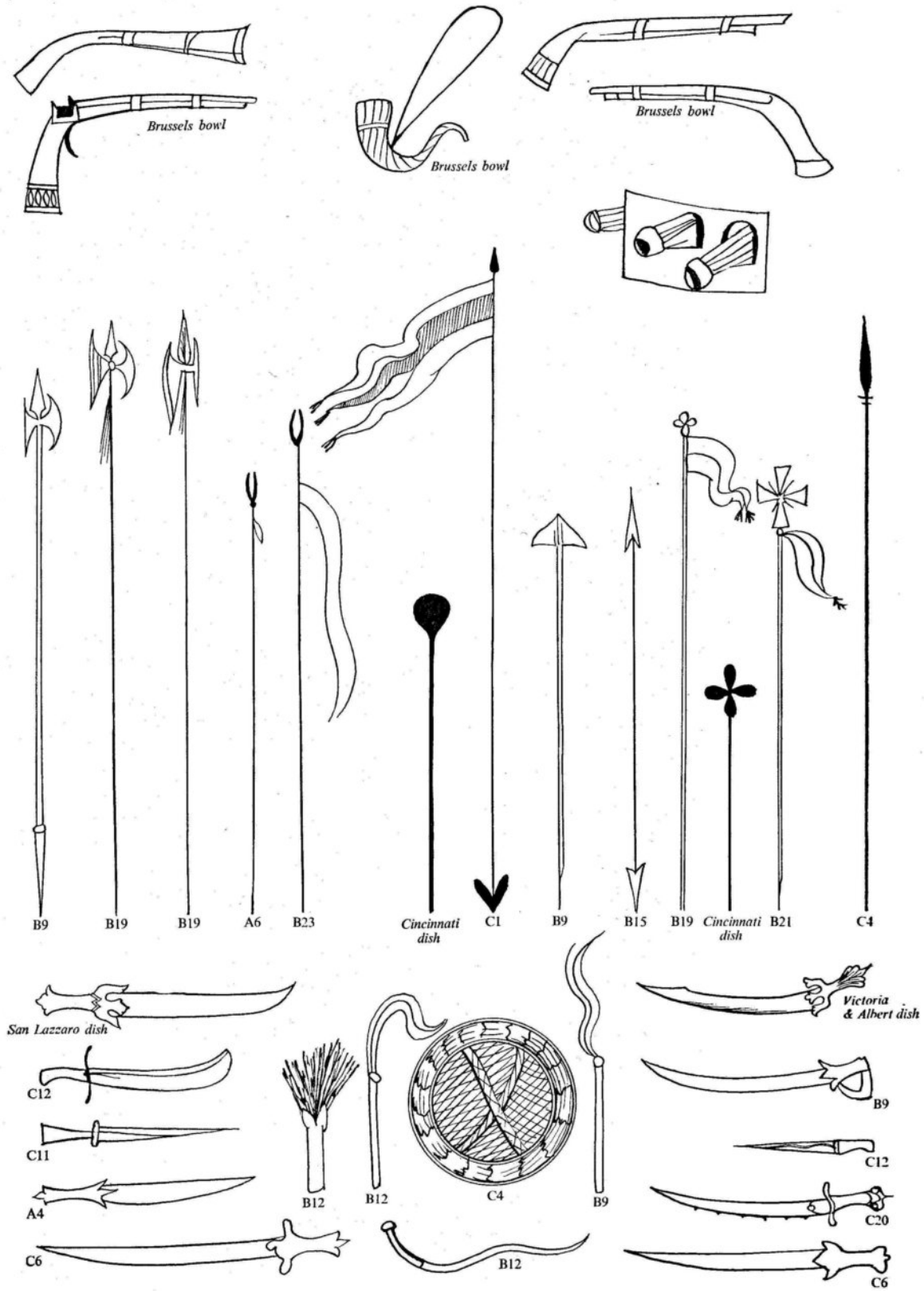


FIG. 6. Weapons, standards, and various other objects depicted on the pottery and tiles of A.D. 1718/19.

a pectoral stole decorated with crosses and a fringe. The two bishops on the left also wear a pastoral napkin, or *konkʿeṙ*.[1] Over the alb, they each wear a chasuble surmounted by a *vakas*, or upright stiff collar, with an *omophorion* fastened in front and lying over their left arm. Each wears a mitre and carries a book, and holds a crozier. Another tile (C 19) shows the same three bishops, but in a cruder manner, perhaps the work of some other artist than Tʿoros. On the Soustiel tile (B 26), St. Gregory the Illuminator, St. Basil of Caesaria, and St. John Chrysostom are similarly dressed, but without the *konkʿeṙs*. Besides King Trdat, St. Hṙipʿsimē kneels before them, dressed in a simple robe, with a crown. Another bishop on a tile which also depicts the prophet Abraham (C 11) might be intended for Abraham Vardapet. He is dressed like the other bishops. On the St. Stephen tile (B 25) are two deacons, Abisolom and Titos; they are dressed like the saint, and carry candles and swinging censers; like Stephen, they are tonsured, but they also have beards.

To summarize, it would seem that Tʿoros's conception of biblical costume was largely traditional, based on Armenian manuscript illuminations with which he was familiar. At the same time, contemporary notes are evident, such as the hats and costumes for Jews, and soldiers. Amongst the saints, Theodore both standing and mounted might well represent a soldier of the period, as opposed to St. Eustace who wears the more traditional dress of a mounted saint, deriving from Roman soldiers' uniform. The dress of the donor kneeling before the Virgin, St. Catherine's fur-lined robe, and Salome's Turkish courtesan's dress, all belong to the eighteenth century rather than to traditional Armenian iconography. So also does the short belted robe, with trousers and high boots, which appears in various contexts; as well as several of the archangels, Abraham wears this dress; and the equestrian St. Theodore, like some of the soldiers, wears it with a pointed helmet draped with a mantle falling over the shoulders. Adam and Eve are shown, surprisingly, fully clothed, though whether this was prudery on Tʿoros's part, or sensitivity to local feeling, either Armenian or Moslem, one does not know. The two blind men, with sticks and satchels, provide a vivid insight into the fate of such persons in the eighteenth century, as much as in biblical times. From the various clergy depicted in the tiles it is possible to reconstruct fairly accurately the dress of Armenian bishops, deacons, and choristers. Finally, the outer decoration of the two bowls suggests that Tʿoros was influenced by other than purely Armenian or Turkish taste. The shapes of the bowls, and their size, suggest that the potter was copying similar Chinese bowls, and the monochrome blue landscape on the outside of the Brussels bowl has some affinity with the mountain scenes painted on late Ming export porcelain, populated here by Tʿoros's huntsmen. As for the naked children and shaded leaves on the Benachi bowl, the influence is from the West. Alien to any oriental tradition, these infants belong to Europe, and must either have been inspired by an engraving, or by the painting on a piece of imported Italian or Dutch faience.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS

Amongst the various structures painted on the tiles and pottery is the Holy Sepulchre, depicted on a tile (B 19) and on the inside of the Benachi bowl. Although inaccurately drawn and out of perspective, the two representations are still detailed enough to suggest that Tʿoros drew on more than one source for his inspiration. On the bowl, the Edicule appears substantially as it was restored in A.D. 1555,[2] and was to remain until it was destroyed and rebuilt again in the nineteenth century. The entrance, with an arched doorway beneath a horizontal lintel, was preceded by two low walls projecting into the court; the walls of the Sepulchre were a blind arcade, with the dome above supported on twin columns: thus it appears in the illustrations of various travellers' accounts, such as Bernardino Amico at the end of the sixteenth century,[3] Fr. Zimmer in A.D. 1661, and De Bruin in A.D. 1681.[4] Tʿoros

[1] Ormanian, op. cit., p. 151.

[2] *Supra*, p. 10.

[3] Amico, Bernardino, *Trattato delle Piante e Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa* ..., Firenze, 1620, plates 31–33. There is also a plan and perspective of St. James, plate 37.

[4] De Bruin, Cornelis, *Voyage au Levant* ... 1725; ii, 243.

has added another row of columns, and made the dome shallower and onion-shaped. On the tile (B 19), however, T'oros's building is quite different and has assumed a slightly fantastic air; the artist's imagination appears to have taken control. The entrance has a pitched roof, with two windows in the walls, and the Sepulchre has a large square grill on one side, with a square tower with windows above supporting a pointed, tiled dome on four columns.

Another two-storied building with a tiled, onion-shaped dome appears on the tile of *David and Saul* (A 8) presumably representing the palace; behind the two figures, censers hang from an arcade. This type of arcade is used several times by T'oros as a compositional device (A 5, A 6, B 22, B 23, B 24, B 26), sometimes in more attenuated form with the columns reduced to vertical lines (B 25, Brussels and Benachi bowls). On two tiles a second arcade is indicated behind the first (A 5, B 22); in each case the column bases are curiously splayed and ugly. In one of the churches still standing in Kütahya, (now an annexe to the electricity station), the nave is divided from the aisles by two similar arcades, suggesting one possible source of architectural influence on T'oros.

On the Brussels bowl, a procession is shown emerging from the gate of a fortified town. The similarity of the pointed dome resting on four columns above a square tower to the top part of the Holy Sepulchre shown on the tile (B 19) suggests this is probably Jerusalem; other buildings showing above the walls are a tower, various houses, and a large structure with a pointed roof which may be intended to be the Dome of the Rock. T'oros may have based his concept of the Old City on one of the old engraved plans of the town, such as that by Christopher Harraut of A.D. 1678, which shows the more important buildings in highly stylized form.[1] The first two figures in the procession carry a model of a church, perhaps symbolizing the efforts made to restore the fortunes of the Armenian see in Jerusalem; the church has three pointed towers, three large windows, and steps leading up to it. One of the Sèvres tiles shows St. Stephen also carrying the model of a church, as he does on another tile (B 25). One of the Disciples on the Brussels bowl carries the model of a church, as do all the Disciples on the Benachi bowl.

On one tile, David kneels before a throne with a rounded front, with two steps leading up to it (A 5). A second throne (?) is shown in the tile of the *Washing of the Feet* (B 27), also rounded and with steps, with a pointed tiled dome above supported on four columns. This type of dome, already noted on the Brussels bowl and the tile of the Holy Sepulchre (B 19) is commonly found in Armenian and Byzantine manuscripts. On two more tiles, the figure stands in front of an arched structure, with a pointed roof supported on twin columns. On one (B 6), Christ stands before such a structure, which has a low latticed wall; it resembles a patriarchal throne with its canopy, such as the throne in the Cathedral of St. James (PLATE 25). On the other tile (B 5), the Virgin Mary is in front of a similar structure, or kiosk, with what appear to be two steps leading up to it.

Other minor architectural details are the Annointing Stone, shown on one tile (B 13) simply as a stone slab with a lamp hanging above it; the column of the Flagellation (B 12), a short column with a stumpy capital and base; and three rectangular sarcophagi (B 2, B 20, C 13). Carved sarcophagi of the Graeco-Roman period abound in the Kütahya area, and such an object may have been in T'oros's mind when he decorated the sarcophagus in B 20 with flowers.

FURNITURE

One of the most elaborate pieces of furniture is the rectangular box (? coffin), on the edge of which sits St. Catherine (C 3). This box is decorated with mitred panels and stands on four club-shaped feet. On another tile (B 23), Christ sits on a throne with similarly shaped feet; the back of the throne has two vertical posts carved with chevrons, with tulip-shaped terminals. On the Soustiel tile (B 26), similar uprights have been incorporated with the columns supporting the arcade behind St. Gregory the Illuminator. *Christ preaching in*

[1] Reproduced in Moore, Elinor, *The Ancient Churches of Old Jerusalem*, Beirut, 1961; plate 14.

the Temple (B 10) is seated on a simple throne with an arched front. Two of the angels, the guests of Abraham (A 6) sit on chairs with rounded backs, as does Simon Peter at the *Washing of the Feet* (B 27). David sits playing his harp on a low chair (?) with a rounded back (A 8).

The guests of Abraham (A 6) sit round a semicircular table; so do Christ and the Disciples at the *Last Supper* (B 11). Such shaped tables are a common convention in Armenian/Byzantine manuscripts, which would appear to be the source of the furniture illustrated in the tiles.

On the Benachi bowl, Christ sits on a throne with a high back, his feet on a cushion; on a tile (B 7), the Virgin Mary is also seated with her feet on a cushion.

GLASS, POTTERY, AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

The most interesting piece of glass shown on the tiles is a flask with a bulbous ribbed body, high splayed foot and long neck with an asymmetrical hooked top (B 10). This is undoubtedly a Shiraz flask of the seventeenth/eighteenth century, although usually such flasks have a curving neck. Other flasks and glasses are shown on two more tiles (A 6, B 11). The flasks have bulbous bodies and long necks, and are probably also Persian in origin. The glasses have prominent knobs and splayed feet, and are probably European imports, of a type common in the seventeenth century. Other long glasses with a knob on the bottom, used as lamps (B 24) are of a type known to have been ordered for the Turkish market from Venice in the sixteenth century.[1] Such lamps are also featured in a painted cotton from South India, and like those on the tile, in conjunction with hanging ornaments; this cotton was probably intended for an Armenian church.[2] On the same tile is a large lamp of earlier Mamlūk shape, later copied in pottery at Isnik in the sixteenth century, and also ordered in glass from Venice in the sixteenth century. A lamp hanging above the Annointing Stone (B 13) is of similar shape, without the neck.

The hanging ornaments, too small to reveal any decoration, have tassels attached below (B 24). The cups used by the two Marys to carry oil to the tomb (B 20) have fluted sides. On the Benachi bowl, a lamp hangs before the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre; it has fluted sides and a double tassel hanging from the base, and hangs on four chains. Above the door is a smaller lamp, and two more different lamps hang in the arches of the blind arcade. On the tile showing David exorcizing the Devil from Saul by playing his harp (A 8), two incense burners hang from the arches behind the figures; the same type of censer is still in use in the Armenian church today (PLATE 31 *a*, *b*). St. Stephen on the Sèvres tile (see B 22) and on the tile with two deacons (B 25) all carry such censers, complete with little spherical bells hanging from the chains.

On the tile showing the feast set before the guests of Abraham (A 6), the calf rests on a large, ugly stand; a more elegant support appears on the table for the Last Supper (B 11). In the latter scene, Christ holds a fluted chalice in his left hand.

Among various miscellaneous objects, candles are to be seen on one tile, held by two deacons (B 25). At the Washing of the Feet, three giant candles stand behind Christ (B 27). A decorative cross with a splayed foot is the subject of one tile (C 8); such crosses are common altar furniture in Armenian churches. On one tile, Christ holds a decorated orb (B 23).

Books, open to reveal a text, appear on two tiles (B 16, B 17); another book, unclasped, is seen on a tile fragment (A 2). The three Bishops, the subject of two tiles (C 18, C 19), all carry books, as do the four Evangelists on the Brussels bowl, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, St. Basil of Caesaria, and St. John Chrysostom on the Soustiel tile (B 26). Open scrolls are held by the three Archangels, (C 6), the prophet Isaiah (A 1), and the Archangel Michael on the dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The law received by Moses on Sinai (? A 7) takes the form of two stone tablets joined together, like an open book.

[1] Charleston, R. J., 'The Import of Western Glass into Turkey,' *The Coinnoisseur*, May 1966, pp. 19–26.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Textiles, no. Z/1541 (PLATE 33 *b*).

One interesting object is the sacrificial altar, on the tile showing the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham (A 4). This consists of a pot with a lid with a large knob, standing on a horseshoe-shaped hearth, with a fire below. This type of clay hearth is common in Anatolian villages, and has a tradition that dates back at least as far as the early Bronze Age.[1]

The harp played by David (A 8) is similar to a Turkish instrument called a *cheng*. Evliya Çelebi, describing the trades of Constantinople in the seventeenth century, says: 'the makers of the instrument Cheng (chengian) are ten men, with two shops. It was invented by Pythagoras to solace Solomon. It is a great instrument in the form of an elephant's proboscis, with forty cords, the sound of which is astonishing.'[2] T'oros's harp also has an animal head. Another harp, of seventeenth-century date, is shown on an Isnik painted plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[3] Salome's tambourine on the Venice dish is shown as a simple circular object, with a cross-hatched pattern.

On the tiles and pottery showing riders on horseback (B 1, B 15, C 1, Cincinnati and Brussels dishes) the stirrups are usually U-shaped, of a type made out of metal, examples of which still survive in the armoury museum at Topkapu Sarayı. On the Brussels dish, one figure has his feet in what appear to be simple leather stirrups.

[1] Lloyd, S., and Mellaart, J., *Beycesultan*, I, 1962, p. 61, figure 22.
[2] *Journals of Evliya Effendi* (Çelebi) 1611–79, trans. J. von Hammer, 1856, p. 227.
[3] Department of Ceramics, no. 34749.

III. THE INSCRIPTIONS

On the basis of the inscriptions they bear in the lower margin the Kütahya tiles here described fall into three main groups:

A. A series comprising tiles bearing representations of mainly Old Testament scenes, with lower inscriptions in *erkathagir* or uncials which when complete formed a continuous text.
B. A series comprising tiles bearing representations of New Testament and Early Church history scenes, with lower inscriptions in *bolorgir* when complete formed a continuous text.
C. A miscellaneous group of tiles bearing New Testament or Old Testament scenes with inscriptions in various scripts in the lower margins commemorating the respective donors and their families.

Any logical sequence of the inscriptions does not usually follow the scriptural order of the scenes depicted on the tiles. To take the obvious example, the three extant tiles bearing the evangelist symbols and the incipits of the gospels according to Matthew, Luke, and John (A 2, B 16, B 17 respectively; Mark is missing), which one might expect to be linked by their lower inscriptions in that order, cannot in fact be so arranged. That of Luke is followed by that of John in the *bolorgir* New Testament series B, but that of Matthew fits into the *erkathagir* Old Testament series A.

Five of the tiles bearing the name of a donor and his family in a continuous *bolorgir* text in the lower margins the separate one-line parts of which are intricately linked by both grammar and sense (tiles B 22, B 23, B 24, B 25, and B 26 respectively) do not appear to belong to the miscellaneous group C. The *bolorgir* single-line inscriptions in the lower margins, and the style of the New Testament and Early Church history scenes they bear, link them rather with Series B, and they are so included below. They are interesting in that the sequence of the inscriptions *does* coincide with a logical scriptural order of the scenes depicted, which progress from events immediately prior to Christ's ministry (the Visitation on B 22) to persons connected with the early days of his ministry (the Virgin and John the Baptist on B 23), to events connected with the Crucifixion (the *sudarium* on B 24), to the first martyr (on B 25), and the Greek and Armenian church fathers (on B 26). But, if one is right to include these tiles in Series B, it is the huge chronological leaps from one part of the Bible story to the other and their attendant gaps which corroborate the view that the tiles are not now in any strict scriptural order. The artist or artists must have had such an order in mind, as would any illuminator of Holy Writ; but if they were handed to the scribe in any such order, this order was confused before the inscriptions were added. Perhaps the scribe, in the case of these five tiles, made an attempt to place the names of the donor and his family as near as possible to similar names connected with the pictures (Yovhannēs, Mikʿayēl, Elisabed occur thus, and Martiros may be consciously linked with the protomartyr Stephen). The fact that the martyrdom scene on B 18 is accompanied by a lower inscription recording an execution may indicate that such manipulation on the part of the scribe(s) may be in part responsible for the non-scriptural order of the pictures on the tiles. The five-tile series B 22–6 with its one-line *bolorgir* dedication spread over all five tiles is quite distinct from the other donor tiles of group C, and fits so neatly iconographically, artistically and inscriptionally, at the end of Series B, that one is tempted to wonder whether Yovhannēs son of Mikʿayēl of Tokat and his family bore the expense of the whole of Series B.

The usual division of labour in the illumination and copying of the scriptures is for the pictures to be executed by one craftsman and the text by another, while some manuscripts have more than one artist and more than one scribe, and in others the scribe and artist are identical. In the execution of the pictures on the tiles, one might distinguish between the

draughtsman and the colorist (see p. 16). It is difficult to determine whether one or more scribes were responsible for the not very skilful inscriptions on the tiles in the series A and B. The *erkathagir* in the lower margin of the A series certainly appears to be by a different hand than that in the lower margin of B 5 in the B series (note the differences between the ի and ի), but it is possible that the same scribe may have made an attempt in the case of the long *erkathagir* inscription on the A series to sharpen the forms of the ի and ի, etc., for stylistic purposes. In the case of the upper inscriptions in *bolorgir* on both series, the occasional differences in style do not consistently divide A and B into two graphologically distinct series. One could have expected that the firm upper inscription on A 5 in which 'David' is written *dawit'* might be by a different hand from that responsible for the thinnish inscription on A 8 in which the same name is written *dawvit'*; the lower inscriptions on the two tiles are certainly by the same hand, however, and both belong without doubt to the same series A, and it seems most unlikely that the upper and lower inscriptions on the same tile were executed by different scribes.

With respect to the other Kütahya objects, it is unlikely that the scribe responsible for the rather clumsy *erkathagir* of the A series (and possibly occasionally on the B series) was responsible also for the careful and regular silhouette *erkathagir* on the Brussels bowl (p. 72). One orthographical and grammatical difference consists in that 'of T'ek'irdagh' is rendered as *T'ēk'irt(a)ghow* on A 4, and *T'ak'irt(a)ghoy* on the Brussels bowl. It is much more likely that the inscription on the sponsor tile C 14 is by the same hand; though there are slight differences between the respective ի's and ի's, the ր's are almost identical, and the letters which lend themselves to it are finished with the same elegant flourish.

The bowl in the Benachi Museum, Athens (p. 73), with its inscription referring to the 'pictorialist T'oros', is unlikely to have been inscribed by the same hand as the Brussels bowl (p. 72); they have very different forms of ր and ի.

The inscription on the Venice dish (p. 69) is by a different hand from the Brussels and Athens bowls; the ի, ի, ի and general style differ. The inscription on the Cincinnati dish is probably by the same hand as the Venice dish.

One would not expect a *vardapet* who commissions a dish or tile to inscribe his name or write his own inscription before glazing, even though he may be known, like Abraham Vardapet Kretac'i, to have copied manuscripts as a scribe. It is not therefore surprising to find that the *bolorgir* inscriptions on the Brussels dish (Figure 5)—*abraham vard(a)pet*—and that on sponsor tile C 1, . . . *abraham vardapet* . . . are not by the same hand, the ա, դ, ե, etc., being quite distinct in style (the *Abraham v(a)rd(a)pet* on the dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum is of an idiosyncratic fantasy). The sponsor tile C 1, however, was almost certainly inscribed by the hand responsible for the inscriptions on series B, and the style of *vardapet* on C 1 and the v(a)rd(a)p(et)i on B 4 is the same. This is important in linking the Abraham Vardapet on C 1, where he is said to give 47 tiles, with the series B which comprised some of these 47 tiles (see also note on C series, C 1).

Series A and B each comprised a short chronicle. In any attempt to reconstruct the text of these chronicles, it becomes evident that some parts of the inscription are missing. The lacunae have been explained below as 'tile missing', although, of course, it is possible that such tiles as A 7, B 27 now bereft of their lower inscriptions, actually belong there.

In the transcriptions from the Armenian ու is rendered normally as *u*, but also as *ow* when the two elements need to be distinguished, as in ligatures, etc.; ղ, normally *ł*, is rendered as *gh* in words borrowed from Turkish.

( ) Enclose letters supplied to reconstruct the full form of an abbreviation in the case of transcriptions, and interpretive and stylistic additions in the case of the English translations.

⟨ ⟩ Enclose letters thought to have been in the original inscription but now missing.

[ ] Enclose letters and phrases thought necessary for the understanding of the text and which may have been present on another tile or other tiles now missing.

{ } Enclose letters in the inscription which are otiose.
¬ Above a group of letters denotes a ligature in the original.
¯ Above a letter or group of letters reproduces an abbreviation sign present in the original.
. Under a letter denotes that it is incomplete.

The two continuous texts A and B, which form two minor chronicles concerning events in Jerusalem and Constantinople at the beginning of the eighteenth century, probably, on the basis of the reconstruction of the original order of the inscriptions attempted below, read as follows:

A. On this dome of the (church of the) Holy Resurrection in the year 1168 (inc. 23rd September 1718) at the time of the (. . . renov)ation of this holy city of Jeru(sale)m, on this ceramic (I) Abraham vardapet from C[rete], during my office-of-[*aṙaǰnord*] of T'ēk'ir-dagh, caused to be painted various pictures on ceramic by (or through) the chorister Paul who with the as(sistance) of the Holy Trinity [commissioned them from T'oros]. They were made in K'ōt'uhia Rūmiyeh (of Rūm).

B. [Grigor vardapet of Shirvan at one time]—and still previous to his patriarchate of this holy city—was abbot of the monastery of Surb Karapet (St. John the Baptist) which (is) in Ta[rōn] in the plain of Muš, at which time the election [took place, as patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem respectively, of Yovhannēs of Bitlis called Kolot and of Grigor], theologian and *vardapet*, who had been pupils of Sir Va[rdan of Bitlis of Amrdolu Vank' and] of the Reverend Sir Grigoris, mild-[mannered?] theologian. With the [agreement?] of all they brought to the city of Istanbul, to Pera, [this Grigor of Shirvan and elected him in that] year (A.D. 1717) patriarch of Jerusalem. Grigor vardapet went to Holy Jerusalem and on account of such bitter trouble and insufferable m⟨ischiefs?⟩ [which then obtained in the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem] he looks after (it) in a bitter and troubled time when the monastery of St. James was 400 purses (of gold) in debt. This dome of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) was built for the three nations, [the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Jerusalem-]ites, who also on account of our multitudinous sins [gave money for] the (re)building of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection which they said [was in sore need of repair, for which they made arrangements], and then they gave permission to build. Now there occurred the disturbance among them (in) which also the governor (*baron*) of the town, whom they also called the *pasha*, [captured] up to 50 or [60 Armenians whom] (the) sheikh (? al-shurṭah 'chief of police') killed and c(ut) off their heads. In this year (1719) there occurred in the city of Istanbul an earthquake and fire (in) which was burned also the church of the Holy Mother of God which is in Kum Kapı.

[These tiles are for the commemoration] of the chorister Yovhanēs son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat, his brother(s) Łazar and Martiros and his sisters Yaghut' ('Ruby') and Mariam, his mother Elisabed, who gave (them) to the (church of the) Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre). May the deceased remember (us) with a 'Father, I have sinned'. In the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. 1718).

This reconstruction on the basis of the lower inscriptions of 26 tiles assumes that about 10 are now missing, including that once on tile B 27; therefore about nine tiles bearing pictures of New Testament and Early Church scenes are missing from Series B.

A 1

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

18 cm. wide, 17·5 cm. high.

The tile is broken in four; the surface is badly damaged, and the glaze pitted. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and red, with grey-black outlines.

The prophet Isaiah is depicted half-length, wearing a loose blue cloak, over a yellow and green robe, and a pointed crown. His right arm is raised, and from it spring tongues of fire. In the crook of his cloaked left arm he supports an inscribed scroll. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top (in *bolorgir*):

Մարգարէն եսայի վկաե

Margarēn esayi vka(y)ē

'The prophet Isaiah testifies'

On the scroll (in *erkathagir*):

ԱՀԱ ԿՈՅՍ | ՑԱԼՈՒՑԻ Ե | (Ե) ՆՈՒՑԻ ԵՒ | ԿՈՉԵՍՑԻՑ | ԵՒ ԶԱՆՆ | ՈՒՆ ՆԱ | ԼՄՄԱՆ | ՈՒԷԼՈՍ

Aha koys yłasc'i e(w) cnc'i ew koč'esc'es zanun n(o)r(a) em(m)anuēlos

'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and give birth, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel' (Isaiah 7: 14).

The Armenian Vulgate adds *ordi* 'a son'.

Bottom (in *erkathagir*):

ՍՐ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԵ(Ա)Ն ԳՈՒՊԵՑ Ի ՌՉԿԱ Թ՚ՎԻ Ի ԺԱՄ

s(ur)b yarowt'e(a)n ghowpēs i řčkə t'vis i žam

'On this dome of the (church of the) Holy Resurrection in the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. 1718) at the time'

ghowpēs has been taken to be in the demonstrative accusative/locative; it could also simply mean 'this dome' (Tk. qubbeh/kubbe). Like English *dome*, NHG *Dom*, the word could signify the whole of a domed building.

A 2

PATRIARCHAL COLLECTION

(Fragment) 17·2 cm. wide, by 10 cm.

The tile is made of powdery, pinkish-white ware; the back of the tile is pitted, as if the wet clay had been pressed on an irregular surface. The edges of the tile are bevelled sharply back, and glazed over. Painted in yellow and red, with touches of cobalt blue and turquoise, and grey-black outlines.

The fragment shows the lower half of an open, unclasped book, with the legs of an angel, symbol of St. Matthew, to the left; they are clad in greaves. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

(Missing) (it probably read 'the evangelist Matthew', cf. tiles B 16, B 17)

On the book (in *erkathagir*, and some *bolorgir*)

ԳԻՐՔ ՆՈ〈ՆԱՆ〉 | ԴԵԱՆ | ՏԻՐՈՋ Ս՚ԵՐ | Ո ‖ 〈ՅԻ ՐՒՒ ՆՈ〈Ն〉 | ՈՒՆԱԳՈՒ | ԼՔ ԱյՍ / ՊԵՏ

〈Girk' c〉nən/dean / t(ea)řn mer/o(y) // 〈Y(isus)i K'(ristos)i /cn〉/undn / ēr ays/pēs

'〈The book of the g〉eneration of Our Lord. The 〈b〉irth 〈of Jesus Christ〉 was on this wise' (Matthew 1: 18).

Bottom (in *erkathagir*):

〈ՆՈՐՈ〉ԳՈՒԹԵ(Ա)Ն ՍՐԿՈՅԻ ՔՐՄՊԱՆԻՍ ԵՐ〈ՈՒՍ〉Ի

〈noro〉gowt'e(an) srb(o)y k'ałak'is ero〈w(sałe)mi〉

'of the 〈renov〉ation of this holy city of Jer〈usalem〉'

A 3

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, yellowish green, cobalt blue and turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts Adam, and the temptation of Eve. In the centre is a tree, with flowers on either side. The serpent is coiled round the trunk, and offers the forbidden fruit to Eve with its left paw. It has two small arms, breasts, tiny horns and a pointed tongue, and its body is partly scaled. Eve reaches for the fruit with her right hand; she is shown with long hair, with a halo, and wearing a blue robe. On the left of the tree, Adam gesticulates apprehensively. He has a short beard and moustache, and is shown without a halo. He wears a long belted robe, and a tapering hat. Above the figures are two clouds, from which rays ascend.

The palm-like tree is of a type common on the Levant coast and in the Jordan valley, but unlikely to grow in the more rigorous climate of the Anatolian plateau. The artist painted a similar tree on the outside of the Brussels bowl. Although according to the biblical account (Genesis 2: 25) Adam and Eve were naked, they are shown here fully clothed.

Inscriptions

Top:

ադամ	ծառոյն խափե(ա)լ	եւայ
adam	caṙoyn xapʿe(a)l	eway

'Adam / of the forbidden tree / Eve'

Bottom:

Ի Վ(Ե)Ր(Ա)Յ ՉԻՆԻԻՍ ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏ Ի Կ[ՐԵՏԱՑՈՑ]

i v(e)r(a)y čʿiniis abraham vardapet i[1] K[retacʿwocʿ]

'on this ceramic (I) Abraham vardapet from C[rete]'

A 4

TREASURY ANNEXE, ALTAR OF ST. MINAS (behind frontal)

15 cm. wide, 17·7 cm. high.

The left side of the tile is damaged, and some letters of the lower inscription are missing. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots and black outlines.

The tile depicts the sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham stands before Isaac, with a raised knife, making the sign of a blessing with his left hand. He looks up to God the father, who motions to him from a cloud. Isaac kneels before him, with his hands clasped behind his back, in front of a small altar, with a fire beneath. On the left is a palm tree, from which hangs a ram. Abraham has a halo and a forked beard, and wears a short robe over trousers, and greaves. Isaac wears a long belted robe, and also has a halo. The altar appears to consist of a U-shaped mud-brick hearth, with a pot resting on it.

[1] *Vardapeti* (genitive) is, of course, a possible reading; but if these present tiles form a sequence a nominative is required. The i is therefore taken to be a proposition.

Inscriptions

Top:

Հայր աբրահամ զԸնէ որդին
իւր սահ(ա)կ

hayr abraham zenē ordin
iwr sah(a)k

'Father Abraham sacrifices his son Isaac'

Bottom:

⟨ցարդուԸյ ՀանՈՒԹիւն⟩ Ի՛ՈՒՈՒ ԹէՔԵՔԻՐ(Ը)ՂԱՒ ԵՏՈՒ

⟨yaraǰnordo⟩wt‘eans imum t‘ēk‘ir(a)ghow etu

'during my office-of-⟨aṙaǰnord⟩ of T‘ēk‘ir-dagh (Tekirdağ, Rodosto, E. Thrace) caused to'

A 5

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

16 cm. wide, 17 cm. high.

The tile has been cut at the right, and the top. Painted in yellow, yellowish-green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the prophet David at prayer; he kneels before a throne, both hands raised and looking upwards towards a cloud behind a double arcade, from which descends the Holy Spirit. David wears a loose cloak over a long robe. The columns of the arcade swell out at the base, and the simple mouldings at the top are decorated with red dots. The throne-like structure has steps leading up to it, and a semicircular back.

David's gesture, to invoke the Holy Spirit, is familiar to anyone who has observed the congregation at an orthodox service, such as the Holy Fire ceremony in Jerusalem.

Inscriptions

Top:

Մ՛արգարէն դաւիթ աղօ⟨թ⟩

Margarēn dawit‘ ałōt‘⟨ē⟩

'The prophet David prays'

Bottom:

ՆԿԱՐԵԼ ԶՊԱՏԿԵՐՍ ԶԱՆԱԶԱՆՍ Ի Վ⟨Ե⟩Ր⟨Ա՛Յ⟩ ՀԻՆԻ

nkarel zpatkers zanazans i v(e)r(ay) č‘ini

'be painted various pictures on ceramic'

A 6

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·6 cm. square.

The tile is damaged at the bottom, and on the right, where a large flake missing from the surface shows that it is made of pinkish ware; the tile can also be seen to be bevelled back at the sides. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, and turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.



A 1



A 2



A 3



A 4

PICTORIAL TILES



A 5



A 6



(? A 7)



A 8

PICTORIAL TILES



B 1



B 2



B 3



B 4

PICTORIAL TILES



B 5



B 6



B 7



B 8

The tile depicts three angels seated at a semicircular table, with an arcade behind. They all make the sign of blessing with their right hands, and two carry forked spears. On the table is a calf on a platter, a flask, a glass, and loaves of bread. The table is decorated with a border of red dots. The angels in front are seated on chairs with semicircular backs.

Inscriptions

Top:

Հուրքն աբրահ{հ}ամայ

hurk'n abrah{h}amay

'The guests of Abraham' (cf. Genesis 18: 1)

Bottom:

ՏԻՐԱՑՈՒ ՊՈՂՈՍԻՆ ՈՐ Ը(ՆԴ) ԵՐՈՐԴ Ս̲Ը̲ ⟨Ա(ՏՈՒՑՈ)Յ⟩[1] Ա̲Յ̲[ԱԿՑ'ՈՒԹԵԱՆ]

tirac'u połosin or ə(nd) erord s̲(ur)b̲ ⟨a(stuco)y⟩[1] a̲j̲[akc'ut'ean?]

'by (or through)[2] the chorister Paul who with the as(sistance?) of the Holy Trinity . . .'

(? A 7)

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, SOUTH WALL (in r. cupboard)

(Fragment) 17·5 cm. wide, 14·5 cm. high.

The tile has been cut at the top and bottom. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the prophet Moses receiving the law (Exodus 31: 18); God the Father, in a cloud at the top right, hands it to him, in the form of an open book. At the bottom right is a rocky landscape, Mount Sinai. On the left is a palm tree. Moses has a long white beard, and a tuft of hair at the middle of his forehead. He wears a loose cloak over a long robe.

Inscriptions

(Missing. This tile would logically fit into the Old Testament series, 'A', and may be no 7.)

A 8

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The bottom left corner of the tile is broken, the bottom right damaged. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts David playing his harp to Saul. The prophet is seated on the left, with his instrument. Saul stands inert on the right, with closed eyes; from his mouth emerges a black devil holding an arrow. On the right is a two-storeyed building (? the palace) and behind, a wall, with an arcade from which hang two censers. David wears a simple robe and a pointed crown. Saul wears a long coat over a belted robe, and a turban with a cockade.

The harp was an instrument in use in Ottoman Turkey, and a description of one was given by the seventeenth-century writer, Evliya Çelebi (see above, p. 26). Censers like those depicted are still used in Armenian ritual (see PLATE 31 *a*, *b*).

[1] errordn astuac = errordut'iwn 'Trinity'; see *Nor baṙgirk' haykazean lezui*, i, p. 704a.

[2] Since we know from the Brussels and Benachi bowls (see p. 68) that T'oros was the artist, one must interpret this as meaning that Polos/Paul was the agent commissioned by Abraham to have the tiles made.

Inscriptions

Top:

Դաւվիթ երգէ սաղմոս քնարիւ. ելիք դեւն ալլազգի

Dawvit' ergē sałmos k'nariw elik' dewn aylazgi

'David sings a psalm to the harp. The devil left the allophyle (Saul)'

Cf. 1 Samuel 16: 23. 'Allophyle' is perhaps due to an interpretation of Saul's Benjamite origin, Benjamin being descended from Laban the Syrian idolater through Rachel.

Bottom:

Ի ԿՕթՈՒՀԻԱ ՌՈՒ{Մ}ԻԵ ՇԻՆԵՑԱ⟨Ն⟩

i K'ōt'uhia ṙum{m}iē šinec'a⟨n⟩

'they were made in K'ōt'uhia Rūmiyeh (of Rūm, Asiatic Turkey)'

B 1

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The tile is broken; the top right corner and part of the right side are missing. Painted in yellow, yellowish-green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Entry into Jerusalem. Christ is seated on a colt, giving a blessing with his right hand. A kneeling boy holds a robe for the colt to step on. Christ is followed by the Disciples, carrying palm branches. On the right is a palm tree, with a bearded figure sitting in it. Further to the right is a building with a pitched roof, in front of which stands a bearded figure, wearing a pot-shaped hat and carrying a palm branch. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

գալուստն քի ի բեթանիա

galustn k'(ristos)i i bet'ania

'The coming of Christ to Bethany'

Three of the Gospel accounts state that Christ rode from Bethany to Jerusalem; St. Matthew says that after entering the city and visiting the Temple, he went to Bethany for the night, returning to Jerusalem the next day (Matthew 21: 17); the scribe may have been confused by this account.

Bottom:

եւ եւս յառաջ քան զպ(ա)տր(իար)գուԹե(ան) սրբ քա(ղ)(ա)քիս

ew ews yaraǰ k'an zp(a)tr(iar)gut'e(an) (for -t'i(wn)) s(r)b(o)y k'(a)ł(a)k'is

'and still previous to his patriarchate of this holy city . . .'

This inscription must have been preceded by one now lost—possibly from some such tile as the present B 27—which read something like *Grigor vardapet Širwanc'i ǰamanakaw* 'Grigor vardapet of Shirvan at one time'.

B 2

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·2 cm. wide, 17·5 cm. high.

The tile is chipped at the edges, and the bottom right corner is missing. It is of pinkish ware. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the raising of Lazarus. Christ stands with his right hand raised to bless Lazarus, who rises from the open tomb, a bearded figure swathed in white bands. Behind him is an angel. Martha and Mary are on either side of the tomb, and one of the sisters kneels at Christ's feet. Behind Jesus are the Twelve Disciples. On the right is a rock, and above it a cloud, from which descend the rays of the Holy Spirit. The background is carelessly decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

ղազարոսու յար(ու)թի(ւն)

łazarosu yar(u)t'i(wn)

'The resurrection of Lazarus'

Bottom:

էր առաջնորդ սբ կ(ա)ր(ա)պետու վ(ա)նից որ ի տա[րօն]

ēr araǰnord s(ur)b k(a)r(a)petu v(a)nic' or i ta[rōn]

'was abbot of the monastery of Surb Karapet (St. John the Baptist) which (is) in Ta[rōn]'

B 3

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The tile is chipped at the bottom and the sides. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, and turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts Christ healing two blind men, who kneel before him. He blesses them with his right hand, and touches the eyes of the nearest man with his left forefinger. The blind men have their arms crossed; they carry wooden crooks, and have satchels slung diagonally from their shoulders. One man wears a loosely wound turban. Behind Christ stand two Disciples, looking at each other. To the right is a palm tree. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

բանա(յ) զաչս կուրաց

bana(y) zaǰs kurac'

'(Jesus) opens the eyes of the blind'

Bottom:

ի մշու տաշտն յորում ժամանակի ընտրութի(ւն)

i mšu taštn yorum žamanaki ǝntrut'i(wn)

'in the plain of Muš at which time the election'

This inscription must have been followed by one which read something like 'took place, as patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem respectively, of Yovhannēs Bałišeči called Kolot and of Grigor . . .'

B 4

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 18 cm. high.

The tile is chipped at the bottom. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red in slight relief, and black outlines.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child, surrounded by flowers and groups of red dots, beneath a decorative arch. Christ makes the sign of a blessing, and holds a scroll in his left hand. The Virgin, looking down, gestures towards Christ with her right hand. Their haloes are outlined in red.

Inscriptions

Top:

Տիրամայր կոյս

Tiramayr koys

'The Virgin, mother of Our Lord'

Bottom:

Ա(ստուա) ծաբան վ(ա)րդ(ա)պ(ետ)ի որք յէին աշակերտք տ(եառ)ն վա-

A(stua)caban v(a)rd(a)p(et)i ork' {y}ēin ašakertk' t(eaṙ)n va-

'theologian and vardapet, who (pl.) had been pupils of Sir Va-'

This inscription must have been followed by another which contained something like '-rdan Bałišec'i of Amrdolu Vank' and . . .'

B 5

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·3 cm. wide, 17·8 cm. high.

The tile is chipped on the left side. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, diffused turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Annunciation. The Virgin Mary stands with hands apart, before a kiosk. The Angel of the Annunciation stands on a cloud to the left, one hand raised in blessing and the other holding a lily. Above, the Holy Spirit, symbolized by a white dove, flashes from a second cloud. The Virgin wears a mantle and cloak over a long robe. The kiosk has two steps leading up to it. The background is decorated with groups of red dots. The artist apparently forgot to leave space for the inscriptions, which are painted over the composition at the top and bottom of the tile.

Inscriptions

Top:

առաջաբանութ(իւն)
նորն ադամա

ařaǰabanut'(iwn)
norn adama

'The foretelling of the new Adam' (cf. 1 Corinthians 15: 45)

Bottom:

Տ'ն Գ(ր)իգորիսի սրբազան ա(ստուա)ծաբան հեզա[բարոյ?]

t(eař)n Grigorisi srbazan a(stua)caban heza[baroy?]

'of the Reverend Sir Grigoris, mild-[mannered?] theologian'

This inscription begins in *erkathagir*, but the style of the *bolorgir* does not differ from that of the other tiles in this series.

B 6

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 17 cm. high.

The tile is chipped on the left side. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the raising of Jairus's daughter. Jesus stands beneath a kiosk with a pointed roof supported by columns, gesturing to three men who stand behind the dead girl. The body is entirely swathed, and bound to a stretcher, and Jesus blesses it with his right hand. Two of the three men are shown in profile, with sharply pointed beards. The figure on the right has his arms clasped beneath his cloak, and the other two have their left hands raised. They all wear hats with high crowns and split brims. The Holy Spirit descends from a cloud above. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

The hats appear to be meant to show that the figures are Jews, as on two other tiles where they occur (B 10, B 12). One of the men must be Jairus himself, who was the leader of the Synagogue. It is not clear who the other two are, as St. Luke says that when Christ came into the house, 'he suffered no man to go in, save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden' (Luke 9: 51).

Inscriptions

Top:

Յս յարուցանէ զմեռե(ա)լ

y(isu)s yaruc'anē zmeře(a)l

'(Jesus) raises the dead (maiden)'

Bottom:

[? համաձայնութեամ']բն ամենեցուն բերին ի քաղ(աք)ն ըստնպօլ բեռէն

[? hamajaynut'eam]bn amenec'un berin i k'ał(ak')n əstnpōl beřēn

'with the [agreement?] of all they brought to the city of Istanbul, to Pera'

A possible continuation is 'this Grigor Širwanc'i and elected him in that'

B 7

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The tile is broken in two, and the bottom left corner damaged. Painted in yellow and cobalt blue, with grey-black outlines. The bottom left is tinged with turquoise.

The tile depicts the Virgin and eleven Apostles. The seated Virgin has her hands together, in prayer; her feet rest upon a cushion. Above, the Holy Spirit is symbolized by a dove in a half circle of rays. Each of the Apostles has a tongue of fire above his head—'and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them' (Acts 2: 3). Three Apostles have white divided beards, one is beardless, and the rest have short dark beards.

Inscriptions

Top:

Հոգու գալուստ

hogu galust

'Advent of the Holy Spirit'

Bottom:

ամի պատրիարքն երուսաղեմա

ami patriark'n erusałema(y)

'year patriarch of Jerusalem'

(In A.D. 1717; see p. 8)

B 8

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·7 cm. wide, 18 cm. high.

Painted in yellow, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile is painted with the head of St. John the Baptist. The Baptist has a bedraggled appearance, with straggly hair and beard; he wears a simple garment. The top corners of the picture are rounded, to form an arch. The background is decorated with carelessly applied groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

ՍՐ ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏՈՒ գլուխն

s(ur)b karapētu gluxn

'The head of St. John the Baptist' (see remark on B 5)

Bottom:

գրիգոր վ(ա)րդ(ա)պ(ետ)ն գնաց սր երր(ուսաղ)էմ եւ վ(ա)ս(ն)

Grigor v(a)rd(a)p(et)n gnac' s(ur)b er(usał)ēm ew v(a)s(n)

'Grigor vardapet went to Holy Jerusalem and on account'

B 9

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·7 cm. square.

The tile is damaged at the bottom left, top and bottom right. It is of pinkish ware. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, red in slight relief, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Betrayal. Judas crouches to kiss the right hand of Christ; behind are the rest of the Disciples. All wear long belted robes, with cloaks over the shoulders fastened in front. Behind Judas is a bearded figure with an uplifted sword. According to three of the Gospels, the man with the sword was simply 'one of them that stood by'; St. John is more specific, stating it was Simon Peter (John 18: 10). He is shown without a halo, which might suggest the artist followed one of the first three accounts. To the left are three servants of the High Priest, one of whom has just had an ear cut off, which lies bleeding on the ground. The other servants are armed with a spear, and a halberd, and one carries a scourge. They are dressed in short belted tunics, with high boots. One wears an elaborately wound turban, and the second a pointed helmet with a mantle falling over his shoulders. At the bottom are rocks. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

Համբուրելով մ⟨ա⟩նեմ յուդայ

hamburelov m(a)tnē yuday

'Judas betrays with a kiss'

Bottom:

[այս]պիսի դառն {եւ} նեղո(ւ)թե⟨ան⟩ եւ անտանելի ժ⟨անտից⟩

[ays]pisi daṙn {ew} nełow(w)t'e(an) ew antaneli ž⟨antic'?⟩

'of such bitter trouble and insufferable m⟨ischiefs?⟩'

A possible continuation is 'which then obtained in the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem'

B 10

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 17 cm. high.

The tile is chipped on the left side. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts Jesus preaching to the Jews. He is seated on a throne, with the Virgin and Joseph kneeling before him, and two Jews standing behind. In his left hand he holds a shepherd's crook, and the third finger and thumb of his raised right hand are joined, as if to define a point of doctrine. He is dressed in a long robe, with an *omophorion*, and a pointed crown. The Jews have receding chins and pronounced noses, and wear hats with tall crowns, cockades, and split brims; one is bearded. On the left is a flask, similar to Shiraz glass of the seventeenth/eighteenth century. The upper corners are filled with spandrels with scalloped borders. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

յս վ(ա)րդ(ա)պ(ե)տ քարոզէ առ Հրէա(յ)ս

y(isu)s v(a)rd(a)p(e)t k'arozē aṙ hrea(y)s

'Jesus as teacher preaches to the Jews'

Bottom:

[յանձ]անձնէ ի դառն եւ նեղ ժ(ա)մ(ա)ն(ակ)ի որ ՟ձ

[yanj]anjnē i daṙn ew neł ž(a)m(a)n(ak)i or ՟dč

'he looks after (it) in a bitter and troubled time when 400'

B 11

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·3 cm. square.

The top left corner of the tile is missing, and a crescent-shaped groove disfigures the upper half. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Last Supper. Christ and the disciples are gathered round a semicircular table, on which stand a flask of wine, a raised paten of bread, and a half-filled glass. Christ holds a chalice in his left hand, and administers the sacrament to the disciple on his right, who has his arms reverently crossed. The other disciples look towards the table. As on the Advent tile (B 7) each of the disciples has a definite character; one is clean shaven, four have fair hair and divided beards, and the rest are dark, with short beards. The background is decorated with red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

յս վերնատուն բա(զ)մե(ա)լ

y(isu)s vernatun ba(z)me(a)l

'Jesus seated in the upper chamber'

Bottom:

քէսա պարտաք էր սր յակոբա(յ) վանքն

k'ēsa partok' (*for* -ōk') ēr s(ur)b yakoba(y) vank'n

'purses (of gold) in debt was the monastery of St. James'

B 12

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·8 cm. wide, 16·8 cm. high.

The tile is damaged at the top, and bottom right. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and red, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Flagellation. Christ is tied to a column by a rope round his wrists linked to a short chain. He wears a crown of thorns, and his half-naked body is covered with wounds. Two soldiers scourge him with whips and a bundle of thorns. A third soldier stands on the



B 9



B 10



B 11



B 12



B 13



B 14



B 15



B 16



B 17



B 18



B 19



B 20



B 21



B 22



B 23



B 24

left, pointing at Christ. On the right is a Jew, in the act of picking up stones to throw. All four men are dressed differently. The three soldiers wear short tunics, one belted; two wear turbans, and one a pointed helmet with a mantle; one is bare-legged. The Jew wears a long coat over a robe, and a hat with a tall peaked crown, a cockade, and a split brim. All four are beardless, with pointed moustaches.

Inscriptions

Top:

չարչարանք քի

č'arč'arank' k'(ristos)i

'The torments of Christ'

Bottom:

Շ հիւեցաւ սբ յարւթե(ան) ղուպէս ի̃ ազգաց

Šinec'aw s(ur)b yarswt'ean (*for* yarowt'ean) ghupēs g̃ azgac'

'This dome of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) was built for the three nations'

Possible continuation: 'the Greek, Latin and Armenian Jerusalem–'

B 13

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·4 cm. wide, 17 cm. high.

The tile is damaged at the top and bottom, and a piece is missing from the bottom. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Deposition. Christ's body lies on a slab beneath the cross. The Virgin Mary holds his head, whilst Joseph of Arimathea enshrouds him. Joseph wears a turban, and a belted robe with a cloak fastened in front. Behind, stand three women. St. Matthew (27:56) mentions the three women who witnessed the Crucifixion, in the verse immediately preceding his reference to Joseph, 'Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee'. St. Mark (15: 47) mentions Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses 'beheld where he was laid'. St. Luke (24: 55) refers to 'the women . . . which came with him from Galilee . . . beheld the sepulchre'.

Above, hangs a lamp. Against the cross stands a ladder, and hanging from the cross are the loosened bands. The scene is framed with an arch, and the background decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

պատանիա տեղ

pattna (*for* patman?) teł

'The place of the bandaging (of Christ)'

Bottom:

_ աց[ո]ց որ եւ վ(ա)ն ծովացե(ա)լ մեղ(աց) մերոց

[? erusałem-]ac'oc' or ew v(a)sn covac'e(a)l meł(ac') meroc'

'[? Jerusalem-]ites who also on account of our multitudinous sins'

Possible continuation: 'gave money for'

B 14

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 16·5 cm. high.

The tile is damaged at the top, bottom, and right sides. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts Constantine and Helena and the Cross. On the left is King Constantine, holding the cross with one hand. On the right is Queen Helena, with one hand on the cross and the other raised. The Emperor wears a long robe with a wide, hatched border, a tapering crown, and stitched footwear. Helena wears a long mantle over her robe; she has a similar crown, and a halo. The cross has a scroll at the top, bearing the letters ՅԹՀ. The cross is decorated with a ring of red dots, and an attempt has been made to give it form by hatching one half of it. On either side are tall sprays of flowers and leaves.

Inscriptions

Top:

թէքօրն կոստանդիանոս մայրն

t'ek'orn (= t'agaworn) kostandianos mayrn

'King Constantine (and) his mother (Helena)'

Bottom:

⟨շ⟩ինու[թե(ան) ս(ուր)բ յարու[թե(ա)ն որ ասէին ××

⟨š⟩inut'e(an) s(ur)b yarut'e(a)n or asēin . .

'the (re)building of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection which they said'

Possible continuation: 'was in sore need of repair, for which they made arrangements'

B 15

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (bottom, r. cupboard)

17·8 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, dark red in slight relief, with grey-black outlines.

Although the subject of this tile might appear to be St. Eustace or St. Hubert, the upper inscription refers to 'the Jewish God-fearing man, the vezir Stratios'. The mounted saint is bearded, and rides a white horse. In his right hand he bears a two-pointed spear, which he aims at the deer. The deer rests on two distant peaks, and behind it is a cross. On the left is a tree, and there are flowers on the slopes. The horse's tail is knotted, and its trappings include U-shaped metal stirrups.

Inscriptions

Top:

հրէա այր ածավախ ստրատիոս
վէզիր

hrēa(y) ayr a(stua)cavax stratios
vēzir

'The Jewish God-fearing man, the vezir Stratios'

(The identity of this saint Stratios (στράτιος 'warlike') is unknown. He seems unlikely to be the Straton or Stratonikos mentioned as a martyr of Nicomedia in *The Lives of the Saints* (in Armenian), Venice, 1876, vol. 12, *sub nom.*)

Bottom:

և. ապա թ(ագ)լ. ետուն շ(նոր)հ(ն) արդ եղեւ

ew apa t'oyl etun šinel (punctuation mark) ard eɫew

'and then they gave permission to build. Now there occurred'

B 16

TREASURY ANNEXE, ALTAR OF ST. MINAS (behind the frontal)

17·5 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, turquoise, with red dots and black outlines.

The tile depicts the Ox, symbol of St. Luke, with an open book resting between its forelegs. The Ox has its head turned towards the right. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

աւետարանիչն ղուկաս

awetaranič'n ɫukas

'The Evangelist Luke'

On the book:

Ք(Ր)'ԶՕՅ | ԷՐ | Մ'Ե× ‖ Ք'ԱՆ | ԱՄԷՆ/ՅՆ

k'(a)nzi / ēr / me(z?) // k'an / amēn/ayn

'forasmuch as it was for (us) (rather) than all (?)'

One would expect to find here the first words of the Gospel according to St. Luke, 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth . . .'—with which the present inscription has only the first word in common.

Bottom:

աղմիւնք ի մէջ ն(ո)ց(ա) որ եւ պարոն

ałmiwnə (? = ałmukə) i mēǰ n(o)c'(a) or ew paron

'the disturbance among them (in) which also the governor (*baron*)'

B 17

TREASURY ANNEXE, ALTAR OF ST. MINAS (behind the frontal)

17·5 cm. square.

The tile is chipped on the right side. Painted in yellow and turquoise, with red dots and black outlines.

The tile depicts an Eagle, symbol of St. John, standing on the right and supporting an open book with its right wing. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

աւետարանիչն յովհաննէս

awetaranič'n yohanēs

'The Evangelist John'

On the book:

Ի ՍԿԶԲՆ | Ե ԷՐ ԲԱ | Ե Ե՛ ԲԱ | Ե ԷՐ ԸՆՒ ‖ ԱՅՕ Եւ ԱՅՕ | ԷՐ ԲԱ | Ե ՆԱ ԷՐ | Ի ՍԿԶԲՆԵ

i sksba/n ēr ba/n ew ba/n ēr aṙ // a(stua)c ew a(stua)c / ēr ba/n na ēr / i sksban

'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word; it was in the beginning . . .' (John 1: 1). The Armenian Vulgate, unlike the Greek, reads 'From the beginning . . . it was from the beginning . . .', conformity with which would require a reading: i sksbanē (ē)r ban . . . na ēr i sksban(ē).

Bottom:

քաղաքին զոր եւ փաշայ ասեն մինչ ծ կ

k'ałak'in zor ew p'ašay asen minč' c k(am?)

'of the town whom they also call the *pasha* up to 50 or . . .' (*or* up to 50, 60 . . .)

A possible continuation would be: '(60) Armenians captured whom'. A favourable word like 'Armenians' rather than an unfavourable one like 'miscreants' is likely in view of the fact that their fate recorded on the following tile is accompanied by a martyrdom scene, probably intentionally.

B 18

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

18 cm. wide, 17·5 cm. high.

The tile is broken in two and has a badly damaged surface. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, red in slight relief, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the martyrdom of St. Stephen. St. Stephen kneels with his arms raised above his head, being stoned by three men. Above him, the Holy Spirit descends from a cloud, and on either side are smaller clouds. Stephen is tonsured, and wears a *šapik* (alb) with wide sleeves, and an *urar* (stole) over his left shoulder with tasselled ends and decorated with crosses. Two men pelt him with stones; the third bends down to fill the shirt of his tunic with more stones. All wear short belted tunics and high boots, and two have pointed helmets with pointed crowns.

Inscriptions

Top:

առաջին (ն)ահա(տ)ակ ս(ուրբ)ը
ս(տ)եփանոս

ařajin (n)aha(t)ak s(ur)b
s(t)ep'anos

'The first Martyr / St. Stephen'

Bottom:

շեխ սպանեց եւ ե՛Հՙաս) զգլուխն նոց(ա)

šex spanec' ew eh⟨at⟩ zgluxn noc'(a)

'(the) sheikh (?al-shurtah, "the chief of police") killed and c(ut) off their heads.'

B 19

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL (at east end)

18 cm. square.

The tile is bevelled back at the sides. Painted yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Resurrection. Christ stands above the Holy Sepulchre, in a cloud, blessing three soldiers below, at the entrance to the tomb. He wears a white cloak fastened across the shoulders, and a loin-cloth, and carries a standard with a forked pennant surmounted by a cross. Two of the soldiers hold halberds; the third kneels down and averts his head. All have moustaches, and they wear short tunics belted at the waist, and pointed helmets with flaps. The Holy Sepulchre is shown with the entrance to the left, with two windows and a pitched roof, leading to a polygonal chamber with a grill on the near side. Above is a square tower with three windows on one side, supporting a pointed, tiled dome (see p. 23). The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

սբ յարուԹիւն

s(ur)b yarut'iwn

'The Holy Resurrection'

Bottom:

յայսմ ամի պ(ա)տահեցաւ ի ստանպոլ ք(ա)ղ(աքի)ն

yaysm ami p(a)tahec'aw i stanpol k'(a)ł(ak'i)n

'In this year there occurred in the city of Istanbul'

B 20

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The tile is damaged at the bottom right corner. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the two Marys arriving at the tomb, bearing cups of oil. They are greeted by the angel, above the open tomb, who points to it with his right hand and upwards with his left. The tomb is decorated with sprays of flowers; the background with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

կանայք իւղաբեր

kanayk' iwłaber

'The women bearing oil'

Bottom:

գետնաշարժուԹի(ւն) հրկիզուԹի(ւն) որ եւ այր⟨եցաւ⟩

getnašaržut'i(wn) hrkizut'i(wn) or ew ayr⟨ec'aw⟩

'an earthquake and fire (in) which was burned also'

B 21

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

18 cm. wide, 17·6 cm. high.

The bottom left corner of the tile is missing. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Doubting of Thomas. Christ raises his right arm in blessing; in his left hand he holds a standard with a tasselled pennant, surmounted by a cross. He is naked except for a cloak fastened across the shoulders. On his hands and feet are wounds, and Thomas reaches to touch another in his side. Thomas is shown in profile, with a short dark beard; he wears a cloak over a long robe. On the left stands the Virgin Mary, with arms folded. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

դրտքն փակելոք երեւեց(ա)ւ Թումի

drok'n p'akelok' (o *for* ō *twice*) erewec'(a)w t'owmi (w *superscriptum*)

'The doors being shut (Jesus) appeared to Thomas'

Bottom:

⟨ս⟩ր ածածնա եկեղեցին որ է գում գաբի

⟨s⟩(ur)b a(stua)cacna(y) ekełec'in or ē ghum ghabi

'the church of the Holy Mother of God which is in Kum Kapı'

B 22

MUSÉE CÉRAMIQUE DE SÈVRES

no. 7460/1; bears a label stating 'provenant des couvents de Jérusalem'

10·5 cm. wide, 18 cm. high.

The tile is broken on the left side. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise and red, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Visitation. Mary and Elisabeth embrace, and on the right stands the priest Zacharias, who holds a pointed staff with a T-shaped handle. All three figures have haloes ringed with red dots. Behind them is a double arcade, with arches decorated with red dots, supported by slender columns with swelling bases. Above the arcade is a tiled roof; a drum with round and arched openings surmounted by a pointed dome; two smaller onion-shaped domes; and a tower with four windows and a pyramidal roof.

The dotted haloes and the drawing of the Virgin suggests a link between the Sèvres tile and B 23, 24, 25; the dotted arcade links it with B 25.

Another tile in the Sèvres museum (no. 7460/2; 8·5 cm. wide, 17·5 cm. high, painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with red dots and grey-black outlines) depicts a Saint swinging a censer and carrying a model of a church; he is very like St. Stephen in B 25, whom he probably represents. K. Otto-Dorn published a poor photograph of this tile (*Türkische Keramik*, Ankara, 1957, Plate 90) which she dates 1838–43, quoting Macler, and unconvincingly identifies as Jacob. Although uninscribed there is little doubt that this tile is contemporary with the Jerusalem pictorial tiles.

Inscriptions

Top:

ՈՒՂՈՅՆ ՄԱՐԻԱՄՈՒ ԵՒ ԵղԼիսաւ/բեթի

oljoyn mariamu ew elisa/bet'i

'The visitation of Mary and Elisabeth'

Bottom:

× × × × × ե(ա)ն թոզաթցի միքայ

. . . . (ut')e(a)n t'ołat'c'i mik'ay-

'. . . . (tion) of Mik'ay(ēl) of Tokat' (see B 23).

The lower inscription was possibly preceded by one which read: 'These tiles are for the commemora(tion)—*vasu yišatakut'(ean)*?—' or something similar.

B 23

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, CHAPEL OF THE FIRST PRISON OF CHRIST, NORTH WALL

18 cm. wide, 17·8 cm. high.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts Christ enthroned between the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. Seated on an elaborate throne, his right hand is raised and the thumb and third finger joined; in the other hand he holds an orb. His halo is decorated with a cross, and red dots, with the letters ⟨IU⟩, Y(ISU)S, 'JESUS', above. The Virgin Mary stands on the left, head bowed and hands crossed. On the right is St. John the Baptist; his right hand is raised, and in his other hand he holds a forked spear with a pennant. The three figures are framed by a triple arch, one spandrel of which is decorated with flowers. The floor appears to be panelled.

Inscriptions

Top:

Տիրամայր եւ | կոյս	բազմե(ա)լ աթոռն | դաւթի | ⟨IU⟩	մկրտիչն յոհա | նէս
Tiramayr ew / koys	bazme(a)l at'oṙn / dawt'i / Y(isu)s	mkrtič'n yoha/nēs
'Mother of the Lord and Virgin'	'Jesus seated on the throne of David'	'John the Baptist'

Bottom:

. . . ելի Տիրացու յովհաննէսին եւ եղբօրն ղազար —

(Mik'ay—)eli Tirac'u yovhanēsin ew elbor łazar-

'of the chorister Yovhanēs son of (Mik'ay)el and (of) his brother Łazar.'

B 22, B 23, and the tile that probably preceded them together read:

'(These tiles are for the commemoration) of the chorister Yovhanēs son of Mik'ayel of Tokat, his brother Łazar'

B 24

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·8 cm. square.

The tile is damaged on the lower right side. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, dark red in slight relief, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Holy Veil, held by the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The veil bears the imprint of Christ's head, crowned with thorns and speckled with blood. The archangels are dressed in albs and chasubles, and their haloes are decorated with red dots. Behind, from the centre of a triple arch hangs a large lamp, and six smaller lamps of different design; between them are six spherical ornaments, with tassels.

Inscriptions

Top:

գաբրիէլ	դաստառակն |քրի	միքա՛է֊
gabriēl	dastaṙakn / k'(ristos)i	mik'a(y)ēl
'Gabriel'	'sudarium of Christ'	'Michael'

Bottom:

֊ին եւ մարտիրոսին եւ քվերցն եաղուԹին եւ մարի ֊

-in ew martirosin ew k'verc'n eaghut'in ew mari-

'to (Łazar) and Martiros and his sisters Yaghut'(Ar.Tk. yakut "Ruby") and Mari-'

B 25

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (bottom, r. cupboard).

18 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with dark red dots in relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts St. Stephen, and the deacons Abisolom and Titos. St. Stephen is beardless and tonsured. He swings a censer with his right hand, and in his left he holds the model of a church. He is dressed in an alb, with a humeral veil over his shoulders; over his left shoulder hangs a stole, decorated with crosses and tassels; he wears an onion-shaped mitre. The two bearded deacons, Abisolom and Titos, hold lighted candles and swing censers. They are similarly dressed to St. Stephen, with less elaborate stoles; they wear pointed mitres on their tonsured heads. The figures stand beneath three arches, decorated with red dots.

Inscriptions

Top:

աբիսոմա սար|կավագին	ըստեփանոսի |նախավկային	Տիտոսի սարկա|վագին
abiso(ło)ma sar/kavak'in	əstep'anosi naxavkayin	Titosi sarka/vagin
'of the deacon Abiso(ło)m'	'of Stephen proto-martyr'	'of the deacon Titos'

Bottom:

ամին մորն եղիսաբեդին որ ետուն ի ս֊ր յար֊

–amin morn elisabedin or etun i s(ur)b yar-

'-am, his mother Elisabed who gave to (the church of) the Holy Resurrec-'



B 25



B 26



B 27



C 1



C 2



C 3



C 4

PICTORIAL TILES



c 5



c 6



c 7



c 8

PICTORIAL TILES



C 9



C 10



C 11



C 12

B 26

SOUSTIEL COLLECTION, PARIS

Painted in yellow, green, turquoise, cobalt blue, dark red, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts St. Gregory the Illuminator, enthroned between St. Basil of Caesaria and St. John Chrysostom. Below, kneel a figure with an animal head bearing a crown (depicting King Trdat III in the shape of a boar) and a woman, likewise crowned, with folded arms (probably St. Hŕip'simē) in prayer. The three upper saints are bearded and wear pointed mitres. They are dressed in albs and chasubles, with stoles decorated with crosses. They also carry pastoral staves. King Trdat and the kneeling woman wear pointed crowns. Behind are three arches, with decorative spandrels. (For the iconography, see the *History of Agat'angełos*, chs. 19–20.)

Inscriptions

Top:

բարսեղի | կեսարիաց	գրիգոր լու | սաւորիչ	յոհան ոսկիբեր | ան
barseli / kesariac'(woy)	grigor lu/saworič'	yohan oskiber/an
'of Basil of Caesaria'	'Gregory the Illuminator'	'John Chrysostom'

Bottom:

-ու թ(ի.)ն (ն)նջեց(ա) լքն յիշեն հայր մեղայիւ թ֊վին ռճկը

-ut'iwn (n)nǰec'e(a)lk'n yišen hayr mełayiw t'̄vin ŕčkə

'- tion. May the deceased remember (us) with a 'Father, I have sinned'. In the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. 1718).'

B 27

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, SOUTH WALL (r. cupboard)

17·5 cm. wide, 14 cm. high.

The tile is cut at the bottom, and the top right corner. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Washing of the Feet. Christ kneels before the Twelve Disciples, and washes the feet of Simon Peter. Simon Peter is seated, and points to his head with his right hand. Behind stand the other Disciples. To the left of Christ, steps lead up to a pulpit with a pointed roof supported by four arches. Behind are three candles, one with a white flame, the others with red flames. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscription

Top:

յս խոնարհ(ու)թ֊ն լվան(ա)յ զոտս ա⟨շակերտացն⟩

y(isu)s xonarhut'(eam)bn lvan(a)y zots a⟨šakertac'n⟩

'Jesus in his humility washes the feet of his disciples'

Bottom:

(Missing)

The following is a summary of the inscriptions on Series C:

C 1 'In the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. 1718), (year) of Christ 1718'
'to the pilgrim Abraham the father of the chorister T'oros, at the gate of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection, Abraham vardapet gave in (his) memory 47 tiles'

C 2 'Yohannēs of the ⟨servants⟩ of Christ (?)'
'Yohanēs (son) of Mik'ayēl of Tokat'

C 3 'The Virgin (martyr) Catherine'

C 4 'The soldier Theodore'
'Father . . .'

C 5 (No inscription)

C 6 'The angel Michael'
'The angel Gabriel'
'The angel Ariel'

C 7 'Mother of God'
'Christ sleeps'

C 8 'To (*or* of) Mekhithar'
'. . . to (? the) Mirza'
'This cross is in memory of Mxit'ar, son of Grigor, his mother Šam xatun and {Anna} his sisters Šasat(?), Anna, Varvara, Sara, {Varvara} to the church of the Holy Resurrection in the year 1168 (A.D. 1719). Amen'

C 9 'In memory of Arut'in (Anastasius) son of Murad of K'ot'uha (Kütahya), his mother Mart'a sisters and brother: (he gave) to the church of the Holy Resurrection 10 tiles in the year 1168. Amen'

C 10 '5 tiles at the Church of the Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) in memory of the inhabitant-of-K'ōt'uha (Kütahya) Agh-gul (Tk. Ak-gül "white rose"), her mother An(n)a, her father the chief *kh(a)t(ı)r[c]ı* (Tk. قاطرجي "Muleteer"), Usēp' (Joseph), her son T'oros (?and) Nuridjan, in the year 1168'

C 11 'In memory of Ha(y)rapet son of P'anos (Stephen) and his brother Abraham who gave 25 tiles to the Church of the Holy Resurrection in the year 1168'

C 12 '50 tiles at the Church of the Holy Resurrection in memory of the inhabitants of K'ōt'uha Abraham and his son Ohanēs, his father Ownan (Yovnan, Jonah), and Arut'in. God have mercy on their souls'

C 13 'In memory of the inhabitant-of-K'ōt'uhay (Kütahya) Ohanēs son of Łazar and his wife's father Yohan, (who gave) to the church of the Holy Resurrection 10 tiles. God have mercy'

C 14 'In memory of Sark'is son of Abraham Širin-oghlu (son of Širin) at the church of the Holy Resurrection 15 (pie)ces (tiles) in the year 1168'

C 15 'This site is in memory of Mariam, daughter (Tk. kız-ı) of Meyrəm-oghlu ("son of Meyrəm")'

C 16 (No inscription)

C 17 (No inscription)

C 18 (No inscription)

C 19 (No inscription)

C 20 (No inscription)

C 21 'These tiles are (lit. is) in memory of the pilgrim Aslan. There were (lit. it was) made in the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. A.D. 1718) for the Church of the Holy Resurrection'

C 22 'These tiles are in memory of the *eric'poxan* pilgrim Martiros and his wife the pilgrim

Mariam. They were made in the year 1168 (A.D. 1719) for the Church of the Holy Resurrection'

C 23 'This site is in memory of the pilgrim(s?) Hṙip'simē and Eyva (Eve) at the Church of St. James'

C 24 'In memory of the soul of the inhabitant of Kütahya Astuacatur son of hadji Noratunk', Amen'

C 25 'Yunan (Jonah) son of Sir Łazēr (Łazar, Lazarus)'

C 26 'Yunan (Jonah) son of Sir Łazēr (Łazar, Lazarus)'

C 27 (not readable)

C 28 (potter's mark?)

C 1

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts an equestrian saint (?T'oros/Theodore) spearing a dragon. The saint wears a short robe with a sash, and his pointed helmet, decorated with a cockade, is swathed with a mantle falling over his shoulders. He rides a white horse, holding the reins in one hand and grasping a long spear with an arrow-shaped head in the other; the top of the spear is decorated with a triple forked pennant with tasselled ends. The horse's tail is knotted, and its saddle blanket has long tassels. The serpent slithers from behind a tree to the right; it has short wings and tiny horns. The background is decorated with groups of red dots.

Inscriptions (in *bolorgir*)

Top:

(No inscription)

Bottom right corner:

թվին ռՃկԸ քի ռչժԸ

t'vin ṙčkəin k'(risto)si rč'žə

'In the year 1168 (inc. 23rd Sept. 1718), (year) of Christ 1718'

Bottom:

դի տիրացու թորսի Հոռն . մ(ա)հ(տե) սի աբրահամին ի դուռն ս(ուբ)ը
յարութ(ե)ան եւ աբրահամ վարդապետ յիշատակ իւ կտոր չինի

di tirac'u t'orosi horn . m(a)h(te)si abrahamin i duṙn s(ur)b
yarut'e(an) et abraham vardapet yišatak xē ktor (t *superscriptum*) č'ini

'To the pilgrim Abraham the father of the chorister T'oros, at the gate of (the church of) the Holy Resurrection, Abraham vardapet gave in (his) memory 47 tiles'

It is unfortunate that the inscription on this tile, mentioning the important donor Abraham vardapet, presents some difficulty of interpretation. One would expect it to be, like the other sponsor tiles (apart from the series B 23–6, the lower inscription of which is in a single line) complete in itself, but it begins with the letters *di* which one might easily take to be the final

letters of *ordi* 'son' originally preceded by the name of the father in the genitive; since the name of the father appears to be given immediately after, a version reading 'to the pilgrim Abraham, father of the chorister T'oros son of (Abraham)' would be tautologous and unlikely. It seems therefore preferable to consider the tile in fact complete in itself, and to take the initial *di* to be a scribal error for *ti*, the initial letters of the following *tirac'u*. One may note that the *di* is written with a pen differing from the thinner one used for the rest of the longish inscription. The scribe may have intended to erase the initial *di*, and then have forgotten to do so before the tile was glazed.

The inscription cannot be interpreted to read '. . . to his father the pilgrim Abraham . . . Abraham vardapet gave in memory 47 tiles' since the father of Abraham vardapet Kretac'i, to whom this tile must refer, was the *kalfa* ('master builder or artisan, head clerk or school usher'; see Mantran, R., *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, p. 368) Arzuman T'ōsunenc' of Kayseri (see Aławnuni, M., *Miabank' ew ayc'eluk' hay Erusałēmi*, Jerusalem, 1929, pp. 3–4).

C 2

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

18 cm. square.

The tile is broken in three. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with touches of dark red in slight relief, and fine black outlines.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child, surrounded by angels, and a donor. The Virgin stands barefoot on a crescent moon, supporting the infant Christ with her left arm, and holding out a stalk of flowers. Her pointed crown is held by two kneeling angels. Christ gives a blessing with his right hand. The Virgin and Child are enclosed in a mandala of clouds and angels' heads. The angel on the lower right supports a second stalk of flowers. The outside of the mandala is hatched, and there are also faint red tongues of flame, to symbolize the Holy Spirit. At the bottom left kneels a man, with hands raised in supplication. Beardless, with a pointed moustache, he wears a long robe with wide cuffs, and a fur (?) hat. On the left of the figure is a short inscription in Armenian *notrgir*, showing him to be the sponsor of the tile. A ring of red dots fills the bottom right corner. The upper corners are cut off, with scalloped borders forming spandrels, filled with sprays of black tulip-like flowers. The upper border of the tile has a pattern of arabesque leaves reserved on a black ground. The side borders are similarly decorated, in black under a blue glaze. The lower border is filled with an inscription in Armenian *notrgir*, written in blue (uniquely for the pictorial tiles) commemorating Yovhan(n)ēs son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat, mentioned on B 22, B 23.

Inscriptions

To the left of the kneeling figure:

ՔՀ ⟨ծո⟩յց | ⟨յ⟩ոան նէս

k'(ristos)i ⟨c(a)ŕa⟩y(i)c' ⟨y⟩o(h)an/nēs

'Yohannēs of the ⟨servants⟩ of Christ (?)'

(Some letters are missing due to the crack in the tile.)

Bottom:

Թոքաթցի Միքայէլի որդի յոհաննէս

t'ok'at'c'i mik'ayēli yohanēs

'Yohanēs (son) of Mik'ayēl of Tokat'

C 3

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·7 cm. high, 16·8 cm. wide.

Painted in yellow, yellowish-green, dark cobalt blue, turquoise, with dark red dots in relief, and fine grey-black outlines. The yellowish-green is obtained by overpainting yellow with turquoise. The glaze of this tile has a marked greenish tinge.

The tile depicts the martyr, St. Catherine. She is seated on the edge of an open box. In her right hand she holds the martyr's palm. She wears a three-pointed crown, with a green nimbus and a halo of yellow rays behind her head. She wears a loose coat with wide sleeves, lined with ermine, over a long robe. She has long hair and a fringe, and she wears a red and yellow ring on the little finger of her left hand. On the right is an effigy of Christ on the cross, blessing the saint with his right hand: further right is the plan of a building, and a pair of closed calipers. On the left is the wheel, symbol of St. Catherine. The sides of the open box are decorated with mitred panels, and it stands on club-shaped feet. The corners of the tile are painted turquoise, with scalloped borders.

Inscription (in careful *bolorgir*)

To the left of the saint:

կոյսն կատարինէ

koysn katarinē

'The Virgin (martyr) Catherine'

C 4

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, ANGLE OF NORTH-WEST PIER

(Fragment) 9 cm. wide, 12 cm.

The tile fragment is broken at the bottom left corner. It is of off-white ware, and the glaze has a greenish tinge. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with grey-black outlines.

The fragment depicts St. Theodore, and part of a second Saint. St. Theodore stands holding a spear in his right hand and grasping his sword behind him with his other hand. He has a circular shield strapped diagonally across his chest. He wears a short belted tunic over a slightly longer robe, with trousers and knee-length leggings. On the right is another Saint, with a long white beard, who wears a loose tunic with a cape, trousers, and high boots. On the two intact sides, the tile is framed with a black line.

Inscriptions (in *bolorgir*)

Above St. Theodore:

զինոր(ն) Թէոդորոս

zin(w)orn t'eat'oros

'The soldier Theodore'

To the right:

Հայր

hayr

'Father . . .'

C 5

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·7 cm. wide, 17·5 cm. high.

The surface of the tile is damaged, and the glaze is badly pitted and has a greenish tinge. Painted in yellow, pale turquoise, dark red in slight relief, with black outlines.

The tile depicts the Head of Christ. It is similar in composition to the tile of St. John the Baptist (B 8). Christ has a short dark beard and moustache, long hair carefully arranged to fall over the shoulders, and wears a robe with a necklace of red dots. His halo is outlined in black and the upper corners of the tile are coloured turquoise.

There is no inscription.

C 6

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The glaze has a marked greenish tinge. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the three archangels, Michael, Gabriel, and Ariel, standing side by side. Each holds a raised sword in his right hand, and a scroll in his left with his name. They wear short belted tunics with red spotted borders, red spotted trousers, and high boots.

Inscriptions (in *bolorgir*)

Left:

ՄԻՔԱՅԷԼ ՀՐԵՇՏԱԿ

mik'ayēl hreštak

'The angel Michael'

Centre:

ԳԱԲՐԻԷ⟨Լ⟩ ՀՐԵՇՏԱԿ

gabriē⟨l⟩ hreštak

'The angel Gabriel'

Right:

ԱՐԻԷԼ ՀՐԵՇՏԱԿ

ariēl hreštak

'The angel Ariel'

C 7

EAST END OF THE EXTERIOR NORTH WALL OF ST. JAMES CATHEDRAL, JUST BELOW THE ROOF

17 cm. square.

The tile is broken; the bottom right corner has been replaced with a fragment of Kütahya tile (*type* 6). The glaze has a greenish tinge; there are traces of turquoise along the top and bottom sides, which are intact. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, dark red, with black outlines.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child. The Virgin is seated, praying over the infant Christ, who rests against her right knee. Christ is shown asleep, half-clothed in a yellow cloak; he has light curly hair. Above Christ's head and to the right of the Virgin are inscriptions. The top left corner is filled with a blue cloud, with spiral patterns; on the right is a spray of leaves and flowers.

It is not clear exactly why this tile should have been placed in its present position, so far from the ground as to be virtually invisible.

Inscriptions (in *bolorgir*)

To r. of Virgin's head:

ած ածին

a(stua)cacin

'Mother of God'

Above Christ's head:

ննջէ քն

nnǰē k'(risto)s

'Christ sleeps'

C 8

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, SOUTH WALL (r. cupboard)

17·5 cm. wide, 17 cm. high.

The glaze has a greenish tinge. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with dark red dots in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile is painted with a cross between sprays of flowers and leaves. The cross has an inscription at the centre, and stands on an inscribed base. The lower third of the tile bears a third inscription, in four lines.

Inscriptions

On cross:

մխիթար

Mxit'ar–

'To (*or* of) Mekhithar'

Base of cross:

ի միրզին

–i Mirzin

'. . . to (? the) Mirza'

These two parts probably belong together, and mean 'to the Mirza Mekhitar' or 'to Mirza (son) of Mekhitar'.

Bottom:

{Յիշատ(ա)կ է չինիս գրիգորի որդի մխիթարին
մաւրն շամ խաթունին եւ անային քվերցն
շասատին անային վառվառին սառային վառվառին
ի դուռն սրբ յարուԹ(եան)ն Թվին ռձկգըն · ամէն

Yišat(a)k ē č'inis grigori ordi mxit'arin//
mawrn šam xat'unin ew {anayin} k'verc'n//
šasatin anayin vaṙvaṙin saṙayin {vaṙvar//
in} i durn s(owr)b yarut'(ean)n t'vin ṙčkən amēn

'This cross is in memory of Mxit'ar, son of Grigor, his mother Šam xatun and {Anna} his sisters Šasat(?), Anna, Varvara, Sara, {Varvara} to the church of the Holy Resurrection in the year 1168 (A.D. 1719). Amen'

Two names, *Anna* and *Varvara*, are marked as otiose, it being impossible for an Anna to have a sister called Anna, and two sisters called Varvara (Barbara).

C 9

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. square.

The glaze has a greenish tinge. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, red in slight relief, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child. The Virgin wears a white robe, and holds Christ with her left arm. Christ gives a blessing with his right hand. The Virgin and Child are in a yellow circle, framed by a blue square. Three of the wide borders are filled with flowers and leaves; the bottom border is inscribed in four lines.

Inscription (in *bolorgir*)

{Յիշատակ է քոթուհաեացի մուրա
ոի որդի արուԹինին մորն մարԹայ
ին քվերցն եղբորն ի դուռն յարուԹե(ան)
ž հատ չինի Թվին ռձկգը ին ամէն

Yišatak ē k'ot'uhaeac'i mura
ti ordi arut'inin morn mart'ay
in k'verc'n ełborn i duṙn yarut'e(an)
ž hat č'ini t'vin ṙckə in amēn

'In memory of Arut'in (Anastasius) son of Murad of K'ot'uha (Kütahya), his mother Mart'a, sisters and brother: (he gave) to the church of the Holy Resurrection 10 tiles in the year 1168. Amen'

C 10

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 18 cm. high.

The top left corner of the tile is broken. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with red dots in relief and grey-black outlines.



C 13



C 14



C 15



C 16



C 17



C 18



C 19



C 20



C 24



C 25



C 26



C 27



C 28



C 29





DISH, A.D. 1718/19. 22 cm. diameter. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child. Christ is supported by the Virgin's left arm, and makes the sign of a blessing. The Virgin motions towards the child with her right hand. Both have haloes decorated with red dots. The background is filled with sprays of flowers and groups of red dots. The upper corners are cut off with scalloped borders. The lower third of the tile is filled with an inscription in four lines.

Inscription (in *bolorgir*)

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ Է Ե՛ ՀԱՏ ՀԻՆԻ Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ ՍՐ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻՒ(ԱՆ)
ՔՕԹԱՀԱՑ[Ի] ԱՂԿՈՒԼԻՆ ՄՕՐՆ ԱՆԱՅԻՆ ՀՕՐՆ
ԽԱԽՐԻՆ ԳԼԽԱՒՈՐՆ ՈՒՍԷՓԻՆ ՈՐԴՈՒՆ ԹՈՌՈՍԻՆ ՆՈՒ
ՐԻՃԱՆԻՆ Թ֎ՎԻՆ ՌՃԿԸ ԻՆ

Yišatak ē ĕ hat č'ini i duṙn s(ur)b yarut'e(an)
k'ōt'uhaeac'[i] ałkulin mōrn anayin horn
xtrin glxaworn usēp'in ordun t'orosin nu-
ričanin t'֎vin ṙčkə in

'5 tiles at the Church of the Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) in memory of the inhabitant-of-K'ōt'uha (Kütahya) Agh-gul (Tk. Ak-gül "white rose"), her mother An(n)a, her father the chief *kh(a)t(ɪ)r[c]ɪ* (Tk. قاطرجی "Muleteer") Usēp', (Joseph), her son T'oros (*or* to the chief muleteer T'oros son of Usep') (?and) Nuridjan, in the year 1168'

C 11

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 18 cm. high.

The tile is chipped on the left side. Painted in pale yellow, pale green, cobalt blue, dark red in slight relief, with light to dark brownish-black outlines.

The tile depicts the prophet Abraham, and a bishop. Abraham stands on the left, holding a sword speckled with blood in his left hand, and a ram with his right arm. He is dressed in a short belted tunic, with a cloak slung over his right shoulder, and high boots. He has a long white beard and his halo is decorated with red dots. On the right stands a bishop, giving a blessing, and holding a book and a crozier. The bishop has a dark beard, and wears a chasuble with a long fringed sash, under a cope, and omophorion decorated with crosses, the end of which falls over his left arm; he has a pointed mitre. Between the figures is a spray of flowers. The sides of the tile are painted with borders of running leaves. The lower quarter of the tile is filled with an inscription, in three lines.

The prophet Abraham on the tile links with the Abraham of the inscription; possibly the second figure represents his brother Hayrapet (lit. 'patriarch').

Inscription (in *bolorgir*)

ՅԻՇԱՏ(Ա)Կ Է ՓԱՆՈՍ ՈՂՈՒ ՀԱՐԱՊԵՏ ԵՒ ԵԼԲԱՒՐՆ
ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄԻՆ ՈՐ ԵՏՈՒՆ ԻՒ ՀԻՆԻ Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ
ՍՐ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻ(ԱՆ)Ն Թ֎ՎԻՆ ՌՃԿԸ ԻՆ

Yišat(a)k ē P'anos oghlu ha(y)rapet ew elbawrn (w *superscriptum*)
abrahamin or etun ie č'ini i duṙn
s(ur)b yarut'e(an)n t'֎vin ṙčkə in

'In memory of Ha(y)rapet son of P'anos (Stephen) and his brother Abraham who gave 25 tiles to the Church of the Holy Resurrection in the year 1168'

C 12

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

18 cm. square.

The surface of the tile is damaged, and the glaze pitted. Painted in pale yellow, pale green, cobalt blue, dark red in slight relief, with light to dark brownish-black outlines.

The tile depicts the martyrdom of St. John the Baptist. The Baptist has just been decapitated, kneeling before his executioner with arms crossed. The executioner holds the head of the martyr in his left hand, and a sword in his right. He wears a short belted tunic, a pointed helmet with a cockade, and high boots. On the right, Salome dances, holding aloft a spray of flowers and pointing upwards with her right hand. She is dressed as a courtesan, with a half-buttoned caftan over bulky trousers, high wooden pattens, and a cockaded hat. On the extreme right is the prophet Abraham, with head averted. He holds a sword in his hand, and a ram in the crook of his right arm. He wears a short belted tunic with a cloak slung over his shoulder, and high boots. His halo is decorated with red dots, and there is a cross of four dots above his head. The sides of the tile are decorated with borders of running leaves, and the lower quarter of the tile is filled with an inscription, in three lines.

The presence of Abraham and John the Baptist is again explained, as in C 11, by the inscription in which an Abraham and a John are named.

Inscription (in *bolorgir*)

ՅԻՇԱԱ(Ա)Կ Ե Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ ՍՐ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻՒ(ԱՆ) Ծ ՀԻՆԻ
ՔՕԹՈՒՀԱԵԱՑԻ ԱԲՐԱՀ(ԱՄ)ԻՆ ԵՒ ՈՐԴԱՒՆ (*for* ՈՐԴՈՑՆ) ՈՀԱՆԷՍԻՆ
ՀՈՐՆ ՈՒՆԱՆԻՆ ԵՒ ԱՐՈՒԹԻՆԻՆ ՀՈԳՈՑՆ Ա͡Ծ ՈՂ(Ո)ՐՄԻ

Yišat(a)k ē i duṙn s(ur)b yarut'e(an) c č'ini
k'ot'uhaeac'i abrah(am)in ew ordain (*for* ordwoyn) ohanēsin
horn ownanin ew arut'inin hogoc'n a(stua)c oł(o)rmi

'50 tiles at the Church of the Holy Resurrection in memory of the inhabitants of K'ōt'uha Abraham and his son Ohanēs, his father Ownan (Yovnan, Jonah), and Arut'in. God have mercy on their souls'

C 13

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·5 cm. wide, 17·7 cm. high.

The tile is cracked, and chipped on the left and right sides. Painted in pale yellow, pale green, dark cobalt blue, brown in slight relief, and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the raising of Lazarus. Christ stands before Lazarus, in the open tomb, his hand raised in blessing. Behind Christ are five Disciples. Behind the tomb is a rock. On either side are borders splashed with brown. The lower quarter of the tile is filled with an inscription in three lines.

The tile is crudely painted, the colours are dingy, and the artist has mistakenly shown Christ giving a blessing with his *left* hand. A comparison with the same subject on tile B 2 would suggest this tile is the work of a different artist.

Inscription (in *bolorgir*)

Ողիշատակ է քոթուհայեացի ղազարի
որդի ոհանէս(ի)ն եւ աներոջն յոհանին ի դ-
ուռն ս(ուր)բ յ(ա)րութ(ե)ան ժ չինի աճ ողորմի

Yišatak ē k'ot'uhayeac'i łazari
ordi ohanēs(i)n ew aneroč'n yohanin i d-
urn s(ur)b y(a)rut'e(an) ž č'ini a(stua)c ołormi

'In memory of the inhabitant-of-K'ōt'uhay (Kütahya) Ohanēs son of Łazar and his wife's father Yohan, (who gave) to the church of the Holy Resurrection 10 tiles. God have mercy'

C 14

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

17·7 cm. square.

The tile is partly chipped at the bottom, and there is a crescent-shaped groove across the upper part of the tile. The glaze has a greenish tinge. Painted in two shades of cobalt blue, and black.

This tile is an adaptation of a common type of Kütahya tile (*type 6*) with a pointed medallion, and quarter medallions at the corners. Here the centre medallion has been cut at the bottom, to allow space for an inscription in four lines in *erkathagir*, reserved on a blue ground; at the bottom is a fifth line, in black, in *bolorgir*. Round the medallion are four angels' heads, in black.

There are many monochrome blue examples of this type of tile in Jerusalem (*types 6 a–d*) and some polychrome versions (*types 6 e, f*) as well as others with inscriptions either painted, or incised (C 24–28). Similar tiles decorate the Haçi Bayram mosque in Ankara (II, p. 78). The importance of this tile lies in the fact that it supplies a precise date, 1718/19, for the type.

Inscription

ՑԻՇ(ատակ) Ե ՇԻՐԻՆ ՕՂԼՈՒ ԱԲՐԱ
ՀԱՄԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՍԱՐԳԻՍԻ
Ն Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ Ս(ՈՒՐ)Բ
ՅԱՐՈՒԹ(Ե)Ն ԺԵ
ՀԱ)Ս թվին ռձկը ին

Yiš(atak) ē širin ōghlow abra
hami ordi sark'si
n i dowrn s(ur)b
yarowt'e(a)n že
⟨ha⟩ṭ t'vin rčkə in

'In memory of Sark'is son of Abraham Širin-oghlu (son of Širin) at the church of the Holy Resurrection 15 (pie)ces (tiles) in the year 1168'

C 15

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, CHAPEL OF THE FIRST PRISON OF CHRIST, NORTH WALL

18·5 cm. square.

The tiles is broken into nine pieces. It is of pinky-yellow ware, and the white ground is faintly pinkish. It is painted in cobalt blue with darker outlines in slight relief.

The tile is painted with a central cross, with double crosses placed diagonally between each of its four arms. The ground is decorated with dots and curls. The wide border contains an inscription in *erkathagir*.

Inscription

ԳԻՇ֊ԱՏԱԿ Ի֊
Ե֊ԻՐՍ ՄԵՅՐՔ
Մ՝ ՕՂԼՈՒ Կ
ՅԱ՛Ր ՄԱՐԻԱՄԱ

yič'atak (for yišatak)
ē dirs meyrə
m ōghlu k
zə mariama

'This site is in memory of Mariam, daughter (Tk. kız-ı) of Meyrəm-oghlu (son of Meyrəm)'

C 16

PATRIARCHAL COLLECTION

17·8 cm. square, 1·1 cm. thick.

The bottom left corner of the tile is missing. The tile is bevelled, and glazed over the bevel. The ware is powdery, off-white in colour. The back of the tile is partly smooth, and partly pitted. There are indented marks on the two complete sides, at right angles to the inner face of the bevel. The tile is painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise green, and red, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child. Crudely painted, the Virgin supports Christ with her right arm and motions towards him; Christ has his right hand raised in blessing, and in his left he holds an orb. On the right is a plinth supporting a vase of flowers. The background is decorated with groups of three red dots.

There is no inscription.

C 17

PATRIARCHAL COLLECTION

18 cm. by 18·3 cm.; 1 cm. thick.

The tile is bevelled, with glaze over the bevel. The ware is powdery and pinkish-white in colour; the ground is off-white and the glaze has bubbled slightly in firing. The tile is painted in custard yellow, green, pale cobalt blue, red, with black outlines, and there are traces of unfired gold on the Virgin's halo.

The tile depicts the Virgin and Child. Very crudely painted, it is possibly a copy of C 16; on the right is a similar plinth and vase of flowers. At the edge of the tile on the left is a curious bearded head, and a crook (?Joseph). The Virgin's finger-tips are decorated with red dots; a similar convention can be observed in figures on crudely painted Kütahya plates of the mid eighteenth century, to which *genre* this tile probably belongs.

There is no inscription.

C 18

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, SOUTH WALL

17·8 cm. square.

The top right corner of the tile is damaged. Painted in pale yellow, pale green, pale cobalt, with red dots in slight relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts three bishops, standing side by side. Their right hands are raised in blessing, and they carry books in their left hands. They are all bearded, the bishop on the right having a shorter beard than the other two. They wear pointed and decorated mitres. Each is dressed in an alb, with a fringed pectoral stole decorated with crosses. The two bishops on the left wear a *konk'er*, or enchirium. Over the alb is a chasuble, surmounted by a *vakas*, or amice (an upright stiff collar), and an omophorion decorated with crosses round the shoulders and over the left forearm. They carry croziers of different design. The bishop on the left has one with a cross with three bars; in the centre, with a symmetrical orthodox cross; and on the right, with a spiral head.

The three bishops must symbolize the three churches, Greek, Armenian, and Latin, united to restore the Holy Sepulchre. If the object hanging from the waist of two of the bishops is indeed an enchirium, then each represents the catholicos, or patriarch, of his respective church. The background is decorated with crudely applied red dots.

There is no inscription.

C 19

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (bottom, r. cupboard)

18 cm. square.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, with red dots in slight relief and grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts three bishops. The composition suggests that this tile was a copy of C 18, by a less skilful artist; the colour scheme is also similar. In addition, there are six crosses between the figures, two rows of triangles decorated with red dots at the sides, top and bottom, and a green band framing the whole tile.

There is no inscription.

C 20

ETCHMIADZIN CHAPEL, NORTH WALL

18 cm. square.

The tile is broken into three, and the surface is badly damaged. Painted in pale yellow, pale green, turquoise green, cobalt blue, dark red in relief, with grey-black outlines.

The tile depicts the sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham stands behind Isaac with a sword, and his left hand raised. At the top, on the right, is an angel in a cloud bearing a ram. Below is a

rock, and on the left is a tree. Abraham has a white divided beard, and wears a short tunic over a slightly longer similar garment, loose trousers gathered below the knee and high boots. Isaac wears a simple robe tied at the waist with a sash. Abraham's sword has a serrated edge. The background is painted with groups of three red dots, and other red marks which appear to have been purposely erased. Compare with the same subject, on tile A 4.

There is no inscription.



FIG. 7. Tile C 21. *Scale*: $\frac{2}{3}$.

C 21

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, CHAPEL OF ST. HRIPʿSIMĒ

18 cm. square.

Greenish-white ground. The letters are drawn in outline, filled in with solid black. The inscription, in six lines, is divided by five horizontal lines.

Inscription

ՅՈՒՇՈՒ ԶՈՐԱՊԵՏԻ Ի ԲԱՐԻ ԽՆԱՄԻՍ ՄԻ-
ԱՏԵՑԻ ԱՍԼԱՆԻՆ
ՀՈԳՈՒՆԴԻՆ Շ ԽՆԱՅՑ-
ԱՒ ԹՎԼՆԻՆ ՒՃԿԱՐԻՆ
Ի ԳՈՒՆԻՆ ՄԻ ԱՐԱՒՈՒ
ԻՆ

Y(i)š(a)t(ak) ē k'ašiners ma
htec'i aslanin
hogown šinec'-
aw. t'v(i)n řčkə in
i d(ow)řn s(owr)b arowt'i
wn

'These tiles (Pers. Tk. کاشی kāshī, "Kashan" glazed tile) are (lit. is) in memory of the pilgrim Aslan. There were (lit. it was) made in the year 1168 (inc. 23 Sept. A.D. 1718) for the Church of the Holy Resurrection'

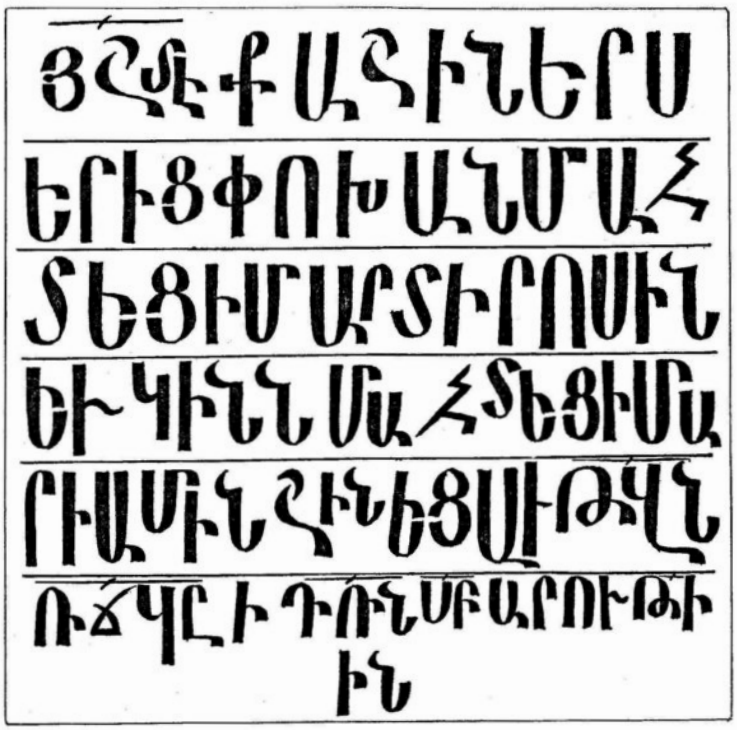


Fig. 8. Tile C 22. *Scale*: ⅔.

C 22

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, CHAPEL OF ST. HRIP'SIMĒ

18·5 cm. square.

The letters were drawn in outline, filled in with solid black. The inscription, in seven lines, is divided by five horizontal lines.

Inscription

ՅՍ(Ի)Շ(Ը)Տ(ԸՆ) Ի ՏՐՇՆԵՐՍ
ԵՐԻՑՓՈԽԱՆՄԱՀ
ՏԵՑԻ ՄԸՏՏԻՐՈՍԻՆ
ԵՒ ԿԻՆՆ ՄԱՀՏԵՑԻ ՄՏ
ԲԻՄԻՆ Շ(Ի)ՆԵՑԱՒ Ի ՅԻՎ(Ի)Ն
ՌՃԿԸ Ի ԴՈՒՆՄԲԱՐՈՒԹԻ
ԻՆ

Y(i)š(a)t(ak) ē k'ašiners
eric'p'oxan mah-
tec'i martirosin
ew kinn mahtec'i ma-
riamin šinec'aw t'v(i)n
řčkə i d(ow)rn s(owr)b arowt'i(wn)
in

'These tiles are in memory of the *eric'poxan*[1] pilgrim Martiros and his wife the pilgrim Mariam. They were made in the year 1168 (A.D. 1719) for the Church of the Holy Resurrection'



FIG. 9. Tile C 23. *Scale*: $\frac{2}{3}$.

C 23

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, CHAPEL OF ST. HRIP'SIMĒ

18·5 cm. square.

The letters are drawn in shades of cobalt blue on an off-white ground, with darker outlines. The inscription, in Armenian *erkathagir*, is in five lines, divided by four horizontal lines, with a border.

[1] Alias *erēc'p'oxan*, *eresp'oxan*, a layman elected by the parish to look after the economic needs of the church, receive visiting clerics, etc., a sort of bursar or church secretary.

Inscription

ՅԻՇ ԱՏԱԿ Է ԴԻ
ՐՍ Մ՝Հ՝Ս ՀՈՎՔՍ
ՒՄԻՆ ԵՒ ԻՒԱ Ի
ՒՆ Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ ՍՐ
ԳԱՒՕՐՆԱՅ ✠

Yišatak ē di-
rs m(a)h(tes)i hŕip's-
imēin ew eyva
in i durn s(ur)b
yakōbay

'This site is in memory of the pilgrim(s?) Hŕip'simē and Eyva (Eve) at the Church of St. James'

C 24

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, SOUTH WALL (in left cupboard)

18·5 cm. square.

Painted in two shades of cobalt blue, with inscription in black.

Similar decoration to C 14; a common type of Jerusalem tile, *type* 6.

Inscription

Հիշատակ է
քոդահ
ցի հաճի նոր(ա)տի
նքին որդի
աճատուրին
հոքոյն ամէն ·

hišatak ē
k'odah
c'i hači nor(a)ti
nk'in (*for* -tənk'in) ordi
a(stua)caturin
hok'oyn amēn

'In memory of the soul of the inhabitant of Kütahya Astuacatur son of hadji (= *mahtesi*, pilgrim) Noratunk', Amen'

The name Noratunk' (Neophyte), father of Astuacatur, occurs elsewhere, on two undated hanging ornaments, and an incense-holder, see pp. 94–6; these objects were probably associated with the tile.

C 25

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (bottom, left cupboard)

19 cm. square.

Painted in two shades of cobalt blue, with inscription in black.

Similar decoration to C 14.

Inscription (in *erkathagir*)

ՏՐ ՂԱԶԱՐԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՅՈՎՆԱՆ

T(ē)r Łazēr ordi Yownan

'Yunan (Jonah) son of Sir Łazēr (Łazar, Lazarus)'

C 26

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (left side, left cupboard)

19 cm. square.

Painted in two shades of cobalt blue, with inscription in black.

Similar decoration to C 14.

Inscription (in *erkathagir*)

ՏՐ ՂԱԶԱՐԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՅՈՎՆԱՆ

T(ē)r Łazēr ordi Yownan

'Yunan (Jonah) son of Sir Łazēr (Łazar, Lazarus)'

C 27

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (bottom, left cupboard)

19 cm. square.

Painted in two shades of cobalt blue.

Similar decoration to C 14. Inscribed in Armenian in the wet clay with a sharp point.

Inscription

(This seven-line inscription in *notrgir* is very faint and cannot be read from the photograph.)

C 28

CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES, NORTH WALL (above left cupboard)

19·5 cm. square.

Painted in two shades of cobalt blue.

Similar decoration to C 14. Marked at the top, on the border, with ⊓; it is probably an Armenian potter's mark.

C 29

CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN (the Sacristy), WEST WALL (above stairs)

19·5 cm. square.

Painted in cobalt blue with grey-blue outlines; inscription in grey-blue.

The design is one of the commonest types of Kütahya tile used at Jerusalem, *type* 2 *b*; this is the only inscribed example in Jerusalem, although there is an inscribed *type* 2 tile in the Benachi Museum, Athens (see PLATE 43 *a*).

Inscription (in *notrgir*)



ak. / i pat

'St. James (?). For the wall'

Probably a potter's *aide-mémoire*, representing '(Surb Y)ak(ob) i pat'.

IV. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE DISHES AND BOWLS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PICTORIAL TILES

'(This) is the Archangel'
'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)
'Abraham Vardapet' (*Victoria and Albert Museum dish*)

'(This) is the beheading of John'
'This picture was painted'
'In the year 1160 and eight' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)
'(It) is of (belonging to? *or* by) Abraham Vardapet' (*Venice dish*)

'The Holy Warriors'
'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)
'Abraham Vardapet' (*Brussels dish*)

'St. Sargis'
'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)
(monogram of Abraham Vardapet) (*Cincinnati dish*)

'For the use of Abraham Vardapet *arajnord* of T'ak'irt(a)l (this) was painted in the Armenian year 1168 (A.D. 1718/19) by the diligence of the chorister T'oros'
(monogram of Abraham Vardapet) (*Brussels bowl*)

'Underneath is stone, on it glaze,
Inside it is filled with sweet wine.
Turning (*or* passing) this round in the midst of adversity
May he who drinks (of it) have good health (*lit.* may it be sweet)'
'(This) is Christ'
'Of the artist (*lit.* pictorialist) T'oros' (*Benachi bowl*)

DISH A.D. 1718/19

Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 279–1893).

Ref. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, p. 64, Plate 50*a*.

22 cm. diameter, 4·8 cm. high. Plate 16.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, with touches of red and brownish-black outlines. The transparent glaze has a slight greenish tinge on the base.

The dish shows the Archangel Michael brandishing a sword and holding the soul of a dead man, who lies beneath his feet. St. Michael wears a yellow blouse over a short green robe. The folds of the blouse assume the character of a face, with pointed ears, eyes, nose, and moustache. The ends of the sleeves are shaped like animals' heads, with eyes and small pointed ears. The robe is drawn together between the legs and has a mouth painted on it. St. Michael holds an uplifted sword in his right hand; the sword is of the *yataghan* type, with a trefoil guard. He wears greaves and stitched footwear revealing the toes. In his left hand he holds a scroll, and the soul of the dead man, depicted as a naked, beardless figure with arms crossed, streaked with red. The dead man wears a loin-cloth; his eyes are open,

he has a forked beard, and his feet appear bound together. On the left is a bunch of brightly coloured flowers. The rim is inscribed at top and bottom in Armenian, in black on a green border.

The back of the dish is painted with four sprays of blue flowers and leaves of different types, with four smaller sprays between them. An inscription in Armenian *bolorgir* is painted in black across the base (Figure 5).

Inscriptions

Rim, top:

ՀՐԵՇՏ(Ա)Կ(Ա)Պ(Ե)Տ՝Ե ։

hrešt(a)k(a)p(e)tn ē

'(This) is the Archangel'

Bottom:

ՌՃԿԱ՝

ṙčkə

'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)

Base:

աբրահամ՝ վարդապետ

'Abraham Vardapet'

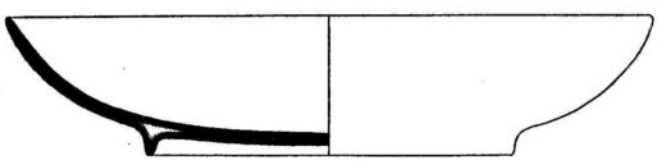


FIG. 10. Dish. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. *Scale*: ½.

DISH A.D. 1718/19

Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice.

Refs. Lane, op. cit., p. 64; Kurdian, H., 'The Armenian Pottery of Kütahya' (in Armenian), *Pazmaveb*, Venice, San Lazzavo, 1947, pp. 24–30; Aslanapa, O., *Osmanlılar Devrinde Kütahya Çinileri*, Istanbul, 1949, p. 75.

22·4 cm. diameter, 4·4 cm. high. PLATE 17 *a*.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and red, with black outlines.

The dish depicts the beheading of St. John the Baptist. St. John is shown kneeling, with his hands tied together. His head is on a platter, held aloft by his executioner. The executioner is beardless, with a pointed moustache; he wears a short belted tunic, boots, and a pointed helmet with a patterned mantle. He holds a curved sword with a trefoil guard in his right hand. To the right stands Salome, pointing downwards with her right hand. Under her left arm is a tambourine. She has long hair, and a tapering hat; her robe, with wide sleeves, is open in front, and on her feet are high wooden pattens. On the left is a bunch of flowers. The rim is inscribed in Armenian at top and bottom and at the side, in black letters on the yellow border. The back of the dish is plain, except for a monogram painted in black on the base (Figure 5).

Inscriptions

Top:

ՅՈՎ ՀԱՆՆՈՒ ԳԼԽԱՏՈՒՄՆ Է։

Yovhannow glxatowmn ē

'(This) is the beheading of John'

Right:

ՆՈՀԱԳՅԱՒ ՊԱՏԿԵՐՔ ԱՅՍ

Nəka(re)c'aw patkers ays

'This picture was painted'

Bottom:

ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃԿ ԵՒ ՈՒԹԻՆ

T'vin řčk ew owt'in

'In the year 1160 and eight' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)

Left:

ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏԻՆ Է։

Abraham vardapetin ē

'(It) is of (belonging to? *or* by?) Abraham Vardapet'

Base:

The monogram is a simplified version of that of Abraham Vardapet on the base of the Brussels bowl, and similar to the monogram on the Cincinnati dish. See Figure 5.

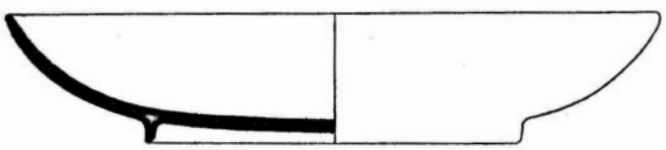


FIG. 11. Dish. San Lazzaro, Venice. *Scale*: ½.

DISH A.D. 1718/19

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (no. 3170–1).

Refs. Lane, op. cit., p. 64; J. Helbig, 'Exposition d'Art Musulman', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 106–7. *Pro Arte*, Switzerland, 1946.

21 cm. diameter, approx. 4·5 cm. high. PLATE 18.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and dark red, with black outlines.

St. Sargis and his son, Martiros, are depicted on the dish, riding on white horses. The saint on the right turns back to kiss the other saint on the cheek. Both saints are beardless, and the saint on the right (Martiros) is shown with short hair. They wear belted robes and flowing cloaks, and boots. The horses have knotted tails. One saint uses U-shaped metal stirrups; the other has his feet in simpler rope or leather stirrups. On the right are hillocks and tufts of grass. Above is a cloud, with four little birds. The rim is inscribed in Armenian at top and bottom, in black on the yellow border. Half the top inscription is in yellow letters, reserved on a black ground.

The back of the dish is painted in blue with four large and four small sprays of flowers and leaves. The Armenian inscription in *bolorgir* across the base is painted in black; the name Abraham is written in a rather idiosyncratic style (Figure 5).

Inscriptions

Top:

ՍՐ ՋԱՒԱՐԱՒՈՐՔ

S(owr)b zinawork'

'The Holy Warriors'

Bottom:

ՌՃԿԱ

ṙčkə

'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)

Base:

Աբրահամ վրդպետ

Abraham v(a)rd(a)pet

'Abraham Vardapet'

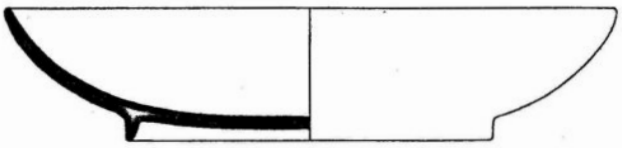


FIG. 12. Dish. Brussels. *Scale*: ½.

DISH A.D. 1718/19

Cincinnati Art Museum (no. 1952–271); formerly in the Kelekian collection.

Refs. Dikran Khan Kelekian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries, 1885–1910*, Paris, 1910; description, and poor photograph. Kelekian notes that the dish was found in Aleppo. It also appears in his book, *The Potteries of Persia*, Paris, 1910.

15 cm. diameter, 3·2 cm. high. PLATE 17 *b*.

Of the same shape as the three other dishes, it is considerably smaller in size. It is painted in yellow, turquoise green, cobalt blue, and red, with black outlines. The surface is scratched and the rim chipped. There are traces of terracotta-coloured kiln spurs at three points on the base ring, and at the centre of the base.

St. Sargis is shown riding a white horse, with an attendant seated behind him. In his left hand he holds a mace, and in his right the reins. He is bearded and dressed in a robe with a cloak, and wears boots. The child-like attendant carries a standard surmounted by a cross, is dressed in a long belted robe, and wears a turban. The prancing horse has a knotted tail; the stirrups are U-shaped. Beneath the horse are hillocks with red and blue flowers. The rim is inscribed in Armenian in black on a yellow border at top and bottom.

The attendant's identity is uncertain, but according to Armenian legend is thought to be his son, Martiros, although the pair are quite differently depicted on the Brussels dish. In Greek legend the pair are referred to as SS. Sergius and Bacchus, the latter carrying a wine-jar. Attendants riding behind equestrian saints, often carrying a ewer, are commonly

depicted on icons from the late medieval period onwards, and have been variously interpreted. In this instance, Kelekian states that it is a Greek woman captured by St. Sergius. This Ethiopic legend, and a second from Constantinople where the figure is a woman who assisted St. Sergius in escaping from the Roman emperor, are recorded in Ačaṙean, H., *Hayocʿ anjnanunneri baṙaran* [*Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names*], Erevan, 1948, iv. 402–4.

The back of the dish is painted with an all-over pattern of blue flowers and leaves, one single flower having a touch of green at the centre. The base is painted with a faint Armenian monogram, in green (Figure 5).

Inscriptions

Top:

ՍՐ ՍԱՐԳԻՍ

S(urb) Sargis

'St. Sargis'

Bottom:

ՌՃԿԸ

'1168' (inc. 23 Sept. 1718)

Base:

(monogram of Abraham Vardapet)

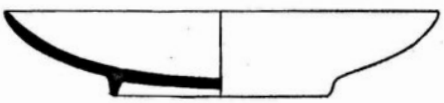


FIG. 13. Dish. Cincinnati. *Scale*: ½.

BOWL A.D. 1718/19

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (no. 3170–2).

Refs. Helbig, op. cit., pp. 106–7; Lane, op. cit., p. 64, and 'Turkish Peasant Pottery from Chanak and Kutahia', *The Connoisseur*, 104 (1939), 232–7.

18·5 cm. diameter, 12 cm. high. PLATE 19.

Painted in yellow, green, turquoise green, cobalt blue, grey, and dark red, with blue and black outlines.

The inside of the bowl is painted with the Twelve Apostles, standing under an arcade in various attitudes. Four carry books (the Evangelists), and one, the model of a church. Seven have short dark beards and moustaches; two, fair curly beards; one, a pointed white beard; one, a divided white beard; and one is clean shaven. At the rim is an Armenian inscription, outlined in blue and reserved against a hatched ground. At the bottom of the bowl is a twelve-pointed star formed by the intersection of radial arcs.

The outside of the bowl is painted in blue, with a few touches of yellow and green. It depicts a procession emerging from the gate of a fortified town, headed by two men carrying the model of a church, to be presented to a bearded figure seated beneath a canopy. (Lane mistakenly states that the soldiers are attacking the town.) The rest of the bowl is painted with a hunting scene; two huntsmen with guns pursue a variety of animals and birds in a mountainous landscape.





a





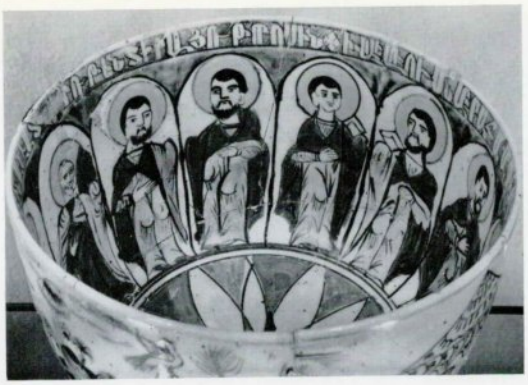
b

a. DISH, A.D. 1718/19. 22·4 cm. diameter. Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice
b. DISH, A.D. 1718/19. 15 cm. diameter. Cincinnati Art Museum.





DISH, A.D. 1718/19. 21 cm. diameter. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels



a



b



c



g



d



e



f



h

BOWL, A.D. 1718/19. 18·5 cm. diameter, 12 cm. high. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels



a



d



b



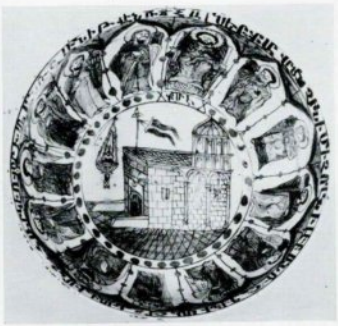
e



c



f



g

BOWL, A.D. 1718/19. 20 cm. diameter, 11 cm. high. Benachi Museum, Athens

The town walls are fortified with six cannon. Inside, the tops of various buildings are depicted, including a square tower with a pointed roof, a two-storied building with a round superstructure, and a square building supporting a pointed dome on four arches. The latter building resembles the upper part of the Holy Sepulchre on one of the pictorial tiles (the Resurrection, B 19), and this, combined with the flag bearing a cross above the gateway, suggests the town is meant to be Jerusalem. The model carried by the two front men has three domes; six more figures carry various standards, including a flag decorated with a lion, tasselled lances with triple points, and guns. They wear short belted robes with high boots, and large hats with wavy inturned brims. Above them is a spray of flowers. The bearded figure beneath the canopy wears an alb surmounted by a chasuble; he stands behind a throne and carries a sceptre in one hand, and points to the model with the other.

Round the bowl, one huntsman takes aim at a bird with his gun; the other, on horseback, turns back to aim at the same target. The hills are populated with birds, a hare, a fox with its head under its paw, and a dog drinking at a stream. The rocky peaks have plateau-like summits, and the trees resemble palms. The huntsman on foot wears a tasselled turban, and has a powder horn slung over his shoulder.

The scene must have some allegorical significance; the most likely conjecture is that it represents Abraham Vardapet, instrumental in restoring the fortunes of the Jerusalem see, directing the efforts of loyal Armenians to that end. The model probably represents St. James. Painted in blue on the base is an elaborate Armenian monogram of Abraham Vardapet (Figure 5).

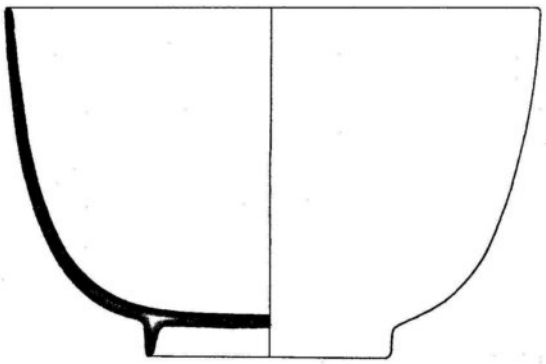


FIG. 14. Bowl. Brussels. *Scale*: ½.

Inscriptions

Inside rim:

Ի վ(յ)ԵԼՈՄՆ ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄՈՅ վ(ԱՐ)Պ[Տ]ԻՆ ԹԱՐԹԻԿՏ(Ի)Ն ԱՅՍ(Ի)Ն ՆԱՀԱՊԵՏԻՆ ԹՎԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ՈՒՂՂՈՒԹԵ(Ա)Ն ՏԱՐԵՑԱՒ ԹՈՐՈՍԻՆ

i va(y)elumn Abraham vard(a)pe[t] in T'ak'irtłoy aŕajnordn nkarec'aw t'vin hayoc' ŕčkə in ašxat[asi]rowt'e(a)n (*for* ašxatasirut'eamb) tirac'ow t'orosin

'For the use of Abraham Vardapet *aŕajnord* (bishop suffragan) of T'ak'irt(a)ł (this) was painted in the Armenian year 1168 (A.D. 1718/19) by the diligence of the chorister T'oros'

Base:

(monogram of Abraham Vardapet)

BOWL A.D. 1718/19

Benachi Museum, Athens; gift of Mrs. Helen Stathatos (case 66, no. 60).

20 cm. diameter, 11 cm. high. PLATE 20.

Attached to the base ring is a metal collar. The glaze on the outside is badly pitted. Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, and dark red with black outlines.

The inside of the bowl is painted with an arcade of thirteen pointed arches. Beneath it are Christ enthroned and the Twelve Apostles. Christ blesses the Apostles and holds a book in his left hand. His halo is decorated with a ring of dots. Six of the Apostles have dark beards and moustaches, four are fair, and two are clean-shaven. All stand, except one who kneels. All carry a model of a domed church; in addition, the two Apostles to the left and right of Christ carry a sword and a key respectively. They wear long robes with cloaks clasped in front. The supporting lines of the arches are decorated with three red dots. At the bottom of the bowl is a ring of red dots, encircling a painting of the Holy Sepulchre. At the rim is an Armenian inscription, in black, consisting of a rhymed quatrain. At the foot of Christ's throne are three more Armenian letters.

The Holy Sepulchre is depicted as a rectangular building with a pointed dome at one end supported on two rows of twin columns. It stands in a paved area. The arched doorway, beneath a lintel, is preceded by two low walls. The side wall is pierced by a single rectangular window, and two-thirds of it is occupied by a blind arcade, from the arches of which hang lamps. Above the door is a smaller lamp, and other lamps hang between the twin columns. On a staff above the door surmounted by a cross flies a forked pennant, coloured red and green. The roof of the Sepulchre is shown tiled. In front of the door an elaborate lamp (or censer) hangs on four chains, with a tassel. The Holy Sepulchre is depicted as restored in A.D. 1555 (see p. 23).

The outside of the bowl is painted in a different style, in monochrome blue. Two naked children sit in the middle of gigantic flowers and leaves. An attempt at three-dimensional modelling suggests a European prototype. The outer rim is painted with a band of alternating semicircles, broken by a short Armenian inscription.

Inscriptions

Rim, inside:

ՆԵՐԿԱԵՒ Ի՛ ՎՐԱՐ ՎԱՅՆ Ճ՚ԻՆԻ
ՄԻՉ՚ՈՎՆ Ի (*for* Ե) ԼԻՔ՚ ԱՆՈՒՇ ԳԻՆԻ
ՍԱ ՇՐՋԵԼՈՎ Ի ՄԵՋ ՀԱՐԿԻ
ՈՎ ՈՐ ԽՄԲԵ ԱՆՈՒՇ ԼԻՆԻ

Nerk'ew ē k'ar(,) vran č'ini
Mič'ovn i (*for* ē) lik' anuš gini
Sa šrǰelov i mēǰ harki
Ov or xmē anuš lini

Underneath is stone, on it glaze;
Inside it is filled with sweet wine.
Turning (*or* passing) this round in the midst of adversity
May he who drinks (of it) have good health (*lit.* may it be sweet)

Beneath the throne:

ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍ Է {Ի՛}

K'(risto)s ē {ē}

'(This) is Christ'

Rim, outside:

ՊԱՏԿԵՐԱՀԱՆ ԹՈՐՈՍԻՆ

Patkerahan T'orosin

'Of the artist (*lit.* pictorialist) T'oros'

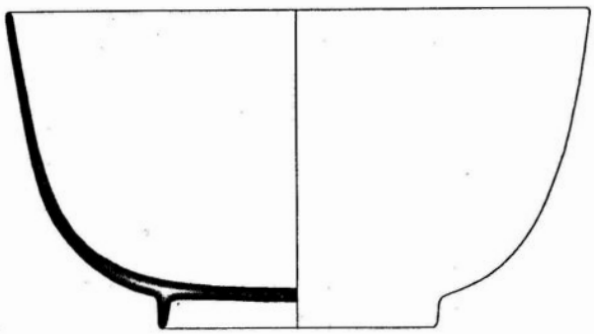


FIG. 15. Bowl. Benachi Museum, Athens. *Scale*: ½.

INDEX OF ARMENIAN NAMES FROM THE TILES AND POTTERY OF A.D. 1718/19

Abraham of C(rete), (*arajnord*) of T'ēk'irdagh, A 3, A 4, C 1; Brussels, Venice, Cincinnati, and V. and A. dishes, Brussels bowl.

Abraham (son of P'anos, brother of Ha(y)rapet), C 11.

Abraham (son of Ownan, father of Ohanēs), C 12.

Abraham, *mahtesi* (father of T'oros), C 1.

Abraham Širin-oghlu (son of Širin; father of Sark'is), C 14.

Agh-gul (daughter of Usēp' and Anna, mother of T'oros (? and) Nuridjan), C 10.

Anna (daughter of Grigor and Šam xatun, sister of Mxit'ar, Šasat, Sara and Varvara), C 8.

Anna (wife of Usēp', mother of Agh-gul, grandmother of T'oros (? and) Nuridjan), C 10.

Arut'in (Anastasius), (son of Murad and Mart'a, with a brother and sisters), C 9.

Arut'in, C 12.

Aslan (a pilgrim), C 21.

Astuacatur (son of 'hadji' Noratunk'), C 24 (*see also* pp. 94–6).

Elisabed (wife of Mika'yēl of Tokat, mother of Mariam, Yovhan(n)ēs, Yaghut', Martiros and Łazar), B 25.

Eyva (a pilgrim?, with Hŕip'simē), C 23.

Grigor Vardapet [Širwanc'i], B 2, B 4, B 5, B 8.

Grigor (husband of Šam xatun, father of Mxit'ar, Šasat, Anna, Varvara and Sara), C 8.

Ha(y)rapet (son of P'anos, brother of Abraham), C 11.

Hŕip'simē (a pilgrim, with Eyva), C 23.

Łazar (son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat and Elisabed, brother of Yovhan(n)ēs, Mariam, Yaghut', Martiros), B 23, B 24.

Łazar (father of Ohanēs), C 13.

Mariam (wife of Martiros, a pilgrim), C 22.

Mariam (daughter of Meyrəm-oghlu), C 15.

Mariam (sister of Yaghut', Łazar, Yovhan(n)ēs, Martiros, daughter of Mik'ayēl of Tokat and Elisabed), B 24–5.

Mart'a (wife of Murad, mother of Arut'in, another son, and daughters), C 9.

Martiros (brother of Yaghut', Łazar, Yovhan(n)ēs, Mariam, son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat and Elisabed), B 24.

Martiros (*eric'poxan*, husband of Mariam; a pilgrim), C 22.

Meyrəm-oghlu/ ('son of Meyrəm') (father of Mariam), C 15.

Mik'ayēl of Tokat (father of Yovhan(n)ēs, Yaghut', Martiros, Mariam and Łazar, husband of Elisabed), B 22, 23; C 2.

Murad (husband of Mart'a, father of Arut'in, a son and daughters), C 9.

Mxit'ar (son of Grigor and Šam xatun, brother of Šasat, Anna, Varvara, and Sara), C 8.

Noratunk', 'hadji' (father of Astuacatur), C 24 (*see also* pp. 94–6).

Nuridjan (son of Agh-gul, grandson of Anna and Usēp', brother of T'oros), C 10.

Ohanēs (son of Łazar, son-in-law of Yohan; married), C 13.

Ohanēs (son of Abraham, grandson of Ownan), C 12.

Ownan (father of Abraham, grandfather of Ohanēs), C 12.

P'anos (father of Ha(y)rapet and Abraham), C 11.

Paul/Polos, chorister, A 6.

Šam xatun (wife of Grigor, mother of Mxit'ar, Šasat, Anna and Varvara), C 8.

Sara (daughter of Grigor and Šam xatun, sister of Mxit'ar, Šasat, Anna and Varvara), C 8.

Sark'is (son of Abraham Širin-oghlu, grandson of Širin), C 14.

Šasat (daughter of Grigor and Šam xatun, sister of Mxit'ar, Sara, Anna and Varvara), C 8.

Širin (mother of Abraham, grandmother of Sark'is), C 14.

T'oros, chorister (son of pilgrim Abraham), and artist, Benachi bowl, Brussels bowl, C 1.

T'oros (son of Agh-gul, grandson of Anna and Usēp', brother of Nuridjan), C 10.

Usēp' (husband of Anna, father of Agh-gul, grandfather of T'oros and Nuridjan), C 10.

Va[rdan Bališec'i of Amrtdolu Vank'], B 4.
Varvara (daughter of Grigor and Šam xatun, sister of Mxit'ar, Šasat, Anna and Sara), C 8.

Yaghut' (daughter of Mik'ayēl of Tokat and Elisabed, sister of Martiros, Mariam, Yovhan(n)ēs, and Łazar), B 24.
Yohan (father-in-law of Ohanēs), C 13.
Yovhan(n)ēs, chorister (son of Mik'ayēl of Tokat and Elisabed, brother of Łazar, Martiros, Yaghut', and Mariam), B 23, C 2.

V. CATALOGUE OF KÜTAHYA POTTERY

A. INSCRIBED AND DATED

EWER — A.D. 1510

The Godman collection, Horsham, England.

17·5 cm. high to rim; spout rises 0·75 mm. above level of rim; body 11 cm. diameter. PLATE 21*a*.

The ewer has a bulbous body, with a narrow neck encircled by a convex moulding, flaring to a deep rim. It stands on a carved foot-ring. The spout rises straight from the body, the lip turning outwards at the top; the handle is shaped like a serpent, or dragon, with a hole pierced at its junction with the neck. The vessel is made of off-white ware, discoloured brown where exposed. It is painted in two shades of bright cobalt blue on a white ground, under a clear glaze. The underside and part of the inner base ring are unglazed. The base is glazed, with an Armenian inscription in blue on a white ground.

The ewer is painted with designs in a series of horizontal bands. The body is decorated with split leaves with curled tips, and lotus-like flowers on thin intertwined stems, all reserved on a blue ground. Below, there are similar flowers, in blue, on a white ground. Above, the base of the neck is decorated with a ring of curved petals on a blue ground; the convex moulding with a rope-pattern containing small crosses; the upper neck with dotted lotus-panels alternating with sprays of flowers; and the rim with two interlacing rings of small, lobed leaves. The spout is painted with interlacing geometric bands forming hexagonal panels, and curved petals, reserved on a blue ground. The dragon-shaped handle is decorated with scales, each with a dot at the centre; the head is painted with eyes and the jaws with tiny teeth.

Inscription

Seven lines of Armenian *bolorgir* script:

Yišatak ē
abrēham
caŕayi · a(stuco)y · kʻotʻ—
ayecʻi. say baž(a)k
amanəs i̇ tʻvis
j̄ctʻ mart.
ža:—

'This vessel is in commemoration of Abraham, servant of God, of K'ot'ay [Kütahya]. In this year 959 [A.D. 1510], March 11th'

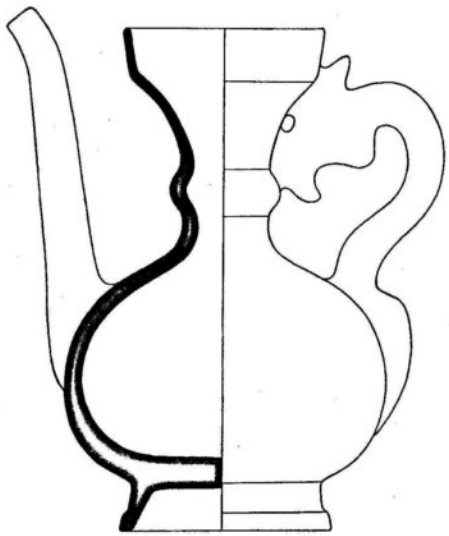


FIG. 16. The Godman ewer, A.D. 1510. *Scale*: ½.

WATER-BOTTLE (*surahi*) A.D. 1529

The Godman collection, Horsham, England.

23 cm. high, 18 cm. diameter. PLATE 21*b*.

The water-bottle has been broken at the neck, just above a convex moulding. Five holes have been drilled in the neck. It stands on a carved foot ring. It is made of yellowish ware and painted under a clear glaze in two shades of dark cobalt blue. The bottom and inside of the foot ring are unglazed. The base is glazed, and inscribed in Armenian, in blue.

The vessel is decorated with horizontal panels, painted with delicate floral motifs. The body is painted with spirals, with the fine stems bearing tiny leaves and hooks. Below is a wide blue band, and above a band of rope-like ornament. The upper part of the body is painted with a pattern of tiny marguerite-like flowers and leaves, repeated above the convex moulding. The moulding is inscribed in rhyming Armenian, in blue, between double rings.

Inscriptions

On the moulding, in Armenian *bolorgir* script:

ՏՐ մարտիրոս յեպիսկայպոս
խաչապար խրկեց ի քո(ւ)թայըս
սբ ածածին ձեզ բարեխաւս
մեկ սուրահի խրկեք ի հոս
բարով բռնե՛ Տր մարտիրոս.
ի թվ(ի)ն ՋՀԸ մարտի ԺԸ գրվեց այս սուրահին

T(ē)r Martiros yepiskaypos
xapar xrkec‘ i K‘ot‘ayəs
s(ur)b A(stua)cacin jez barexaws
mēk surahi xrkēk‘ i hos
barov bṙnē T(ē)r Martiros.
i t‘v(i)n ǰhə marti žə grvec‘ ays surahin

'Bishop Tēr Martiros sent word to K'ot'ayĕs (this K., here): "May the Holy Mother of God intercede for you: send one water-bottle (*surahi*) here." May Tēr Martiros receive it in peace. In the year 978 [A.D. 1529] on the 18th of March this water-bottle was inscribed.'

On the base, in Armenian *bolorgir* script, in a spiral design:

ՏԷր Մարտիրոս խապար խրկեց յԱնկուռեայ ես սուրսՀի · Թող բան քոԹայս Տբ ԱծածԻն վանքիս

T(ē)r Martiros xapar xrkec' yAnkuŕeay ēs surahi. t'oł ban K'ot'ays s(ur)b A(stua)cacin vank'is

'Tēr Martiros sent word from Ankara: "May this water-bottle [be] an object [of] K'ot'ays for this monastery of the Holy Mother of God".'

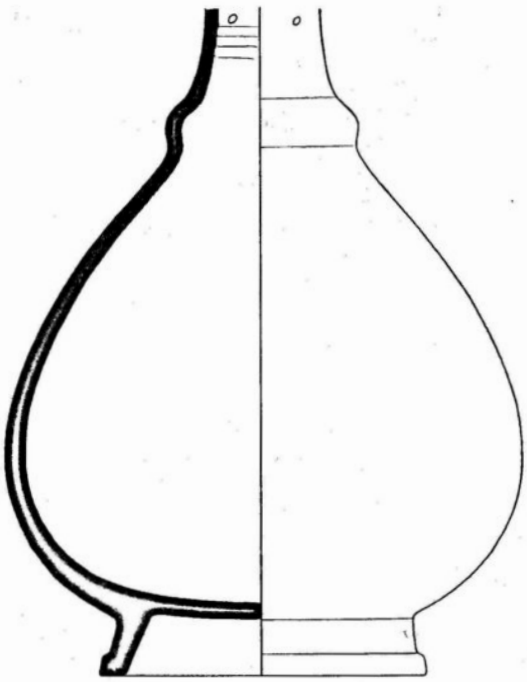
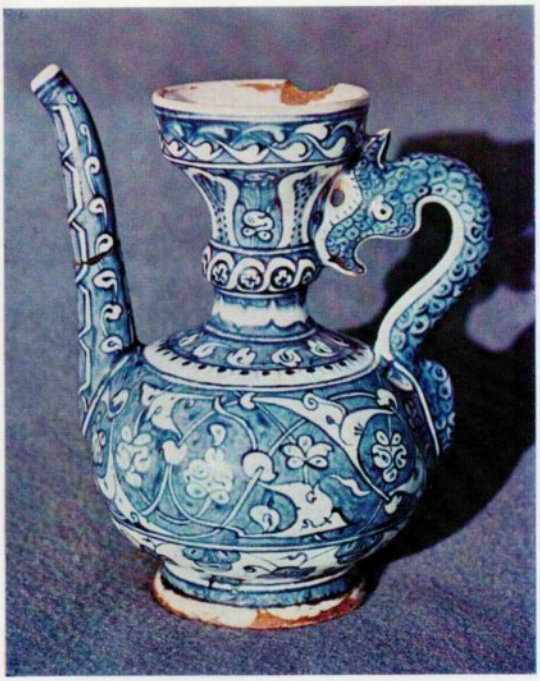
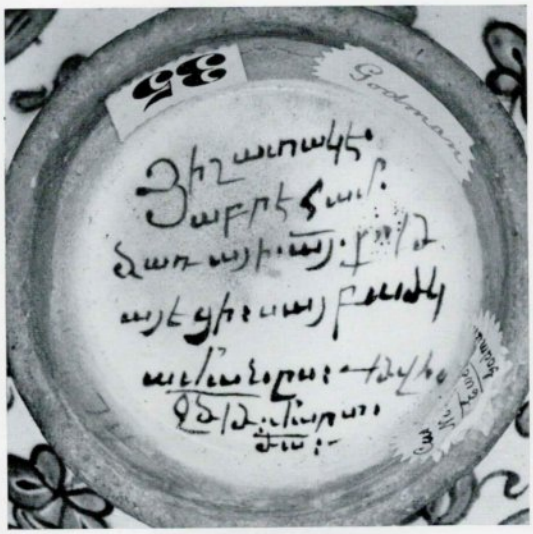


FIG. 17. The Godman water-bottle, A.D. 1529. *Scale*: ½.

Dowsett would now add to the forms referring to Kütahya quoted in his letter reproduced by A. Lane, 'Ottoman pottery of Isnik', *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 271 n. 29, the following forms found in Armenian manuscript sources: K'awt'ay, K'ot'ay, K'eōt'ay (pron. K'öt'a), K'ot'aea (pron. K'ot'aya), K'awt'ahiay, Gut'ahia (pron. K'ut'ahia) (see A. Alpoyačean, *Ɣušamatean Kutinahayeru*, Beirut, 1961, pp. 197–209); Got'a (pron. K'ot'a (inscription on bowl of 1716, p. 81); K'ōt'uha occurs also in the Jerusalem tiles (1719) (C 9, C 10, C 12, C 13) as well as K'ōt'uhia (A 8) and K'odah(-c'i) (C 24); the genitive K'ot'ahiu is common in the *Kutinahay žamanakagrut'iwn* (Kütahya–Armenian chronicle), ed. P. Zōrt'ean, Vienna, 1960 (e.g. pp. 17, 38, 39, 67). The final *-s* of the forms on the Godman water-bottle, which he is unable to find elsewhere, is in his opinion probably the enclitic demonstrative particle equivalent to Latin *hic*; thus K'ot'ayəs, K'ot'ays, 'this Kütahya'. The suggestion that K. might be a personal name, referred to *apud* Lane, ibid., was Lane's own suggestion in his original letter to Dowsett, who could not accept it. Dowsett can also see no indication that the Armenian characters are in any way 'disguised', as Lane supposes (p. 271).









a *b*

a. EWER, A.D. 1510. 17·5 cm. high. *b*. WATER-BOTTLE, A.D. 1529. 23 cm. high. The Godman collection, England



a



b



c



d

a. EWER, A.D. 1716. 20 cm. high. The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem
b, *c*. BOWL, A.D. 1716. 26 cm. diameter. The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem
d. TILE PANEL, A.D. 1750/1. The mosque of Hisar Bey, Kütahya

EWER A.D. 1716

The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.

20 cm. high; diameter of body 14·5 cm. PLATE 22 *a*. FIG. 18.

Fine hard off-white ware. Painted in cobalt blue, with darker outlines, and black; the glaze has a greenish tinge. The spout is broken. Five holes are pierced through the neck, at the rim. The ewer is unglazed for 0·75 mm. inside the neck. The handle and the spout are hexagonal in section. There is a convex moulding at the junction of the neck to the body.

The body of the ewer is decorated with an all-over pattern of blue flowers and leaves. Above the undecorated moulding is a ring of ten leaf sprays, linked by double bands. The outside of the handle is painted with a row of seventeen little birds. The spout is decorated with flowers and leaves, alternating with panels of cross-hatching. Round the body are two cartouches with trefoil ends, outlined in black, containing an Armenian inscription in two parts. (See II, p. 17).

Inscription

ՅԻՇ Ա.ՏԱՏԱԿ Ե՛ Ի ԹՎՈՒՄՆ ՄԻՆ ՍՈՒՐԲ ՅԱԿՈԲԻՆ // ԹՎ(ին) ՌՃԿԹ Դեկտեմբեր · Ի · Թ

Yišatak ē i t'owrn (*for* dowṙn) s(owr)b (y)akobin // t'v(in) ṙčkz Dektember · i · t'

'This is a memorial to the Church of St. James // in the year 1166 (A.D. 1716), December 29th.'

BOWL A.D. 1716

The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.

8·2 cm. high, 26 cm. diameter. PLATE 22 *b*, *c*. FIG. 18.

Similar in ware and decoration to the ewer, to which it belongs. Inside the bowl there is a carved, unglazed ring at the angle of the rim. The bottom of the base ring is also unglazed.

Inside, there are two Armenian inscriptions, painted in black in rings at the centre and the rim. Inside the central ring is a spray of blue flowers; it is surrounded by a wide band of blue flowers and leaves, and a ring of eight palmettes and eight ewer-like motifs.

Outside, the bowl is painted under the rim with a band of flowers and leaves, and the body is decorated with five floral medallions in Chinese style. On the base is a small spray of flowers.

Inscriptions

(rim)

ՅԵՒԱՄԲ ՄԵՂԱՊԱՐՏ ԵՒ ԱՆԱՐԺԱՆ ՔԵՒՈՒՐՔ · Ս · ՄԱՐԳԱՐԷԻՑ (?) Ի ԹՎ(ին) ՌՃԿԹ Դեկտեմբեր Թ ԳՈՒՆԱՑՈՒՆ ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՄԼԵՑԻ ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏԻՆ Է՛

c'eṙamb mełapart ew anaṙžan k'ework' · s(owrb)· margarēic' (?) i t'v(in)

ṙčkz Dektember t' got'ac'ow abrahami ord(i) młtec'i karapetin ē

'By the hand of the simple and unworthy K'ework' of (the Church) of the Holy Prophets(?) in the year 1166 (A.D. 1716), December 9th. (It) is for the pilgrim Karapet son of Abraham of Got'a (Kütahya)'

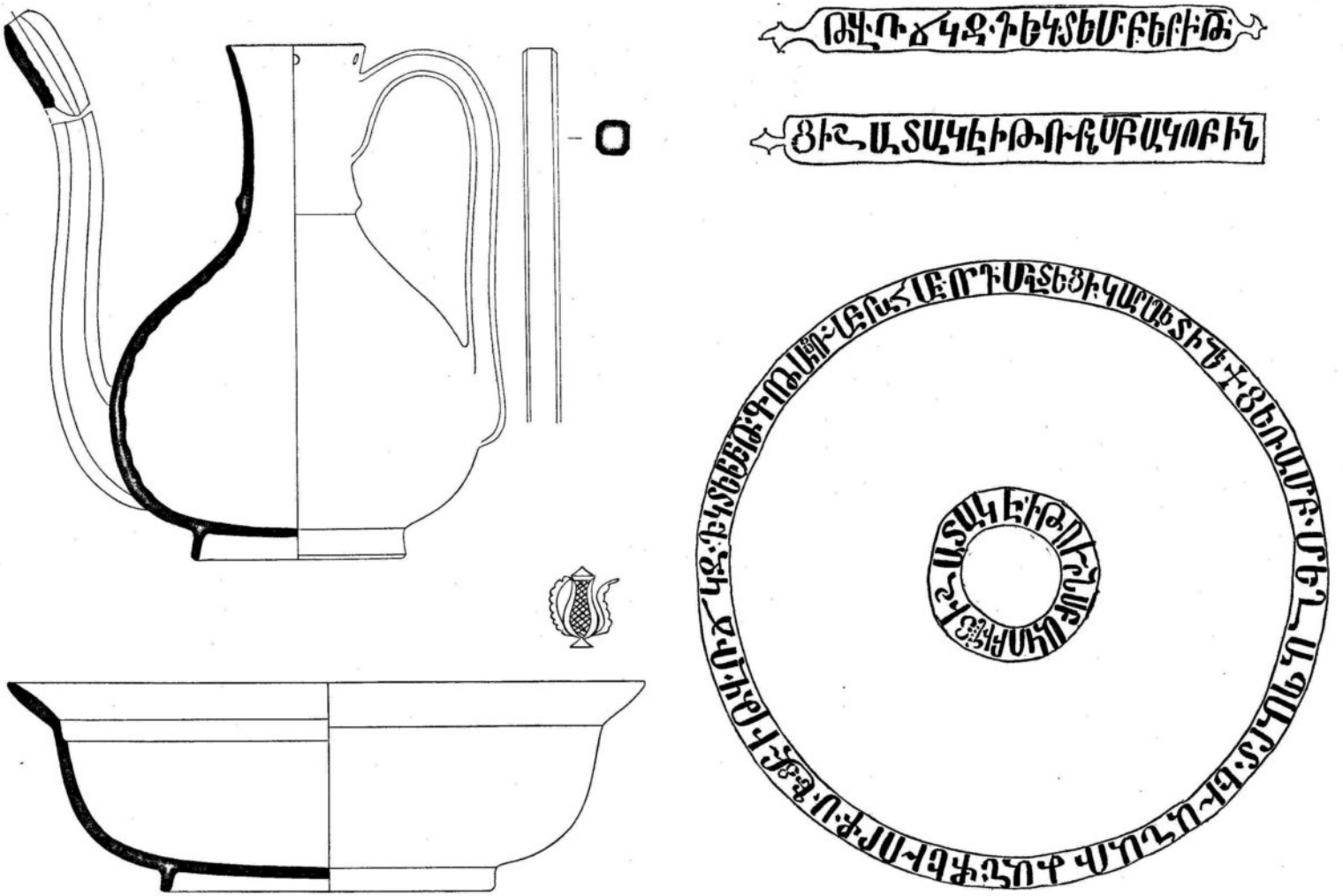


Fig. 18. Ewer and bowl in the Patriarchal collection, A.D. 1716, St. James, Jerusalem. *Scale*: ½.

(centre)

ցնոր լ[ս]ակ է ի թ[ո]ւրս մ[ա] [Հ]ակոբ[ա]

yišatak ē i t'owrn s(owr)b (y)akobin

'(it) is a memorial to the Church of St. James'

TILE A.D. 1721

Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 982–1892).

Ref. A. Lane, *Guide to Tiles*, p. 23.

18 cm. square. PLATE 34 *a*.

The glaze is pitted and uneven; greenish-white ground. The edges of the tile are sharply bevelled back. Armenian inscription, in black, in an ogee frame, in five lines; further letters to the top left and right.

Inscription

Տ[ի]ր Աս[տ]ւ[ա]ծ Յ[ի]ս[ուս] Ք[րիստո]ս
Շ[ի]նեց[աւ] տու-
[ն] Սարգսի
[թ]վ[ի] ռճհ մարտի
ժե՝ օրն ո[ւ]րբ[աթ] կա-
տարում է

T(ē)r A(stua)c Y(isu)s K'(risto)s
Šinec'aw tu-
[n] Sargisin
[t']vin rčh marti
žē ōrn urp'at' ka-
tarum ē

'Lord God Jesus Christ. This house was built for Sargis in the year 1170 (A.D. 1721) on March 17th, Friday. (This marks the) completion (thereof)'

INCENSE-HOLDER A.D. 1726/7

Cincinnati Art Museum (no. 1952–272) formerly in the Kelekian collection.

Ref. A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, p. 64, Plate 50 b.

8·2 cm. high, 13·5 cm. diameter. PLATE 35.

Painted in yellow, pale green, red, grey-blue, with black outlines.

The incense-holder has six lobes, each with a shaped foot and pierced by a cross, outlined in blue, with holes around it, all enclosed in a pointed medallion. Flanking the medallions are sprays of flowers, leaves, and dots. Around the rim between two rings of pierced holes is an Armenian inscription, in black; some letters are outlined, and others painted solid. The handle is square in section and rises to a point; it is decorated with chevrons, dots and other motifs. Inside, the concave walls are painted with dotted medallions around the pierced crosses. At the bottom, a central flower is surrounded by six floral sprays and six dotted leaves.

Inscription

ՅԻՇ(Ա)Տ(Ա)Կ Ի: ԽՈՒՆԿԱՏՕՊՍ ՂԱԶԱՐԻՆ ԻՒՐ ՀՈԳՒՈՅՆ Ի ԴՈՒՌՆ Ս[ՈՒ]Ր Ա(ՍՏՈՒԱ)Ծ(Ա)[Ծ]ՆԱ(Յ) Թ'ՎԻՆ ՌՃՀԶ

Yiš(a)t(a)k ē xunkatōps Łazarin iwr hogwoyn i duṙn S(ur)b A(stua)c(a)[c]na(y) t'vin ṙčhz

'This incense-box is in memory of Łazar his soul at the door of (the Church of) the Holy Mother of God in the year 1176 (inc. 21 Sept. A.D. 1726)'

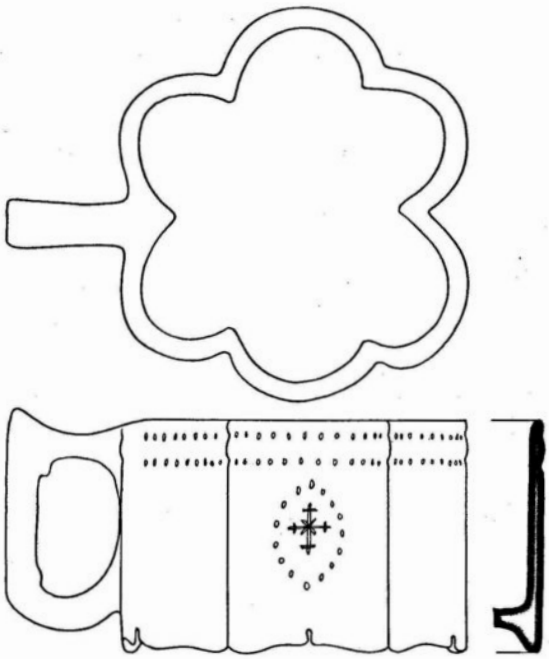


FIG. 19. Incense-holder, A.D. 1726/7. Cincinnati Art Museum (ex-Kelekian collection). *Scale*: ½.

TILE PANEL A.D. 1726/7

H. Hazarian collection, New York.

Ref. H. Kurdian, op. cit., pp. 25–30, plate 3.

Centre tile, 20·5 by 21 cm.; border tiles, 5·2 cm. wide, 30·6 cm. long. PLATE 34 *b*.

Painted in shades of cobalt blue, the inscription in black. Tile inscribed in Armenian with rhymed verses, surrounded by four border tiles, mitred at the corners.

Inscription

ԵՅՍՈ Ի: ՊԱՅՏՍՈ ՊԱՏՍՂ ՀԱՅՏ
ԵՐԵՐ ԵՎ ՀԱՅՐ ԸՀ ՀԱՏԵՑԱՏ
ՍԱՀԱԿՈՎ ՏԵՐՈՒՊԵՏ ՍՏՂ ՀՐԱՒՐ
ԵՒ ՀՕՐՔ ՀՈՒՆՎՕՑԵԼ, ԵՐԵՍՏ
ՒՄՐԵԼՈՍ ԼԻՆԻ ԿՈՒՅՍ ՍՏՂԱՒՈՐ
Թ'ՎԻՆ ՌՃՀԶ

Ays ē palats patvakan
Erek‘ ełbark‘ ašxatec‘an
Sarg(i)s, Nahapet, Małak‘ian
Ew hōr{k‘} hangōc‘eal Erem(i)an
Barexos lini Ko(y)s Mariam
T‘vin ŕčhz

‘This is a noble palace.
Three brothers worked (on it)—
Sargis, Nahapet, Małak‘ia,
And their late father Eremia.
May the Virgin Mary intercede (for them).
In the year 1176 (inc. 21 Sept. A.D. 1726)’

TWO HANGING ORNAMENTS A.D. 1739/40

Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.

a. 10·8 cm. high, 9·7 cm. diameter.
b. 11·6 cm. high, 9·5 cm. diameter. PLATE 24 *a*, *b*.

Both ornaments are hollow and pierced at the top and bottom, with metal hooks for suspension. Painted in opaque yellow, faint cobalt blue, turquoise green, with brownish black outlines, on a white ground. Both are inscribed in Armenian *bolorgir* round the middle, and *b*. is also inscribed at the bottom.

The ornaments are decorated with six angels, each with six wings; and six more angels heads with double wings. The angels have yellow ‘beards’ and green and yellow wings. Part of the central inscription is written above the upper blue line.

Inscriptions

a.

Ա՛յս թոպս մ[ղ]տեսի ըստեբանին հրեշտակապետ եկ[ե]ց[ին]
իշայտաքըն է: . . . թիվըն ռՃՀԹ

Ays t‘opəs məltesi əstebanin hreštakapet ek‘ełec‘in
iša{y}tak‘ən ē: . . . t‘ivən ŕčjt‘

‘This sphere is in memory of the pilgrim Ĕsteban (Stephen)
in the Church of the Archangel . . . 1189 (inc. 18 Sept. A.D. 1739)’

b.

Ա՛յս թոպըս հ[ր]ե[շ]տակապետ եկեղեցին մ[ղ]տեսի ըստեբան
իշայտաքըն է

Ays t‘opəs hə̌reštakapet ekełec‘ in məltesi ē əsteban
isa{y}tak‘ənē

‘This sphere (in) the Church of the Archangel is in memory of the pilgrim Ĕsteban (Stephen)’

(*At bottom*)

այս թիվըն ռՃՀԹ շինէ[ց]ավ

ays t‘ivən ŕčjt‘ šinējav

‘This was made in the year 1189’

(*inscription a*)



a *b*

(*inscription b*)

FIG. 20. Two hanging ornaments, A.D. 1739/40. *Scale*: ½.

INCENSE-HOLDER A.D. 1740

Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice.

Ref. Kurdian, loc. cit., Plate 1.

9·4 cm. high, 11·8 cm. diameter. PLATE 36 *a–d*.

The handle, square in section, is missing. The holder is painted on the outside in yellow, turquoise green, and red, with an Armenian inscription in purplish black; inside, it is painted in yellow and a diffused cobalt blue.

The incense-holder has five lobes, each decorated with a six-winged angel's head, with pairs of leafy, dotted spirals above and below; between the lobes are dotted leaves. The Armenian *bolorgir* inscription, in two lines, occupies the upper third of the holder. The inside walls are painted with cypress-like motifs, with similar smaller motifs, and scrolling leaves. At the bottom is a central flower, surrounded by feathery spiralling leaves, and smaller arabesque sprays of flowers and leaves springing from the angles between the lobes. The rim is painted with a chain of red and yellow hooked leaves. The base is raised.

Inscription

Այս է խունկամանըս սրբ սարգիս եկեղեցին ած(ա)ծուրի որդի
Ակոպին իշայտակին է: թիվըն ռձՁԹ ուռխի ա որըն չինեցաւ

Ays ē xunkamanəs S(ur)b Sargis ekełec'in A(stua)c⟨a⟩turi ordi
Akopin (y)iša{y} takn ē: t'ivən řčjt' (y)unisi ā orən šinec'aw

'This is an incense-vessel (for) the Church of St. Sargis. It is in memory of (Y)akop son of Astuacatur. It was made on the day of 1st June in the year 1189 (A.D. 1740)'

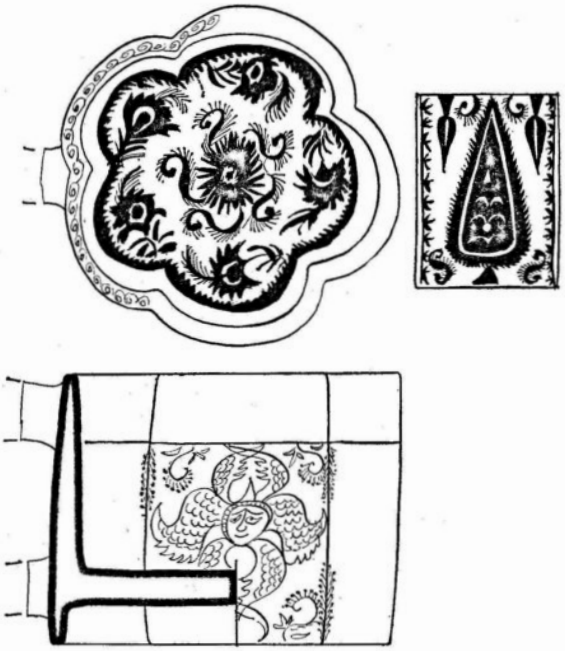


FIG. 21. Incense-holder, A.D. 1740. Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice. *Scale*: ½.

JUG A.D. 1741/2

Gezirah Museum, Cairo

18 cm. high, 11 cm. diameter. PLATE 37.

Painted in yellow, green, purple, cobalt blue, and red, with black outlines. Under the base is a blue horseshoe-shaped mark.

The jug has a bulbous body and a tall, slightly flaring neck, with a moulding at the intersection. It stands on a base ring. On the front of the body are two carved roundels of cross-hatched patterns, linked by chevrons, partly painted. The rest of the jug is decorated with a fantastic design of flowers and leaves, including a bird. The handle is decorated with a chain of dots and pointed leaves, with hatched lines at the sides. Above the moulding at the base of the neck is a Turkish inscription, inverted. Painted in black, it is in four verses, divided by single vertical strokes. On the moulding, under the handle, is the date ١١٥٤ A.H. 1154 (A.D. 1741/2)

Inscription

هدیّه لازم دیار غوربته
سبب اولدم مهور مأ لذته
عار تماز دوستبلسر عزته
عمد ایدردم دائما هجی موته

Translation

Dr. G. L. Lewis has diffidently suggested the following 'translation':

'The gift is necessary for the land of exile'
'I, moonlike, am the cause of the water of delight' (?)
'His beloved is not ashamed; he will know for honour' (?)
'I was determined ever on the separation of death'

He remarks that in the second line he reads the third word as *mehver*, though it could be *mühür* 'skilful'. In the third line the last letter of the penultimate word could be a *mīm*, *bilsem* 'if I should know', or a *he*, *bilse* 'if he should know'. In the fourth line, the first word is probably '*amd*. The last word, if the line is to have eleven syllables, is *mevte*, with two squiggles above it which might stand for '12' or '13'. The writing suggests that the artist was unfamiliar with the Arabic alphabet, and the spelling is very idiosyncratic.

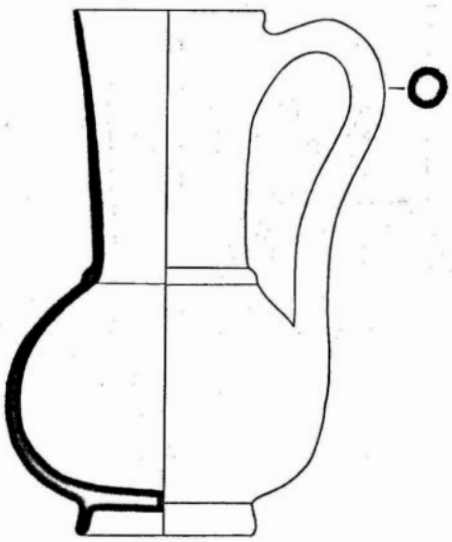


FIG. 22. Jug, A.D. 1741/2. Gezirah Museum, Cairo. *Scale*: ½.

DEEP BOWL A.D. 1744

Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice.

Refs. Kurdian, loc. cit., Plate 1; Aslanapa, op. cit., p. 75, gives a reading of the Armeno-Turkish inscription closely similar to that below.

8·8 cm. high, 26·6 cm. diameter. PLATE 23 *a*.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, purple, and red, with black outlines.

The bowl has a deep body, swelling at the base, and a wide rim. At the junction of the rim and the body on the inside is an unglazed carved ring, for a pierced cover. The form, of metal origin, is discussed in Appendix D.

Both sides of the rim, and the outside of the body, are painted with fantastic designs of leaves, flowers and fishes. On the inside at the bottom of the bowl is a fish with an open mouth and a single red eye, decorated with dotted scales and half enclosed by a fishing net. On the inner rim is an Armenian/Turkish inscription written in black between concentric blue rings. On the outer rim is a ring of arch-shaped motifs, also between blue rings.

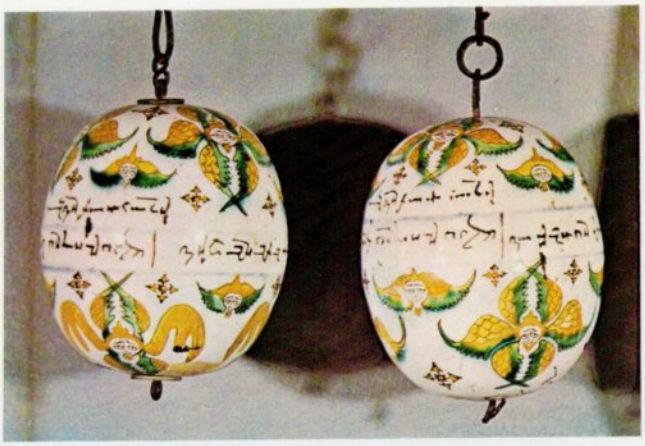


a

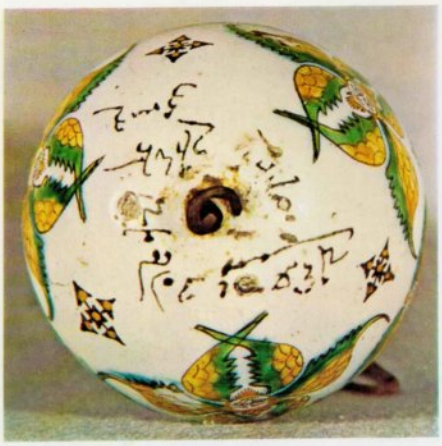


b

a. DEEP BOWL, A.D. 1744. 8·8 cm. high, 26·6 cm. diameter. The Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice
b. TWO FLASKS. 15·3 and 15 cm. high. The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem



a



b



c



d



e



f

a, *b*. TWO HANGING ORNAMENTS, A.D. 1739/40. The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem
c. HANGING ORNAMENT. The Gulbenkian Library collection, Jerusalem
d. TWO INCENSE-HOLDERS. The Treasury, St. James, Jerusalem (*see also* Plate 42)
e, *f*. HANGING ORNAMENT; before and after repair. The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem (*see also* Plate 41)

Inscription

Թվին Հայոց ՌՃՂԳ սէնէսընտէ մայիսըն Ը ընտէ երկու շաբաթ կուն եազիլմըշտըր պու լէյեն տավիտ օրթի օՀաննէսըն տըր պու սաղլըկ իլայ ղոլլանսըն ամէն ✠ ✠ ✠ ✠

t'vin hayoc' rčłg sēnēsəntē mayisən ə əntē erku šabti kun eazilməštər pu leyen tavit ort'i ōhannēsən tər pu sałlik ilay łollansən amen + + + +

That is, in Modern Western Armenian and Turkish

t'vin hayoc' 1193 senesinde mayisin 8inde ergušapti gün yazılmıştır bu leğen; David orti Ohannesin'dir. Bu sağlığ ile kullansın, amen + + + +

'In the Armenian year 1193 (A.D. 1744) on 8th May, Monday, this basin was inscribed; it belongs to Ōhannes son of David. May he use it in good health, Amen'

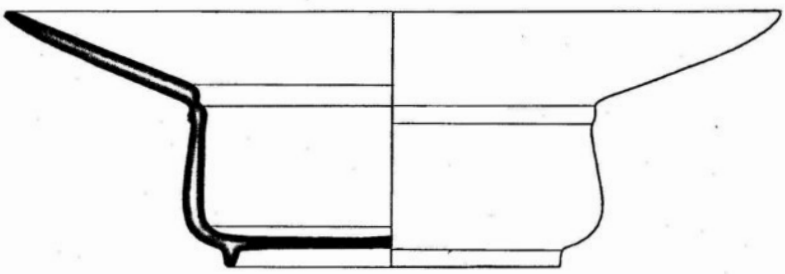


FIG. 23. Deep bowl, A.D. 1744. Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice. *Scale*: ½.

TILE PANEL A.D. 1750/1

Hisar Bey Mosque (the gallery), Kütahya.

Ref. Aslanapa, op. cit., pp. 56–8, Plate 46.

Six rectangular tiles, 25·5 cm. wide, 23 cm. high. PLATE 22 *d*.

The tiles are painted in blue-black with darker outlines on a greenish-white ground.

The tiles are inscribed in Turkish, in two panels. The panels have borders of chevrons, with three dotted circles in each triangle. At the corners are dotted scallops, with rosettes reserved on a blue ground, and dotted, pointed leaves radiating from the corners.

Inscription

دیدی اول آصف تمام اتمامنه تاریخنی
یحیا پاشا ایتدی حقا بو قدیم معبد احیا
سنه ١١٦٤

Dedi ol âsaf tamam itmamina tarihini
Yahya paşa etti hakku bu kadim ma'bed ihya
1164 sene

'That vizier pronounced its date for its perfect completion.
Yahya Pasha in truth gave this old temple life.
A.H. 1164 (inc. 30 Dec. 1750)'

JUG ?A.D. 1760/1

The British Museum (not numbered).

Cut down: 12·5 cm. high, 15 cm. diameter. PLATE 36 *e, f.*

The bulbous body of a jug; both top and base have been sawn off, and a handle of rectangular section removed. Painted in cobalt blue, with touches of yellow, and an inscription in black.

The body is decorated with three carved medallions. Two have a leaf motif, the third a painted Armenian inscription between three moulded lines; all have zig-zag borders. The inscribed medallion has a trefoil at the top and bottom and on both sides; the other medallions are pointed at the top and stand on triangular bases. Between the medallions feathery leaves and flowers are painted in an asymmetrical design, with other motifs including a large tulip-like flower, and a pointed medallion with a tufted top and a central square. The inscription overruns the space allotted to it.

Inscription

ԱՍ Ե՝ շ(ի)ն(ա)ծ(?) ի
պիպ(ե)ր (*or* պիվ(ե)ր) ՅԱԿՈԲ
Ի՝ Ն Տ(ե)Ր ՅԱՐՈՒԹ[ի]ւն
Թ(վ)ի(ն) ԻՄԺ *or* ԻՄՃ
As ē š(i)n(a)c (?) i
piper (*or* piver) Yakob-
in T(ē)r Yarut'[in]
T'(vi)n ṙmž (*or* ṙmc)

Given the illiterate nature of this inscription, the following translation is purely tentative:

'This Tēr Yarut'in (*or* of Ter Yarut'in son of James) has made for the pepper of (?Saint) James

In the year 1210 (inc. 12 Sept. 1760) (or 1250, inc. 2 Sept. 1800)'

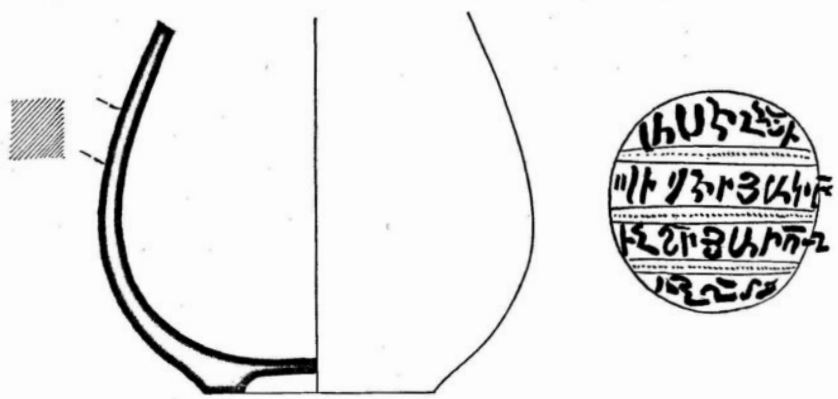


FIG. 24. Jug, A.D. 1760/1. The British Museum. *Scale*: ½.

Other attempts have been made to decipher this difficult inscription. A label stuck under the pot reads 'The gift (thus reading the last three letters but one in the first line as *ənc(ay)*) of the barber (thus reading the first word of the second line as an equivalent of Tk. *berber*) to the priest Haroutin, 1801?, Kutahya?.' A slip of paper inside the pot reads: 'aliws ē šałacoy i piver Yakobin Tēr Yarut'ean T'uern ṙmc "C'est une brique pétrie ou gâchée de porphyre par Jacques Derharoutian, en date 1250". NB Le porphyre et la terre minérale d'amphibole on appelle vulgairement en arménienne *biver*.'

PILGRIM FLASK A.D. 1763/4

Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice.

Ref. The flask appears in Plate I, *Catalogue of the Hakki Bey Collection.*

22·9 cm. high, 18 cm. diameter, 7·6 cm. wide at centre. PLATE 38 *c*.

Painted in two shades of greyish-blue, with an Armenian inscription in *bolorgir* in dark brown, with the Hidjra date in Arabic numbers. The flask has circular moulded panels on both faces, on one of which is the inscription, in three cartouches. The base of the neck has been drilled through twice. Four bridges at the sides are for a cord to carry the flask. A double notched foot also allows the flask to stand upright. The decoration consists of delicately drawn feathery leaves and flowers; the leaves are partly decorated with dots, and have stars between them.

Inscription

ՀՈՉԱՆ
ՕՂԼԻ ՕՂԼՈՒ
١١٧٧

hōcay
ōyri ōghlōw
1177

'Hodja Ōyri (? Ovri = Uri) oghlu, 1177 (A.H., inc. 12 July A.D. 1763)'

(The name *Ovri* (see 1 Chron. 11: 20) is not listed by Ačaṙean [*Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*] as having been borne by an Armenian).



FIG. 25. Pilgrim flask, A.D. 1763/4. Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice. *Scale*: ½.

BOWL A.D. 1764/5

R. H. Brocklebank collection, London. Previously in the Macgregor and Sassoon collections, it was purchased from Spero in 1928.

12 cm. high, 22·7 cm. diameter. PLATE 39.

The bowl is painted under a crackled glaze in opaque yellow, bright green, purple, dark red, blue-black, blue-grey, with greyish-black outlines.

Crudely painted on the inside with the Twelve Disciples, each in an arched panel. The spandrels are filled with loose sprays of flowers, and at the rim is a border of spots decorated with lines and dots, and a short inscription in crude Armenian *bolorgir*, with the date in Arabic characters. At the bottom of the bowl is a nine-pointed star, with additional sprays of leaves and flowers, and a ring of chevrons. The outside of the bowl has a wide blue-grey band at the rim; below it is painted with a net-like over-all pattern, with an undulating contour, above sprays of flowers and leaves. On the base is a tassel-shaped mark; see PLATE 39 *d*, and vol. II, Appendix G.

Inscription

եօւրտողլու Թօրօ ԹՀ ՀՀ ١٢١٤

eōwrtōghlow t'ōrō[s?] t'(vin?) h(ay *or* -ičra) 1214

'Yurd oghlu Thoro(s?) (Thoros son of Yurt) in the year (?) of the Armenians (?; *or* of the Hidjra) 1214'

(1214 Arm. inc. 11 Sept. 1764, A.H. 1214, inc. 5 June 1799)

The date is written in a way that could be read ١٦١٤ 1614, which could then only refer to the Christian era; but this is not likely, since the *h-* of the inscription would be without explanation.

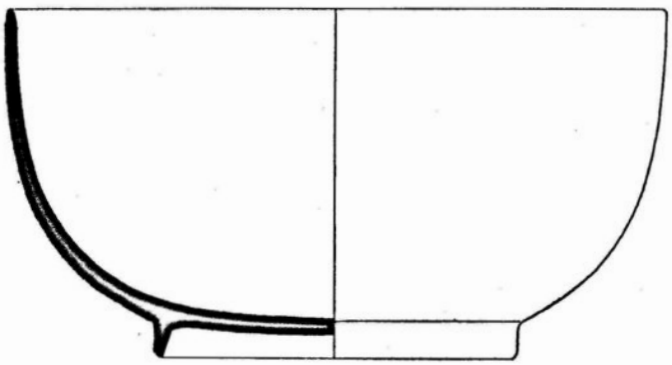


FIG. 26. Bowl, A.D. 1764/5. Collection of the late Lt.-Col. R. H. Brocklebank, London. *Scale*: ½.

FLASK A.D. 1789

Armenian Convent, San Lazzaro, Venice.

Ref. Kurdian, loc. cit., Plate 1.

34·6 cm. high, 19 cm. diameter. PLATE 38 *a*, *b*.

The wide neck of the flask is pierced by two holes, 1 cm. below the rim. At the bottom is a narrow base ring. Painted in greyish-blue, with dark grey outlines, with a greenish-black inscription. Decorated with an all-over pattern of flowers and small hooked leaves, divided by horizontal bands. At the base of the neck is a pointed medallion, inscribed in Arm./Pers./ Turkish, in *bolorgir*.

The flask is of unusual shape and decoration for a Kütahya piece, and is possibly Persian; it is included here by virtue of its inscription.

Inscription

քոյումճի
զաթէ խոճայ
Թօմայ
սէնէ
١٢٠٤
մուհարրէմ

k'oyum-/či / zatē xōčay / T'ōmay / sēnē / 1204 / muharrēm

'Khodja T'omay (Thomas) son of a *kuyumcu* (goldsmith, jeweller), in the year 1204, (in the month of) Muharrem' (inc. 21 Sept., A.D. 1789)

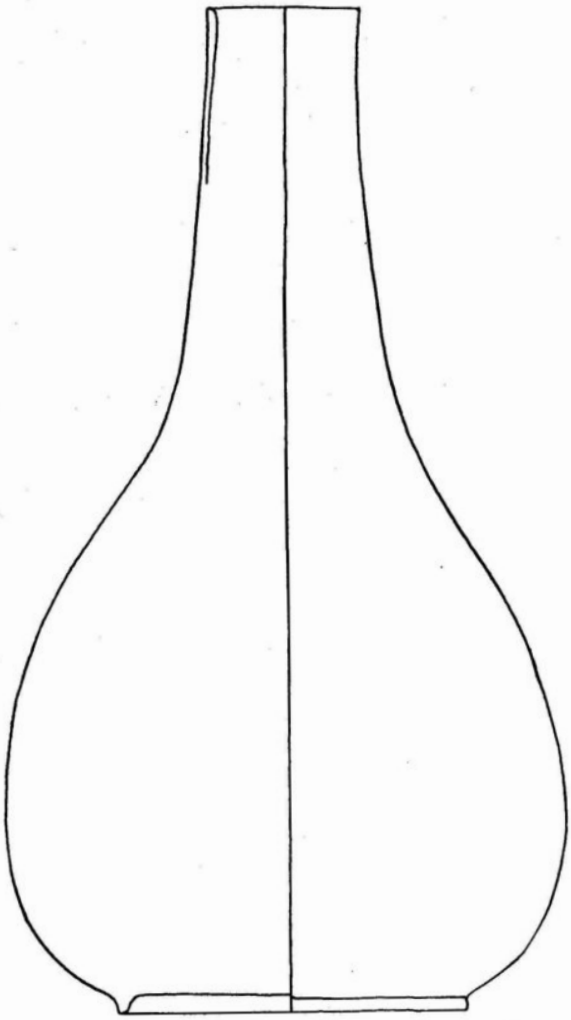


FIG. 27. Flask, A.D. 1789. Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice. *Scale*: ½.

HANGING ORNAMENT A.D. 1800

Hakki-Bey collection; auctioned 1906, *Lot 258*; present whereabouts unknown.

Ref. R. Brocklebank, 'Anatolian Faience from Kutahiyeh', *Burlington Magazine*, lx (1932), p. 246. Measurements and decoration unknown; he gives the inscription as 'A souvenir to Mary, 1800'.

TILE A.D. 1843

Musée Céramique de Sèvres, no. 3818–11.

Refs. F. Macler, 'L'Arménie au Musée céramique de Sèvres', *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, i, pp. 433–7; A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, p. 65.

17·2 cm. high, 16·2 cm. wide. PLATE 43 *b*.

The tile is painted in blue, with a greenish-black inscription, on a bluish-white ground. It has a blue border, with ornaments at the corners, and four triangles on each side to left and right. At the top is a cross. The Armenian inscription, in very crude *bolorgir*, is in six lines.

Inscription

այս · յիշատակ սբ ·
յակօբայ · եկեղեցուն ·
օւզունս Ա(ստւ)ծ(ո)յ մ(ա)հ(տեսի) ստու(եամբ) ·
ղազանճի · մահ · մանուկ ·
ղազանճի · առաքել ·
յուլիս 23
1843

ays yišatak s(ur)b
yakōbay ekełec'un
ōwzuns A(stu)c(o)y m(a)h(tesi) stut'(eamb)
łazanči mah(tesi) manuk
łazanči aṙak'el
yulis 23
1843

This (is) a memorial for the Church of St. James (to) myself Uzun falsely (called) a pilgrim (*mahtesi*) of God, the *qazancı* (boilermaker) the pilgrim Manuk, *qazancı* Aṙak'el. July 23, 1843

The two figures to the right of the year 1843 are read by Macler, op. cit., p. 435, as 38, which he is not able satisfactorily to explain. The second digit is identical with the 3 of 1843, and written quite differently from the 8; the first digit looks like a 3, but differs from the second sufficiently to allow one, given the general malformation in this crude inscription of even the Armenian characters, to posit a 2.

B. INSCRIBED

HANGING ORNAMENT

Above main altar, Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem.

15·2 cm. high, 10·7 cm. diameter. PLATE 40.

Painted in two shades of bright cobalt blue, with an inscription in Armenian *bolorgir* in greyish-black. Pierced at both ends, with a metal hook for suspension.

Decorated with four floral medallions, in Chinese style, and four pairs of crosses. The inscription is irregularly written between the crosses and the medallions, at one end.

Inscription

ւաս իշա[տա]կ է քոթաՀեծի մաՀտեծի Նորատու[ն]քի որթի ածատուր. Եխ։ պընգջի քոթ

(last two words unclear on photograph)

yas (*sic*, = ays) (y)iša(ta)k ē k'ot'aheci mahteci Noratu[n]k'i ort'i A(stua)catur. ex: pəngji k'ot'

'This is in memory (of) Astuacatur, son of Noratu(n)k' (i.e. Noratunk "neophyte"), of Kütahya, pilgrim, *ak-bakı(r)cı* (?"tinsmith") (in) K'ot'(ahia) (Kütahya)'

The same sponsor and scribe are responsible for the hanging ornament and the incense-holder which follow. The *ex.pəngǰi* of the present inscription must be the equivalent of the *expgrč* of that on the incense-holder (q.v.); both may be interpreted as forms of Tk. *ak-bakırcı* 'dealer in white copper', i.e. tinplate or zinc (cf. Pers. safīd-rūḥ), i.e. 'tinsmith', with an otiose *-n-* in and the *-r-* omitted from the former, a final *-i* omitted from the latter form. One would expect *ax* (*akh*) rather than *ex* (*ekh*) as the equivalent of Tk. *āq* (آق). The distortions of this Turkish word, if this interpretation is correct, would be due to the unlearned Armenian inscriber. *See also* C 24.

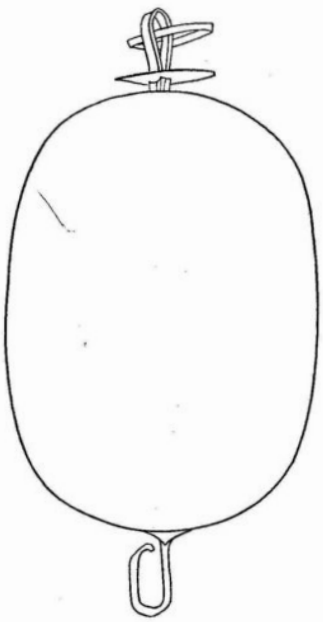


FIG. 28. Hanging ornament, above main altar, St. James, Jerusalem. *Scale*: ½.

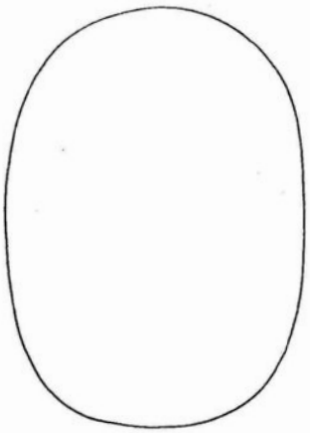


FIG. 29. Hanging ornament, above the altar of the Circumcision, in the Armenian part of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem. *Scale*: ½.

HANGING ORNAMENT

Above the Altar of the Circumcision, Armenian part of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem. 14·4 cm. high, 10·7 cm. diameter. PLATES 24 *e*, *f*, 41.

Painted in two shades of bright cobalt blue, with an inscription in Armenian *bolorgir* in black. Pierced at both ends. The object is broken, held together by metal stays, which were removed in order to photograph it; it was thus possible to ascertain that the object was made by joining together two identical halves with slip, still visible on the inside. (PLATE 24*f*.)

Decorated with three floral medallions, in Chinese style. Between them are three double-barred long crosses, with trefoils between the bars, and serrated leaf ornament on either side. The pierced holes are painted with radiating, pointed leaves inside a ring of leaves.

Inscription

յաս իշատակ է քոթահչեածի մահտեծի նորատունքի որթի ա֊ծատուր

yas (*for* ays) (y)išatak ē k'ot'aheaci (*sic*) mahteci (*sic*) noratunk'i ort'i a(stua)catur

'This is in memory of Astuacatur, son of Noratunk', of Kütahya, pilgrim'

The same sponsor and scribe are responsible also for the hanging ornament previously described, and the incense-holder that follows. *See also* C 24.

INCENSE-HOLDER

The treasury, Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem.

11·8 cm. high, 8·5 cm. diameter. PLATES 24 *d left*, 42.

Painted in yellow, cobalt blue, green, with red dots and black outlines. The bottom is unglazed on the inside. The handle has been broken off.

The incense-holder has six lobes, each decorated on the outside with two vertical rows of chevrons separated by a green stripe. Each chevron has a scalloped upper edge, and below are red dots on black stalks. The chevrons are either blue, green, or yellow. The rim is square in section and decorated on top with a pattern of leaves and red dots. Round the outside is an Armenian inscription. The inside is undecorated.

Inscription

յաս իշա[տա]կ է քոտահչեծի մահտեծի նորատունքի որթի մա[հ]տեծի ա֊ծատուր ևխպգրձ (?)

yas (*for* ays) (y)iša(tak)k ē k'otaheci mahteci noratunk'i ort'i ma(h)teci a(stua)catur expgrč[?i]

'This is in memory of the pilgrim Astuacatur, son of the pilgrim Noratunk', of Kütahya, *?ak-bakırcı* ("tinsmith")'

The reading of the last word or words is doubtful; they must be connected with the last words of the inscription on the hanging ornament (p. 95) (q.v.), viz. *ex:pəngji k'ot'*, perhaps ak-bak(ır)cı (in) K'ot'(ahya), 'tinsmith in Kütahya'. The same sponsor and scribe are responsible for the two hanging ornaments previously described. *See also* C 24.

TWO FLASKS

The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.

a 15·3 cm high, 9·7 cm. diameter. PLATE 23 *b*.

b. 15 cm. high, 9 cm. diameter.

Both flasks are painted in yellow, cobalt blue, sap green, and dark red, with fine black outlines, on a white ground with a faint greenish tinge. The necks have been sawn off. The base rings slope in towards the body.

Each flask is decorated with four pointed medallions. Each medallion has a yellow serrated border, a spray of red dots at the point, and a pair of leaves at the base; at the centre is a blue flower with green radiating leaves on a red ground. Between the medallions are arabesque sprays of flowers and leaves. Below is a ring of diagonal pointed leaves, alternately

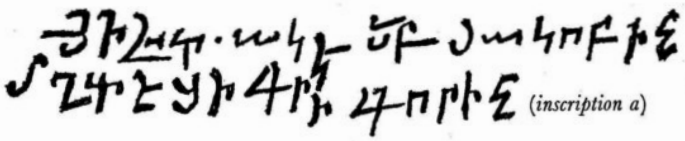
blue, green or yellow, with red dots. The crudely painted inscriptions, in Armenian *bolorgir*, are identical, and apparently by another hand than the painter.

Inscriptions

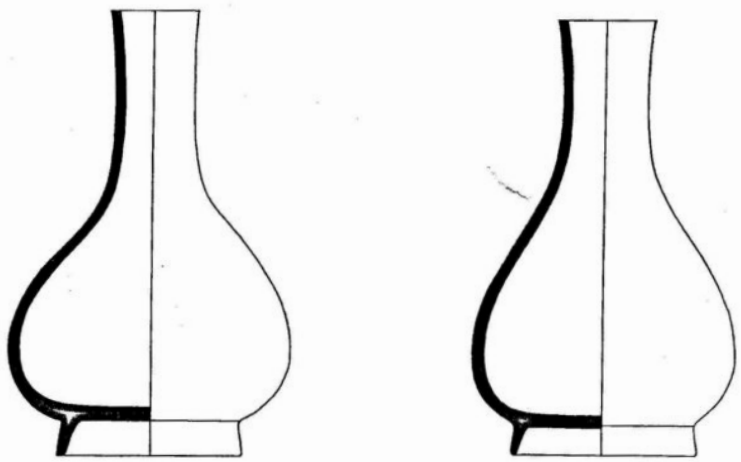
Եիշատակ է սր(ուր)բ յակոբին
մղտեցի գրիգորին

Yišatak ē s(ur)b yakobin
mɫtec'i grigorin

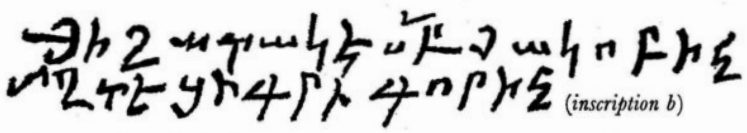
'This is to commemorate at St. James
the pilgrim[1] Grigor'



(*inscription a*)



a *b*



(*inscription b*)

FIG. 30. Two flasks in the Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.
Scale: ½.

[1] *mɫtec'i* pron. *məghdetzi*, eventually from Arabic *muqaddasī* or *maqdisī* 'one of the Holy City of Jerusalem (al-Quds)'; this form, with *ɫ* pron. *gh* from Ar. *q*, is nearer the original than the more usual form *mahtesi*, though the final *-ec'i* is probably due to confusion with the gentile suffix *-e/a-c'i*. Other forms of the word occurring in the present inscriptions are *mahtsi*, *mahteci*.

TILE

Archaeological Museum, The American University of Beirut.

Fragment, 21 cm. wide, 14·5 cm. high. PLATE 43 *c*.

Painted in black on a white ground with an inscription of rhymed verse in Armenian *erkathagir*, the beginning of which is now missing, in four lines separated by horizontal lines.

Inscription

..... Ի՛նձ Ը՛նծեըւ ըմ՛ըւ
..... Ը՛յծ՛ն ոը կը՛նթ՛ցլ՛ըւ
..... Գ՛ւ՛կ Լ՛ոյծ պ՛ոը՛կը՛ւ
..... ը՛ւ՛ւ ՍՈՅ՛Ն Զ՛Լ՛ՈՒ՛Ը՛ւ

..... inj anc'eal amaw
..... ayn or kant'eław
..... ⟨?xała⟩ lik loys psakaw
..... aṙ soyn č'luaw
..... to me with the past year
.... that which by a candelabrum
.. ⟨?peace⟩fully light with a crown
..to this same (year?) did not hear

TILE

Archaeological Museum, The American University of Beirut.

Fragment, 15 by 14.5 cm. PLATE 43 *d*.

The tile is decorated with a reticulated panel with an elaborate baroque frame, Jerusalem *type* 13. At the centre is a circular medallion consisting of a cross with four Armenian letters between its arms:

ո	կ
վ	ը

At the corners of the tile are angels heads, with six wings.

Inscription

The four letters stand for:

Որդեգիր Կուսի Վարդապետ Ընդհանրութեան

Adopted son of the Virgin, Teacher of Penance

and used thus with a cross form the monogram of the Mechitarists. It follows that this tile was made for an Armenian Catholic patron, possibly by an Armenian Catholic potter. See Ak'ean, I., *Kat'olikē hayerə Kutinayi* [*The Catholic Armenians of Kütahya*], Vienna, 1960.

TILE

Benachi Museum, Athens.

Fragment of tile. PLATE 43 *a*.

Painted in dark cobalt blue with a typical Kütahya pattern, Jerusalem *type* 2 *a*. It bears an illiterate inscription in crude Armenian *notrgir*.

Inscription

ոՀանեսին իշատ | տակ է տիկն ի զ
ած սղօւլէ

ōhanesin (y)išat/{t}ak ē tikn i z |
ac ōlōwlē

'This bottle is in memory of John from (?) Astuac(atur??) oghlu'

(The *z* before *a(stua)c* may have been included to give a classical flavour. The above translation is purely tentative.)

HANGING ORNAMENT

Gulbenkian Library, St. James, Jerusalem.

10 cm. wide, 9 cm. high. PLATE 24 *c*.

Painted in yellow, green, cobalt blue, pale purple, with black outlines. Pierced at both ends.

Painted with the Virgin and Child, flanked by six-winged angels' heads. The Virgin's skirt flares out to a crescent-shaped base, with a serrated lower edge and trefoil ends. There are crosses above both the Virgin's and Christ's heads, and above is another smaller angel's head. The inscription in Armenian *bolorgir* is written between blue rings, below. More angel's heads, crosses, and leaves decorate the ends of the hanging ornament.

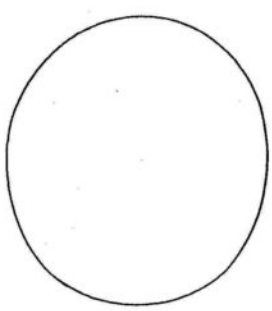


FIG. 31. Hanging ornament, in the Gulbenkian Library of the Armenian Convent, Jerusalem. *Scale*: ½.

Inscription

իշատակ է քօտահէացի ապրահամի ի այս է թօպս սր ածածին է

(y)išatak ē k'ōtaheac'i aprahami {i} ays {ē} t'ōps s(ur)b a(stua)cacin ē

'In memory of Abraham of Kütahya is this sphere (Tk. *top*). (This picture) is the Holy Mother of God'

TILE

British Museum, London, no. 1932, 6–15, 2.

19 cm. wide, 26 cm. high. PLATE 44 *b*.

Painted in pale yellow, red, cobalt blue, turquoise, purple, with brownish-black outlines.

The tile depicts four Armenian Saints (left to right) St. Sahak the Parthian, St. Mesrop Vardapet, St. Nersēs Šnorhali, and St. Grigor of Narek. They are seated round a table covered with a cloth, at which a grotesque angel busily writes away on a scroll with a plumed pen. St. Sahak and St. Mesrop wear pointed mitres. St. Sahak holds a book, and his enchirium (*konkʻeł*) in his right hand. St. Mesrop gestures upwards with his left hand. Behind them, an angel holds a spiral-headed crozier. St. Nersēs and St. Grigor are shown with haloes; they hold plumed pens, and behind them is a T-shaped *vardapet*'s staff. Above the group is an open book held by two angels, surrounded by clouds, with a bird above. On three sides the tile is painted with a crude border of flowers and interlacing stems. At the bottom is an inscription of five lines of Armenian *notrgir*, comprising the names of the four personages depicted, and rhymed quatrain verses, each of 16 syllables, with a caesura after the 8th.

Inscription

1 Ս(ուր)բ Իսահակ պարթեւի 2 Ս(ուր)բ Մեսրոպ Վ(ա)ղդ(պ)

3 Ս(ուր)բ Ներսէս շնորհալի 4 Ս(ուր)բ Գրիգոր Նարեկացի

Ա(ստուա)ծաշունչ գրոց թարգման լծորդ ամոլք հարք արամեան

Սահակ պարթեւ գիտակ տեսլեան Մեսրոպ հաստիչ գրոց հայկեան

Իսկ Ս(ուր)բ Ներսէս քաջ չափարան Գրիգոր հռետոր անզուգական

Սոքա հայոց լեզուիս դրան ոսկիաձոյլ չորք բացարան

1. S(ur)b Isahak partʻevi 2. S(ur)b Mesrop Va(r)d(a)p(et)
3. S(ur)b Nersēs šnorhali 4. S(ur)b Grigor narekacʻi

A(stua)cašunčʻ groc' tʻargman lcord amolkʻ harkʻ aramean
Sahak partʻew gitak teslean Mesrōp hastičʻ grocʻ haykean
Isk S(ur)b Nersēs kʻaǰ čʻapʻaban Grigor hṙetor anzugakan
Sokʻ a hayocʻ lezuis dran oskiajoyl čʻorkʻ bacʻaran

1. St. Sahak the Parthian 2. St. Mesrop Vardapet
3. St. Nersēs Šnorhali 4. St. Grigor of Narek

'The Aramian (= Armenian) fathers, colleagues united in the translation of the Holy Scriptures:
Sahak the Parthian who perceived a vision, Mesrop the establisher of the Armenian alphabet,
And Nersēs, excellent poet, Grigor, incomparable rhetor.
These four opened the golden gate of the Armenian language'.

TILE FRIEZE

Ali Pasha mosque, in Kütahya. PLATE 44 *a*.

Tile frieze above the mihrāb, inscribed in Arabic:

قال الله تبارک وتعالى //

(الله) فنادته الملئكة و هو قائم يصلى فى المحراب صدق الله العظيم (محمد)

'Blessed and all-high God said:
(God) "And the Angels called him ⟨Zakarīyā⟩, as he stood praying in the *miḥrāb*". God Almighty spoke truly. (Muhammad)'

Dr. D. Richards, who kindly translated this inscription, notes that the main part is a quotation from the Koran, Sura 3, verse 39.

HANGING ORNAMENT

Hakki Bey collection; auctioned 1906, *Lot 257*; present whereabouts unknown.

Ref. R. Brocklebank, loc. cit., who gives the inscription as 'Souvenir for the Church of the Mother of God at Kutahya by the pilgrim Panas' (? P'anos).

APPENDIX A

FOUR MEISSEN CUPS WITH ARMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS — A.D. 1794/5

The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem.

5·2 cm. high, 9 cm. diameter. PLATE 45.

The four cups are of identical shape, painted in underglaze blue, with red, pink and purple enamels added, and unfired gold decoration. The Armenian inscriptions and other embellishments are added in gold. The cups are marked underneath with a Meissen crossed-sword mark in underglaze blue, and on the inside of the base ring.

The floral medallion, of Chinese inspiration, has already been noted elsewhere as a common motif on early eighteenth-century Kütahya pottery; see II, p. 17. Whether the supplementary gold decoration and inscriptions were applied at Meissen, or afterwards in Turkey, is debatable. The writer saw two more cups of a similar nature, also with Armenian inscriptions, for sale in a shop in Istanbul in 1966. The specific nature of the texts on the Jerusalem cups suggests that it is more probable that the inscriptions were added in Constantinople.

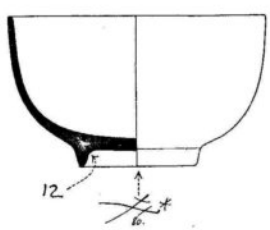


FIG. 32. One of four Meissen cups with Armenian inscriptions, in the Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem. *Scale*: ½.

Inscriptions

a. (*inside*)

Ի ՎԱԵԼՈՒՄՆ Թ(Ո)ՐՈՍ ՊԱՏՐԻԱՔԻՒ

i vaeēlumn t'(o)ros patriak'i (*sic*)

'For the use of the patriarch T'oros'

b. (*inside*)

ՊՆՈՒԱՅ ԵՒ ՎԱԵԼՈՒՄՆ ԴԵՐՃԻՄԱՆ ՀԱՃԻ ԱՒԵՏԻՍ ԱԼԱՂԻՆ

(a)ncay ew vaelowmn (d)ērčiman hači avetis ałayin

'A gift (to) and (for the) use of the dragoman Hadji Avetis Agha'

(*outside*)

Ծ(Ա)Ռ(Ա)Յ ՄԱԹ(Ե)Ո(Ս)Ի(Ց) Ո(Հ)ԱՆ(Ե)Ս(Ե)Ց Թ(Վ)Ի(Ն) Ռ(Մ)Խ(Դ)

c(a)ṙ(a)y mat'(ē)os(ēs) ōhanēsēs t'(vin) ṙmxd

'From (his) servant(s), from me Mat'ēos (and?), from me Ōhanēs in the year 1244 (incl. 4 Sept. A.D. 1794)'

c. (*inside*)

ՊՆԾՄԱՅ ԵՒ ՎԱԵԼՈՒՄ ԱՐՔԻԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍ ՏԻՆ Թ(Է)ՈՏՈՍԻ ՀԱՅՐ ՍՐԲԻՆ

əncay ew vaelowm arhiepiskopōs t(ea)rn t'ēotoros hayr s(r)bin (*sic*)

'A gift (to) and for the use of Archbishop Lord T'ēotoros, holy father'

(*outside*)

Same as *b*, outside.

d. Inside and outside inscriptions identical with those of *c*.

APPENDIX B

GOLD CASE OF THE 'GERAN GOSPELS' OF A.D. 1272 — A.D. 1726/7

Jerusalem MS. no. 2563; the Treasury, St. James. *Plate* 46.

The inscription is engraved on the flap of the case, in Armenian majuscules (*erkathagir*), against a background of diagonal hatching.

ԿԸՀԱՍԵՑՈՒ ԵՒ · ՈՍԿԻ ‖ ԸՊՈՏ ՀԱՐՄԱՒՈՐԵՑՈՒԻ ԸՆԿԵՐՑԱԿՈՑՆ
ՍՈՒՐԲ ԵԿԵՑԵՑԻ ԵՒ · Ի ՅԻՇՈՂՈՒԹԻՒՆ · Ի ՅԱԿՈԲՈՍԷ ԵՒ ՅՈՎՍԷՓ ԵՒ
ԸՆԿԵՐԱՑԱՆՑ ՊԱՀԱՒՈՐՈՑՑ · ԵՒ ՀՈՂՈՎՈՑՑ ՆՈՒՈՑՈՑ · ԵՒ ‖ ՄԻՒՆ-
ՈՈՅՆ · ԵՒ {Ո} ՈՂ ՀՈՒՅՍ ‖ ՍՈՒՐԲԱՒԱՆԻՆ ՏՈՒՆՈՎ ՀԱՅՑՑ ԵՒ ԸՆԵԼԵՑՈՂՑՑ Ի
ՍՈՒՐ ՔԱՂԱՔԻՍ ԵՐՈՒՍԱՂԷՄ Ի ՍՈՍԿԵՒՆ ՅԱՆՈՒՆ · Ի ՌՃՀԵ · ՒՆԴԻՈՍ ·
ՅԻՇԵՑԷՔ Ի ԽՐԻՍՏՈՍ ԱՄԵՆ

The second *m* of the third line is otiose, by homœoarchy, echoing *ew m-iabanic'*; the superscribed *tilde*-like mark is intended as a sign of erasure.

kazmec'(a)w ew oski//ap(a)t z(a)rd(a)r(e)c'(a)w ark'(a)y(a)k(a)n s(owr)b aw(e)t(a)r(a)ns i y(i)š(a)t(a)k gr(i)g(o)r ew y(o)vn(a)n ew abr(a)ham v(a)rd(a)p(e)t(a)c' ew cn(o)ł(a)c' n(o)c'(a) ew//mi(a)b(a)nic'. ew {m} oł(o)r//'owt'i(wn) tow(o)ł(a)c' ew ašxatoł(a)c' i sma yē(rowsał)e(mi) i s(owr)bn yakob i t'vin ṙčhz. y(i)š(e)c'(ē)k' i k'(risto)s amēn

'This royal (and) holy gospel was bound and encased-in-gold in memory of the vardapets Grigor and Yovnan and Abraham and their parents and (fellow)-monks; and (Lord have) mercy upon the donors and workers in this (city) in Jerusalem in St. James in the year 1176 (inc. 21 Sept. A.D. 1726). Remember (them) in Christ. Amen'

APPENDIX C

ENGLISH AND TRANSLITERATED VERSIONS OF ARMENIAN PLACE-NAMES

Jerusalem: St. James	
Altar of St. George (l. of main door)	Surb Geworgay Sełan
Altar of St. Nicholas (r. of main door)	Surb Nikołayosi Sełan
Cathedral of the two St. James	Surb Yakobeanc' Mayr Ekełec'i
Chapel of St. James	Surb Yakobay Matuŕ (Glxadir)
Chapel of St. Makar	Surb Makaray Matuŕ
Chapel of St. Minas	Surb Minasi Matuŕ
— Altar of St. Minas	Surb Minasi Sełan
— Altar of St. Sargis	Surb Sargsi Sełan
Church of St. Stephen (Sacristy)	Surb Step'anosi Ekełec'i (Awandatun)
— Altar of St. Cyril of Jerusalem	Surb Kiwreł Erusalēmac'woy Sełan
— Altar of St. Stephen	Surb Step'anosi Sełan
— Altar of St. Gregory the Illuminator	Surb Lusaworč'i Sełan
St. James, main Altar	Surb Yakobay Awag Sełan
— Altar of St. John Baptist (to N.)	Surb Karapeti Sełan
— Altar of Virgin Mary (to S.)	Surb Astuacacni Sełan
Chapel of St. Peter (above, to S.)	Surb Petrosi Matuŕ
Chapel of St. Paul (above, to N.)	Surb Pōłosi Matuŕ
Etchmiadzin Chapel	Surb Ējmiacni Ekełec'i
— Altar of Sinai	Sinayi Sełan
Chapel of the Apostles (above St. Minas)	Surb Aŕak'eloc' Matuŕ
Chapel of the Holy Cross	Surb Nšani Matuŕ
Chapel of the Ascension (on roof)	Surb Hambardzman Matuŕ
St. Theodore	
Church of St. Theodore	Surb T'oŕosi Ekełec'i
— Chapel of St. John the Baptist (Sacristy)	Surb Karapeti Matuŕ
— Chapel of St. Mercurius (behind main altar)	Surb Merkeriosi Matuŕ
— Altar of St. Thaddaeus and St. Sanduxt (in porch)	Surb T'adēosi ew Surb Sandxtoy Sełan
— Chapel of the Holy Spirit (on roof)	Surb Hogwoy Matuŕ
Church of the Holy Archangel	
Church of the Holy Archangel	Surb Hreštakapeti Ekełec'i
— Altar of the Torturing	Č'arč'aranac' Sełan
— Chapel of the First Prison of Christ	Aŕaǰin Bant K'ristosi
— Main altar of the Holy Archangel	Surb Hreštakapeti Sełan
— Altar of St. John the Baptist (to N.)	Surb Yovhannēs Karapeti Sełan
— Altar of Virgin Mary (to S.)	Surb Astuacacni Sełan
Chapel of St. Hrip'simē	Surb Hŕip'simēi Matuŕ
Church of the Holy Saviour	
Church of the Monastery of the Holy Saviour	Surb P'rkč'i Vanic' Ekełec'i
— Altar of the Denial of Peter	Surb Petrosi Urac'man Sełan
— Altar of the Holy Archangel	Surb Hreštakapeti Sełan
— Main altar (of the Stone)	Awag Sełan (Kap'arič' Vēmn)
— Chapel of the Second Prison of Christ	Erkrord Bant K'ristosi Matuŕ

The Refectory	Selanatun
The Wine Cellar	Ginetun
Administrative Offices	Tntestun
Bethlehem	
Church of the Nativity	K'ristosi Surb Cnndean Ekelec'i
— Altar of the Virgin Mary	Surb Astuacacni Selan
— Altar of the Kings (Magi)	Eric' Moguc' Selan

APPENDIX D

COLOPHON of Jerusalem MS. no. 154, copied by Elia Vardapet, son of Yovsep‘ of Caesaria, in A.D. 1737.

Apud Norayr Polarean, *Mayr C‘uc‘ak Jeṙagrac‘ Srboc‘ Ya̱kobeanc‘*, vol. i, 2nd ed., Jerusalem, 1966, pp. 464–5.

... When in the year 1176 (A.D. 1726/7) the order came to plaster the heavenly chapel of St. James, I myself, by the power of Almighty God, worked from the very first day until the completion of the work, on the redecoration of St. James' and the Etchmiadzin Chapel and the church of St. Stephen. I worked on the chapel of the Head of St. James (the sacristy), the chapel of Makar, and the Church of St. Sargis, which is the strong-room and treasure-house of the holy patriarchate, plastering and tiling their walls. Now since in the days of the holy patriarchs who in accordance with their constructive nature never neglected our share (of the city), reconstructing these places and repairing those things built by our forefathers (this work went on), I (in my turn) venture to say that there was not a span of space left untouched by the hands and fingers of the builders and plasterers, were it inside the holy patriarchate or the monasteries outside, or in the Waqf property (*vaxf miwlk‘ers*) newly purchased, and since, as we have said, our forefathers rebuilt, so we, in all things obedient to their wishes, worked as much as it lay in our power, not sorrowfully, but with love, joy and a willing heart, that perhaps the Lord might receive it to His glory, and might visit my sin-stained soul, and those of my parents and my whole family, alive or dead, amen.

And apart from these (above-mentioned places), I also tiled and plastered the chapel of the Holy Cross, the church of the Twelve Apostles and the church of the Holy Spirit, and worked hard on the construction of the church of St. Theodore (T‘oros), replastering the refectory (*selanatun*) inside and out, painting red and tiling the administrative offices (*tntestun*), the entire wine-store; and along with the sacred buildings above-mentioned, I replastered 260 rooms, not to mention other official and private, noteworthy and insignificant places. I also completely plastered and tiled the church of the Holy Archangel of the holy monastery outside; replastered the monastery of the Holy Saviour, the church of the Holy Mother of God in the Syrian Monastery. In our section of the church of the Nativity I plastered with my unworthy and humble hands the upper (?part) of the church of the Holy Mother of God, and inside the church of the Holy Trinity, and the refectory, reconstructing the large hall; and again in the city I rebuilt the courtyard of Mel(i)tōn Agha, the dwelling house of T‘ērzi Vardanenc‘, the house of Khač‘er Ghalfa, the house of the painter Yakob, in all forty houses; in some with the same companions and in others with special labourers I plastered to the glory of God and for the reconstruction of this holy see. But let not what I have written (seem to) be pride or vainglory; (I wrote it) that my work and building activity should be known to our holy superiors (bishops) who repaid completely the mountainous debts of this holy house which other overseers had unworthily accumulated, and produced gold and silver ornaments, and gold-spun brocades, precious stones and priceless pearls, all of which it is impossible to list, and thereafter enclosed twelve courtyards within the monastery from outside from the quarters of the town, and with a strong wall fortified that which previously having no wall was not free from the depredations of thieves, who stole the property of the pilgrims and the external furnishings of the church. Wherefore on account of the benefits of the holy bishops' benevolence, we also occupied ourselves with such spiritual works and never ceased from our tasks, and (if we now) cease, we are above all prepared for yet more work, that the Lord Jesus may grant many days in stability to the holy aged patriarch of the holy see of Jerusalem, the Lord Grigor, our father (who is) in name vigilant [cf. Gk. *γρηγορέω*] and in works spritely in the body of angels, and keep him firm on the holy throne and with (lit. on) his staff of authority burgeoning and blossoming with spiritual progeny, amen.

(Translated by C. J. F. Dowsett)

APPENDIX E

Mikʿayēl Čʿamčʿeancʿ, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, vol. iii, ch. 46, pp. 768 ff. (a précis, often couched in identical terms, of Hannē Vartapet's more rhetorical and impassioned account; cf. M. Nšanean, *Patmutʿiwn Erusałēmi*, pp. 691–3, 711–14, etc.).

Ałekʿsandr Julayecʿi died on November 22, 1714, having been catholicos for 8 years, and after six months Tēr Astuacatur from Ahmatan, that is Hamadan, succeeded in his place on May 7, 1715. He decorated the church of Etchmiadzin on the inside with shining pure white plaster and divers images and golden ornaments; and bringing from distant places precious marble stones, he decorated in a fitting and beautiful fashion the place of the descent of the only-begotten (Son of God); he also made other renovations and redecorations. In his first year the see of Jerusalem was in dire straits; and to what extent is described by Yovhannēs Vardapet, called Hannē or Hennē, a monk of St. James, in the book he has written concerning places in Jerusalem, from which we shall quote here in brief, adding to this account things which we have heard from reliable eyewitnesses.

After Awetikʿ Vardapet had assumed for the second time the patriarchate of Jerusalem from the hands of Minas Vardapet Hamdecʿi, there was no patriarch there, but he who was patriarch of Constantinople administered Jerusalem also, and sent there annually representatives from the laymen and clergy, who with the title of Papa and Vekil had charge of the places there, and practised many untoward things, concerning which the same Yovhannēs Hannē, an eyewitness, writes at great length, and in distress (pp. 122–7). First, they greatly tormented the monks of St. James, and forced them to do their wishes; they put the old ones in prison and beat and fettered the young ones; they cut down the monks' food and gave them worthless things to eat, and that meanly and insultingly; and if any of the monks reproached them, they tormented him all the more. Secondly, they sold and consumed the goods and chattels of the monastery and anything useful, even brass objects; they sold chalices, gospels, incense burners, candle-sticks, sistra, caskets, and many other priceless things. Thirdly, they pledged the property of the monastery (that is, the *Mülk*) and sold it in secret. Fourthly, they borrowed money at interest from the Moslems, giving them a certificate upon which the seal of St. James was set; and these debts increased day by day, and the interest mounted up. Fifthly, since these administrators (locum tenens) were appointed annually, certain people sold the office of locum tenens in Constantinople; and when the pilgrims wished to visit Jerusalem, they took their charitable gifts in Constantinople, and gave the pilgrims a paper to show in Jerusalem that they might not be asked to pay anything there; but when they arrived in Jerusalem, the local agents who had not yet relinquished their office, exacted by force from them whatever they wished, so that gifts were made in two places; and on this account the number of pilgrims diminished. Sixthly, when new administrators arrived in Jerusalem, there was every month trouble and dispute in the monasteries there on account of the dispersal by the previous administrators of the monastery of the belongings of the monastery and on account of the accumulated debts. Seventhly, when the time came to pay the debts, the Moslem creditors, after exerting pressure on the administrators, then came and entered the monastery with the bailiffs of the court and soldiers, and sat there; and they daily damaged and spoiled many places, demanding (payment of) their debts. Sometimes they shut up the church and refused to allow the services to take place. Sometimes, even, whilst the priest was celebrating Mass, they entered and dared to snatch the chalice from the hands of the celebrant. And there were many other various disorders, which offended many of the monks, who left and went elsewhere; whereby the monastery of St. James became almost a 'ploughed field' [lit. land of fruit-watchers LXX *ὀπωροφυλάκιον*]. All this was known by the Armenians who lived in Constantinople, but they could do nothing; for though they on occasions sent men there to remedy the situation, this proved impossible.

At this time, in the year 1713, there came to Constantinople a certain Yovhannēs Vardapet, of Bitlis (Bałēš), a monk of the monastery of St. John the Baptist which is in Tarōn, in order to collect alms for the needs of the monastery, whose abbot was Grigor Vardapet Širwancʿi, or Širakvancʿi; and both Grigor and Yovhannēs had been pupils of Vardan Vardapet, the monk of the monastery of Amrdolu, which is in Bałēš (Bitlis); wherefore both were called *Bałišecʿi* (of Bitlis).

And because this same Yovhannēs Vardapet was of good moral behaviour, and intelligent, and eloquent in preaching, the patriarch of Constantinople, Sahak Vardapet Apuč'exc'i, noticed him and gave him a friendly welcome. And the notables among the Armenians, seeing that he was a virtuous man, firm in speech and courageous in deeds, and capable in all things, decided among themselves to send him to Jerusalem to preach to the see of St. James, and to find ways of freeing it from its debts; then with one accord they elected him *telakal* (locum tenens) of Jerusalem, and the representative of the patriarch; and they sent him thither; they also sent with him Israyēl Vardapet, who was called Połos (Paul) as his coadjutor.

When Yovhannēs Vardapet came to Jerusalem and saw the deplorable state of the monastery and churches, he strove with all his might to free it from its difficulties. And first of all, in the same year, he saved the little monastery, which had been given as a pledge, from being sold; and he retrieved from the hands of the creditors the silver lamps of the Holy Tomb, and also the garden in the monastery of the Holy Archangel; on account of which he suffered many humiliations and calumnies from those creditors who were in league with those who had plundered (the monastery).

While he was involved in these matters, Sahak Vardapet was deposed from the patriarchate (of Constantinople) and Yovhannēs Vardapet Gandzakec'i about whom we have written in Ch. 44, sat in his place. And he sent four men to Jerusalem who had previously caused much damage to the monastery of St. James, and whatever remained in the house, they plundered and dispersed, and trampled underfoot the many great labours of Yovhannēs Bališec'i.

When the creditors saw there was still no hope of collecting their debts, as everything had been exhausted, they brought from Constantinople a royal decree to the effect that all the lands and dwellings and monasteries of St. James should be sold, and their debts paid. Hearing this, the four men decided first to sell the monastery of the Holy Saviour, and then the others. Hearing news of this, the few monks who remained there penetrated into the houses of the creditors clerical and secular, and with many supplications and bitter tears besought them to be patient for another year, and seeing their tears, they had pity on them, but demanded guarantors. They turned to Yovhannēs Vardapet, and begged him to stand as guarantor, and brought him to the court. Seeing Yovhannēs Vardapet, they came to an agreement and accepted his guarantee; and they took from him a document stipulating that they would give him four years, and that he would year by year and little by little repay all the debts.

And they took him together with the monks to the governor (*bdeašx*), that is, the pasha, that the agreement should be ratified at his command; and they showed him Yovhannēs' document; and the pasha agreed to it, praised Yovhannēs Vardapet and gave him presents, and dressed him in a robe of honour. Yovhannēs came to the monastery and had consultations with the monks; and with their agreement he first of all found the general seal of the monastery, and destroyed it; for all the administrators, who incurred debts, used to seal the documents with the same seal; and the seal was called *ortaghi möhür*; and there was written on it the name of the monastery of St. James.

Having acted thus and put in order the affairs of the monastery, Yovhannēs Vardapet returned to Constantinople in 1715, and going to the Armenian notables, he acquainted them with everything, including the guarantee; and they approved it, and praised him, and tried to find means of bringing matters to a head. And Yovhannēs Vardapet explained (the state of affairs to them) and said that the repayment of the debts would benefit the see (of Jerusalem) nothing, unless a patriarch was appointed especially for the see who might look after it with paternal care.

Approving of this, the Armenian notables one day assembled and in his presence said that if he wished that things should be done properly, he should first become patriarch of Constantinople, and should then appoint whomsoever he liked patriarch of Jerusalem, but he refused, saying that this could not be; for if after one year they should depose him from the patriarchate, as they had done to many, how should he be able to pay the debts of Jerusalem, and fulfil his guarantee? They answered that they would not allow that to happen, and that they were prepared not only to protect him, but to clear away all obstacles and to contrive every means to ensure that he was released from his guarantee. Yovhannēs Gandzakec'i agreed to this, and promised to renounce the patriarchate of his own free will.

And when Yovhannēs Bališec'i accepted their request, they made him patriarch immediately, he not yet being a bishop; as a nickname he was also called *Kolot* ('Midget'); and this took place on Friday, September 16, 1715. And the next day Yovhannēs celebrated Mass and consecrated before the altar Grigor Vardapet, the abbot of the church of St. John the Baptist, as

patriarch of Jerusalem; and he had the same done in the other churches. . . .

The Catholicos (Astuacatur), being very pleased with this (proposal to elect Grigor as patriarch of Jerusalem), wrote to Grigor Vardapet and with a compulsory decree forced him to accept the office for the good of the nation. And he came to Constantinople unwillingly in August 1717, on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin; and he was accepted in friendship and love by the people, who wrote a letter immediately to the monks of St. James, and informed them of the events; and they appointed as locum tenens (*tełakal*) of the house of Jerusalem the above-mentioned Yovhannēs Vardapet Erusałēmacʿi, who is called Hannē, until Grigor Vardapet should arrive. And Grigor Vardapet himself remained for a time in Constantinople, that together with Yovhannēs Bališecʿi he might attend to the greatly accumulated debts of the patriarchate which had reached the sum of 800 purses of gold [p. 733]. And he devoted so much energy to this that he astonished the Moslems. He then put around his neck a heavy iron chain and locked it, and swore to God never to remove the chain until he had mercy on the troubles of the patriarchate; and on feast days, standing in the chapel of the Holy Mother of God wearing his chain, he tearfully appealed to the people who entered the church, saying to them on behalf of the see of Jerusalem: 'Have mercy, have mercy on me, you believers in Christ; for my house is in bond, and my children are taken from me, and I have entered captivity and sit in bitter mourning; have mercy on me; take away and resolve the weight of my debts which are heaped upon me; I was the throne of the Apostle James, and now I am a throne of debts; and there is none to help me.'

Working thus, he moved all the people to mercy, and collected much in aid of the patriarchate. And the chain remained around his neck eight years, and on this account he was called the 'Chainbearer', by the Moslems, *Zinçirli Vardapet*; and after eight years when Karapet was catholicos, about whom we shall write below, the catholicos himself, and the patriarch Yovhannēs Kolot had the chain removed, or rather they removed it (themselves) from his neck.

And at that time while Grigor Vardapet the Chainbearer was in Constantinople and together with Yovhannēs Kolot strove for the alleviation of the debts of Jerusalem, there was a great fire in the town, beginning from Yunghapan up to Çinar tipi; and it lasted 34 hours; according to the account some 50,000 houses were burned, and 15,000 people; the church of the Holy Mother of God was also burned. Seeing this, the two Vardapets almost despaired of being able to do anything; for they did not know what to put their hand to (first), the debts of Jerusalem or the rebuilding of the church; for untold expenses were necessary to procure a decree from the court in order to build it, and untold expenses to buy the material, and finish the construction. But they placed their hope in the protection of the Holy Virgin, made great efforts and received the decree, and built it, working in person among the workmen among the earth and dust.

While they were occupied in this work, the Latins and Greeks received a *firman* from the court to repair and rebuild their parts of the church of the Holy Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) in Jerusalem. Hearing this, the two vardapets at great trouble and expense procured a *firman* from the court to rebuild also the Armenian part; and they wrote immediately to Hannē Vardapet to begin the building; and this took place in 1720. And although he had nothing, because he was frightened when he considered the enormity of the debts, he set to and built and finished it, and how, we see in his book [pp. 188–92].

The two patriarchs, by their great efforts collecting much money, paid part of the debts, and then bought much property in Jaffa so that the income from it might serve not only to pay off the remaining debts, but also the needs of the monastery of St. James. After this, Grigor Vardapet left Constantinople and travelled to Jerusalem; and arriving first in Beria (Berœa), that is Aleppo, he bought much property there on behalf of Jerusalem; and he repaired there the hostel for Armenian pilgrims, and built additional rooms. And leaving Beria, he came to Jerusalem in the year of our Lord 1721, February 12th, with many pilgrims, and entered the city in great glory; for even the Moslems, who had heard about him, wanted to see him. Sitting on the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, he in turn paid all the debts, and redeemed all the pledges; and he decorated the monastery and the churches, and embellished them with all manner of ornaments and in great glory; and he repaired other churches and monasteries of the Armenians. He erected the wall of the monastery, and built from the foundation the rooms for the pilgrims, and in the middle of St. James built the altar of the Holy Cross; and he enlarged the sacristy, in which was the altar of the Holy Illuminator. He also built in Bethlehem the monastery of the Nativity, and assembled many monks there. And in the Armenian year 1174 (A.D. 1724/5) he built the convent in Jaffa,

and in it the church of St. Nicholas. He repaired also the monastery of the Holy Archangel, and erected in the church an altar to St. Hrip'simē. And after two years he procured a *firman* from the court by the agency of the patriarch Yovhannēs, and repaired the church of St. James in wondrous splendour; he also built many other things, about which you can read in Hannē Vardapet. And all this he did with great success.

(Translated by C. J. F. Dowsett)

APPENDIX F

A SHORT biography of Abraham Kretac'i is given by Bishop M. Aławnuni, *Miabank' ew ayc'eluk' Hay Erusałēmi* (Monks and Visitors in Armenian Jerusalem), Jerusalem, 1929, pp. 3–4:

Pupil of the theologian Yovsēp' Vardapet (Tašean, *Catalogue of the Vienna MSS.*, p. 1039,[1] his kondakion of 1733); nuncio of Jerusalem, 1711–1717; visits St. James on pilgrimage 1719–21, and writes about this in his autograph colophon in (Jerusalem St. James) MS. no. 23, *Lives of the Fathers*;[2] 'first went to Jerusalem in the year 1168 (A.D. 1719) remaining there two years at (the church of the Holy) Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre), and in all the holy places of Christ's ministry in the tenth year of my aṙaǰnord-ship of Thrace . . . and in the Armenian year 1183 (A.D. 1734) on April 23rd I left Thrace to go to Holy Etchmiadzin. . . .' (*History of events*, p. 2). Aṙaǰnord of Thrace; during his office as aṙaǰnord he copied a work by John Chrysostom; from his autograph memorial one learns of his origin and (finds) a description of Prokhoron vardapet, monk of Jerusalem: 'this pearl of a book by John Chrysostom was finished in the year of our Japhetic race 1164 (A.D. 1715) in the month of December, on the tenth day; its copying was begun by the monk Prokhoron and he left it incomplete and went wilfully off to Jerusalem, while I remained amid (great) vexations and could barely bring it to completion on account of my many occupations. Now it is finished by my hand, by me Abraham of Crete, philologist, in the fourth year of my office as aṙaǰnord in the province of Thrace in the town of T'ēk'irtał . . . Now I beg (you) to remember in the Lord . . . my parents, my father the *kalfa* Arzuman T'ōsunenc' of Kayseri' (Zarbhanalean, *History of Armenian Literature*, Venice, 1905, p. 142). Catholicos of All Armenians, 1734–7, he issued a kondakion (*Sion*, 1877, pp. 49–53, 73–77), from which one learns that his pupil Archbishop Yovhannēs was appointed in his place as aṙaǰnord in 1734. The Catholicos Abraham wrote a work entitled *The history of events, his own and those of Nadir Shah of Persia*, 2nd ed., Etchmiadzin 1870; Brosset translated the same into French (*Collection des historiens arméniens*, t. II, pp. 257–337). Kretac'i copied also in St. James in 1722 a Mashtotz in *notrgir*, with sermons by Bishop Arak'el of Siwnik' and the vardapets Matt'ēos and Tiratur . . . (Kareneanc', Y., *Catalogue of MSS. at Etchmiadzin*, Tiflis 1863, no. 956, p. 138).

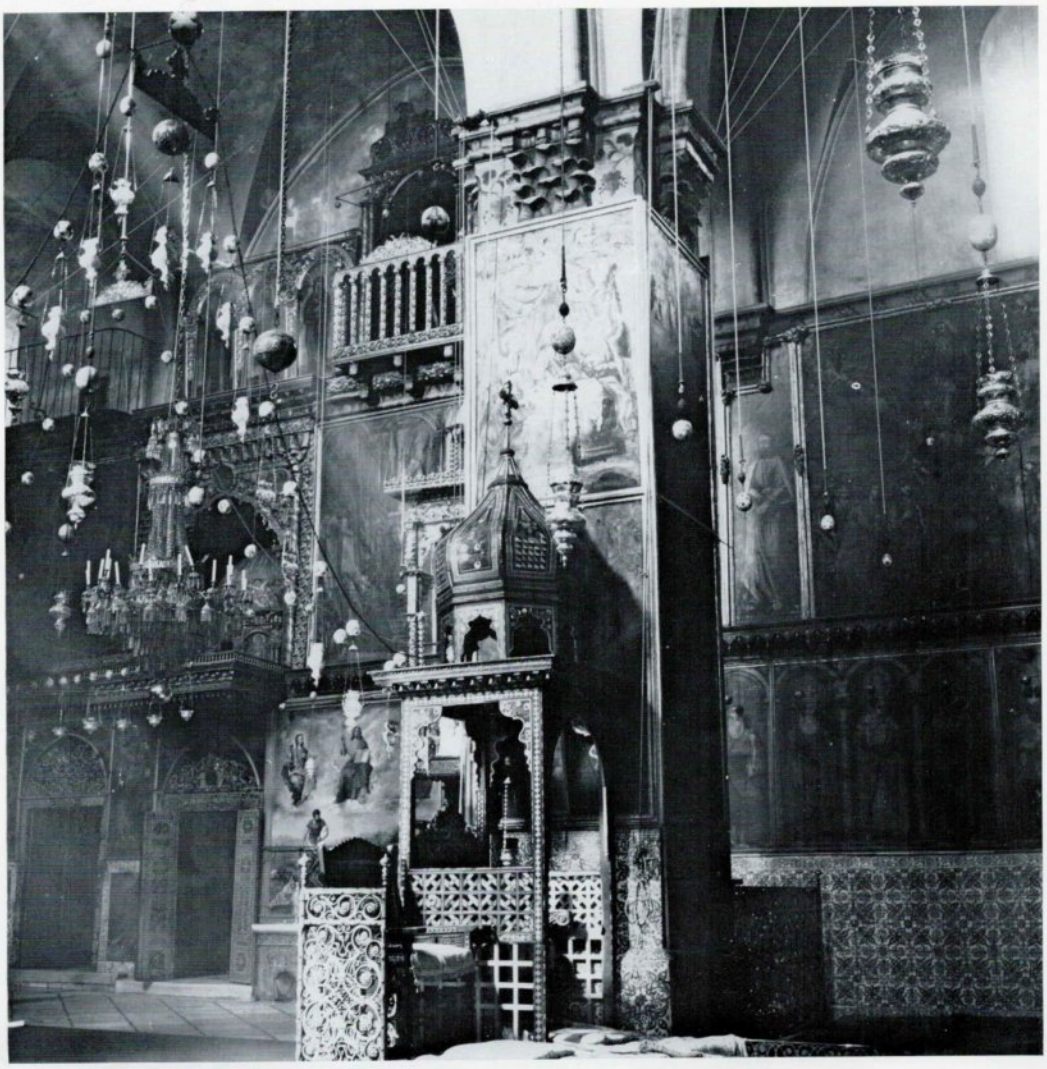
(Translated by C. J. F. Dowsett)

[1] Actually p. 1031 (MS. no. 563) of Y. Tašean (J. Dashian), *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Vienna*, Wien, 1895.

[2] This is reproduced by N. Połarean, *Mayr C'uc'ak Jeṙagrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'*, vol. i, 2nd ed., Jerusalem, 1966, p. 124. Somewhat defective, it reads: 'In the year 1168 [A.D. 1718] on 10th October at the time of the patriarchate of the holy city of Jerusalem of the Lord Grigor Širvanc'i, an alumnus of Amrdōlu (Vank'), and during the primacy (*aṙaǰnordut'iwn*) of the capital of Constantinople of the Lord Yovhannēs, erudite vardapet, I, most vile of vardapets, the fraudulent Abraham Kretac'i, came on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Christ's ministry . . . of the town of *T'ēk'irtał* in which . . . the dome at the expense of the three princi ⟨? pal nations, the Armenians, Latins and⟩ Greeks [see tiles B12, B13], by the overseeing and effort . . .'



THE PATRIARCHAL THRONE in the Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM, interior looking NW



'AN ASIAN HORSEMAN.' Turkish miniature, in the British Museum.
Sloane MS. no. 5258



'A SPAHIS OF ROMANYA.' Turkish miniature, in the British Museum. Sloane MS. no. 5258



'A GUNNOR.' Turkish miniature, in the British Museum. Sloane MS. no. 5258



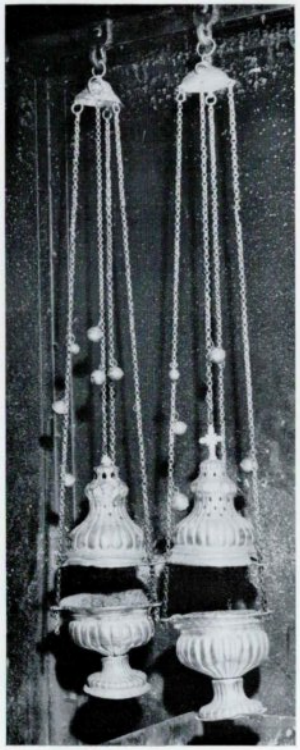
a



b

a. DETAIL OF A WALL-PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION, in a cell of the Nunnery, the Church of St. Catherine, New Julfa, Isfahan; 17th century

b. WALL-PAINTING in the Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos



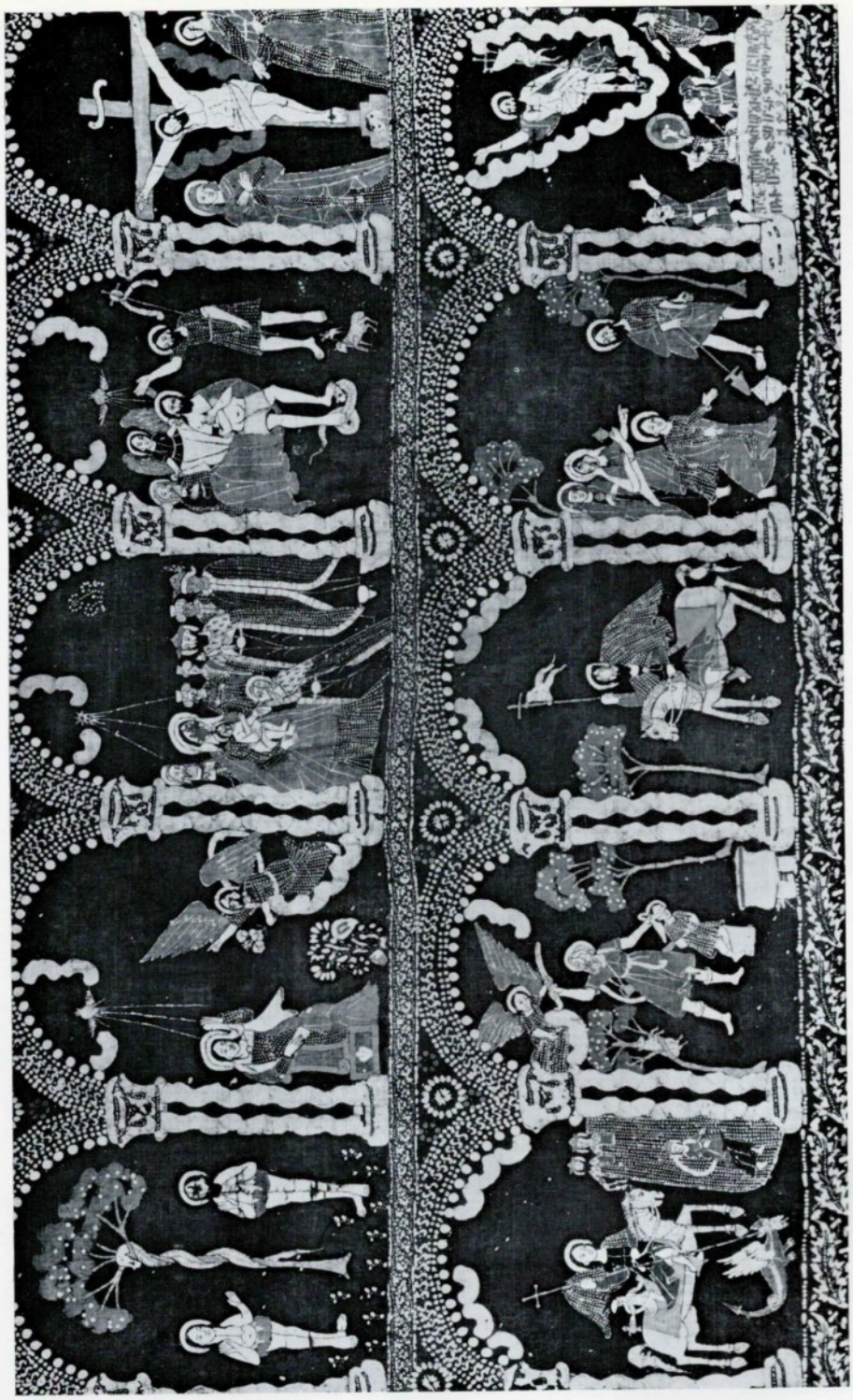
a



b

a. TWO CENSERS. From the Sacristy, the Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem

b. A PROCESSION through the streets of Jerusalem, in honour of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin



PAINTED TEXTILE, with an Armenian inscription. Victoria and Albert Museum, London: 53822



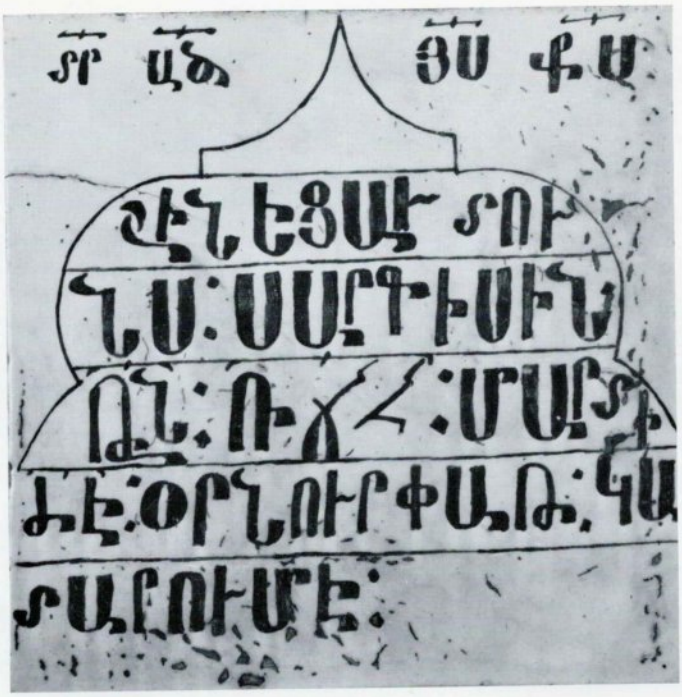
a



b

a. PAINTED TEXTILE, with an Armenian inscription. Victoria and Albert Museum; 53143

b. PAINTED TEXTILE, with Armenian letters above the cross. Victoria and Albert Museum; Z/1541



a



b

a. TILE, A.D. 1721. 18 cm. square. Victoria and Albert Museum

b. TILE PANEL, A.D. 1726/7. H. Centre tile, 21 cm. wide; border tiles, 30·6 cm. long. Hazarian collection



a



b



c



d



e



f

INCENSE-HOLDER, A.D. 1726/7. 8·2 cm. high, 13·5 cm. diameter. Cincinnati Art Museum



a



b



c



d



e



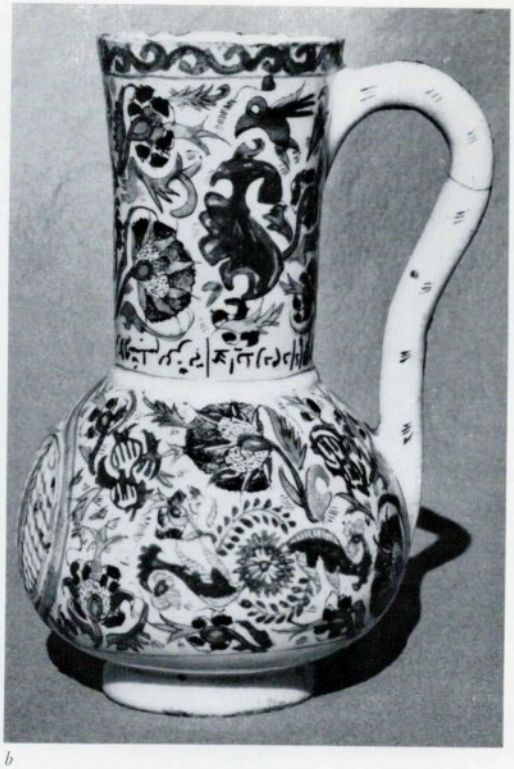
f

a, b, c, d. INCENSE-HOLDER, A.D. 1740. 9·4 cm. high, 11·8 cm. diameter. The Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice

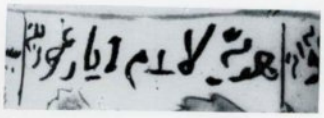
e, f. JUG, A.D. 1760/1. 12·5 cm. high, 15 cm. diameter. The British Museum



a



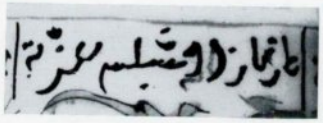
b



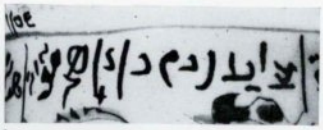
c



d



e

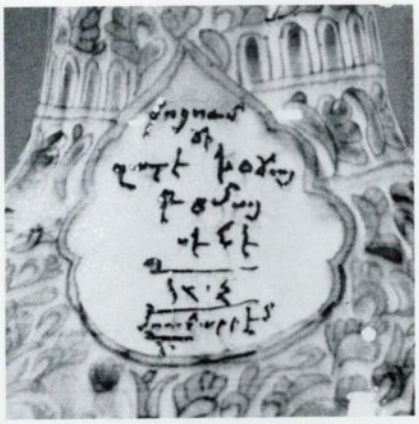


f

a, b. JUG, A.D. 1741/2. 18 cm. high, 11 cm. diameter. The Gezirah Museum, Cairo
c, d, e, f. DETAILS OF INSCRIPTION round neck of jug



a

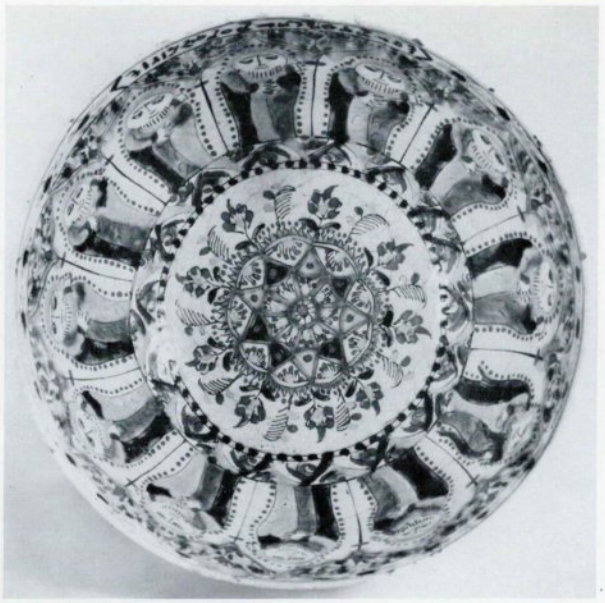


b



c

a, *b*. FLASK, A.D. 1789. 34·6 cm. high, 19 cm. diameter. The Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice
c. PILGRIM BOTTLE, A.D. 1763/4. 22·9 cm. high, 18 cm. diameter. The Armenian Convent of San Lazzaro, Venice



a



b



c



d

a, *b*, *c*. BOWL, A.D. 1764/5. 12 cm. high, 22·7 cm. diameter
d. MARK ON BASE. Collection of Lt.-Col. R. H. Brocklebank, London



a



b

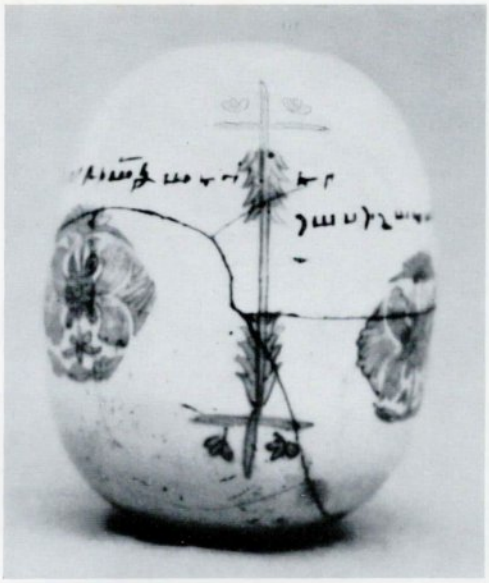


c



d

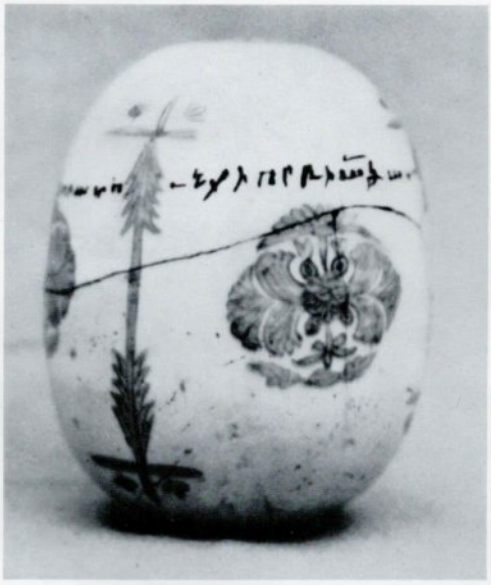
HANGING ORNAMENT, 15·2 cm. high, 10·7 cm. diameter. Above the main altar, Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem



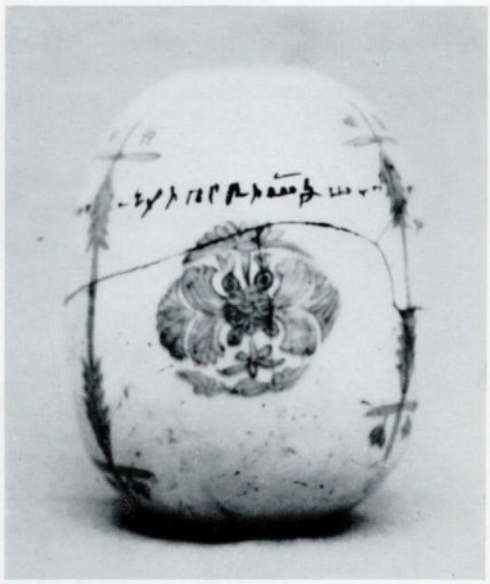
a



b



c



d

HANGING ORNAMENT, 14·4 cm. high, 10·7 cm. diameter. The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem (*see also* Plate 24 *e*, *f*)



a



b



c



d



e



f

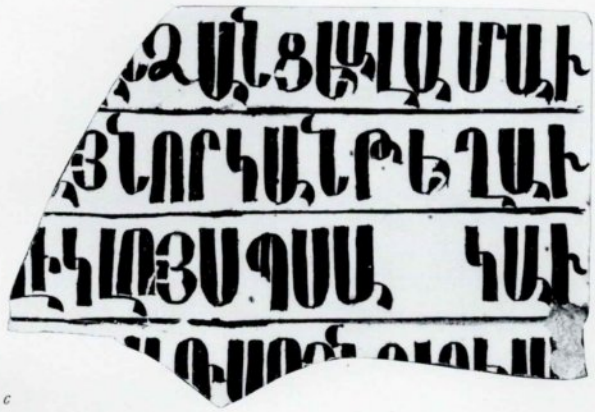
INCENSE-HOLDER, 11·8 cm. high, 8·5 cm. diameter. The Treasury of St. James, Jerusalem (*see also* Plate 24 *d*)



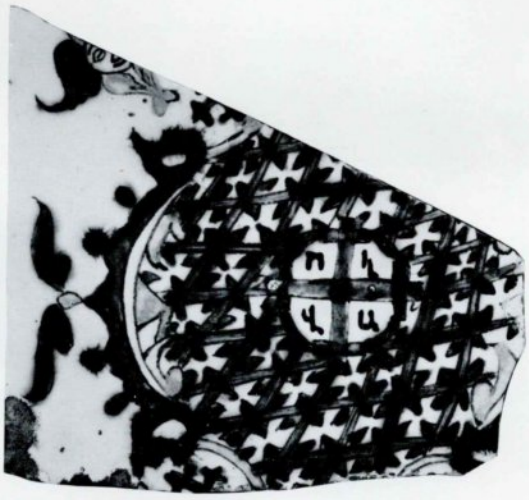
a



b



c



d

a. TILE FRAGMENT. The Benachi Museum, Athens
b. TILE, A.D. 1843. 17·2 cm. high, 16·2 cm. wide. Musée Céramique de Sèvres
c. TILE FRAGMENT, 21 cm. wide, 14·5 cm. high. The American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum
d. TILE FRAGMENT, 15 cm. by 14·5 cm. The American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum

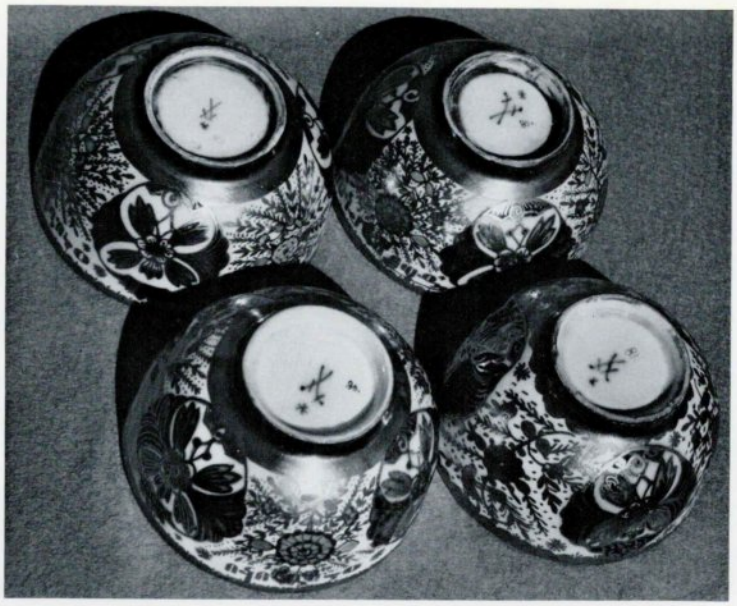


a



b

a. TILE FRIEZE. The mosque of Ali Pasha, Kütahya (*see also* Volume II, Plate 31)
b. TILE, 19 cm. wide, 26 cm. high. The British Museum



a

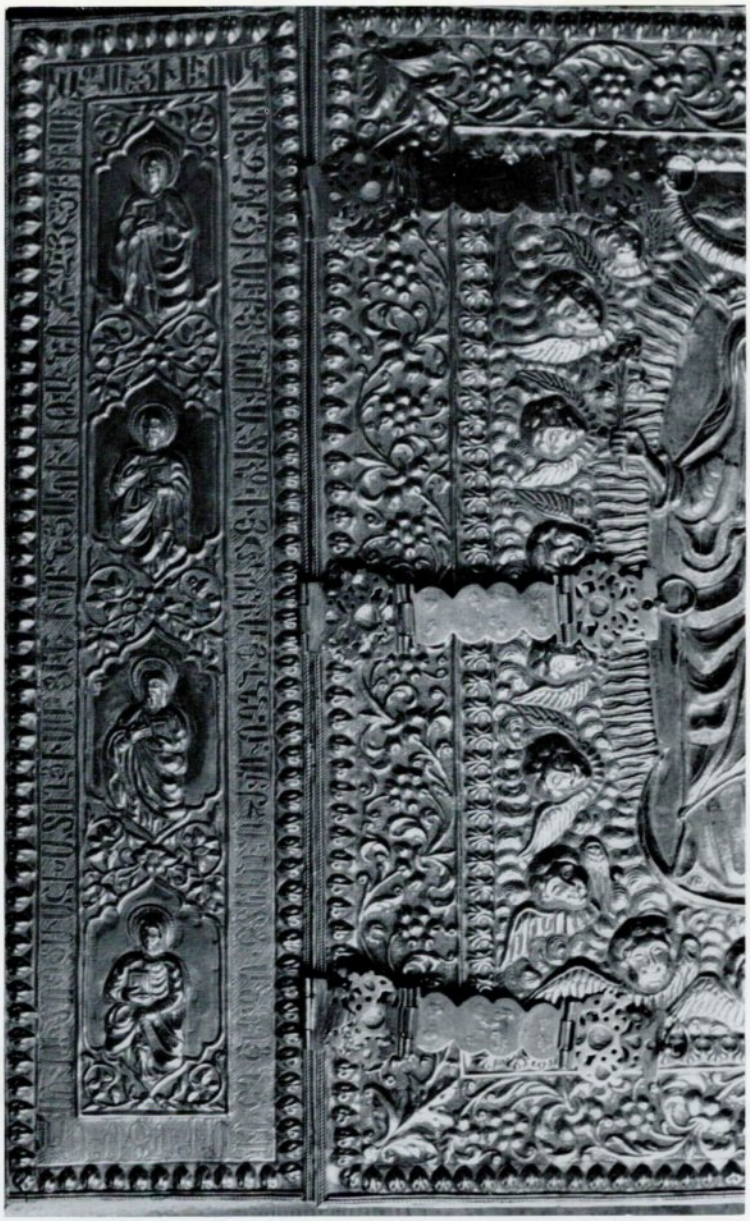


b



c

FOUR MEISSEN CUPS with Armenian inscriptions, A.D. 1794/5, 5·2 cm. high, 9 cm. diameter. The Patriarchal collection, St. James, Jerusalem



GOLD CASE, dated A.D. 1726/7. For the 'Geran Gospels' of A.D. 1272. The Treasury of St. James, Jeruslaem