

The Armenian Trace in Monumental Painting of Cappadocia

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Keywords: Armenia, Cappadocia, church, fresco, correlation, evangelical scene, pictogram, style, ornament.

Abstract. Even the most superficial examination of Cappadocian church fresco painting and its reflection in R. Bixio's book¹ indicates that Armenian, Greek, Horom² and Roman cultural correlations go beyond the frames of pure art and become the hard rock of the multi-layered history of the Middle Ages, around which political, theological, state/administrative, moral, and philosophical passions have been risen for more than a millennium. Suffice it to point out the fight against idolatry that has sown discord among thrones, countries and churches and destroyed them, has caused public unrest and unrestrained mob rule for people.

On the other hand, this purely theological radical conflict led to the emergence of a large number of wonderful medieval philosophical works, while, aiming to strengthen the foundations of the Armenian Apostolic Church and preserve it from the influence of different sects, the internal relationships of the Armenian Church were regulated³.

In this article, we will try to show the Horom/Armenian fresco painting as a successful example of interpenetration of cultures in the scope of the universal culture.

Idolatry and opposition in the Eastern Roman Empire

Despite the numerous persecutions of Christianity in the Roman Empire, the issue of idolatry has almost never been raised to the level of conflict and has never made part of the agenda of the state politics. The Catholic Church was born and formed in the powerful environment of the Roman culture, so the continuous contacts with art, even at the level of everyday life, could not and did not give rise to any intolerance towards idolatry. The situation was quite different in the Eastern Roman Empire or Rome and in Armenia. The initial official language of the Empire, Latin, was replaced by Greek⁴, with the demographic picture in different states being sharply differentiated due to different cultures, languages and faiths, even in the geographic areas that have been the biotope for the ethnic population for many centuries. Arianism⁵, Nestorianism⁶, the Pavlikians⁷, the followers⁸ and opponents of idolatry⁹, Judaism, Islam and Christianity, coexisting under the same statehood, had created such a knot of antagonism and contradictions that the conflict someday would inevitably lead to riots. In these conditions, however, the imperial authorities were subordinating the problems of religious currents¹⁰ for a long time and did not give priority to any of the religious directions.

In this respect, the example of Cappadocia was typical for its tolerance, with idolatry being traditionally preserved by the fact of King Abgar's¹¹ conversion to Christianity and further developments¹². Nicholas Adontz, based on the testimony of the 6th century historian and church figure Evagros, quotes that the Sasanian King Khosrov was unable to conquer Edessa in 544 because there were images of Christ and Virgin Mary not made by hand¹³, inherited from Abgar. The other characteristics was the presence of ethnic peoples and cultures. The Armenian, Armenian-speaking and Greek-speaking population has been indigenous for more than two millennia. It was only after the Great Armenian Genocide of 1915 that Armenians disappeared, and Greeks were deported in 1920s. The Armenian-Greek cultural relationships were so much intertwined that we find numerous Armenian names in the Byzantine epic story¹⁴.

Armenia under the rule of Horom

Destruction of noble houses and changes in the cultural environment

The scientific community has long been aware of various historical events, particularly deportation of Armenians due to recurring invasions and settling in Cappadocia bordering Lesser Armenia and especially their role in military-political and spiritual-cultural life of Cappadocia starting from the 10th-11th centuries. This is proven by various Armenian and European sources¹⁵. They refer to the life of Armenians living in Cappadocia, the activity of the Armenian theme (military/administrative division), and building and illustrating monasteries and churches by Armenians. Presence of Armenians for centuries in the region has left its mark on the cultural, spiritual life and art of the multinational ethnic environment [3, 6].

Research and results

Since early 20th century, thanks to the fundamental works by European scholars studying the Byzantine and Eastern-Christian art (Helmut Rott, Guillaume de Jerphanion, Nicolas and Michel Thierry, Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, and others), monuments of architecture and frescos of the rock-cut churches discovered and explored by them in Cappadocia were put into circulation¹⁶. These works tell about the participation of local Armenian masters and painters in construction and illustration of a number of churches, also putting forward the hypothesis that some of the churches belonged to Armenians themselves¹⁷ (Fig.1).

The correlations between Cappadocian and Armenian art were addressed also by Armenian specialists (Sirarpi Ter-Nersisyan, Hravard Hakobyan, Vighen Ghazaryan, Levon Chugaszyan, Seda Manukyan) in their pictographic and form and style analyses of particular monuments of medieval art, paying special attention to the interactions and commonalities of the Cappadocian monumental painting and the Armenian miniature painting¹⁸ (Fig.2).

One of the issues still needing proper research is the correlation between the artistic decoration of Cappadocia churches of 10th – 12th centuries (including the Armenian ones) and the Armenian frescoes. The aim of their exploration is to get a more complete picture of the artistic, pictographic and stylistic peculiarities of the monumental painting of the land located in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire [4 -7, 17, 22].

While studying the frescoes of the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia, the European scholars have been singling out a group of monuments, the artistic decoration of which (according to J. Lafontaine-Dosogne) bear the stamp of traditions of the eastern, most probably Armenian architecture and painting¹⁹. For these monuments, G. de Jerphanion uses the phrase “churches having Armenian influence” (Fig. 2,5). They are located mainly in areas of Ihlara, Göreme, Ortahisar, part of which was discovered in 1963 by N. and M. Thierry²⁰. The illustrations of churches in Egri Tashi, Kokari, Pyurenli Seki, Vilanle, Tokali, Aghuts-Altı, and Chemlekchi are more remarkable. The Thierry note that the painting in the Armenian-influenced churches and those belonging to Armenians is not homogeneous; with all their commonalities, two pictographic and stylistic groups are distinguished. In one of them the influence from the capital city art dominates, which, combined with the local traditions, in all cases acquire new manifestations. The Armenian-Cappadocian artistic relations are most clearly evident in the next group of monuments, the so-called "archaic" (formulated by Jerphanion) monuments adjoining the folk direction, which are distinguished by the use of ancient pictographic types, simple forms of performance, and local, limited colors and decorative elements. It is related to the artistic tradition of Vaspurakan that had penetrated to Cappadocia from Upper Armenia²¹ (Fig. 1,2,3) [4, 6, 19, 22].

Comparing the illustration systems of Armenian and Cappadocian churches of 10th – 12th centuries, we can notice that a similar pictographic program has been used in both cases²². In the illustration system, the design of the Sanctuary (High Altar) is of primary significance: in the dome is the image of Christ in Glory, in Legislative pictographic depictions or in Ascension and Intercession, which have their parallels in the Byzantine and Eastern Christian art²³. On the semicircular wall of the sanctuary, there are the images of apostles, Virgin Mary, and the saints of the Universal Church

standing tall, with the portraits of the latter in medallions being placed also on the arch of the sanctuary²⁴, while on the walls, there are scenes of the Lord's series arranged in a frieze and separated from each other with ornamented bypass line or a single-color line. We can get an idea about this pictographic program from the partially preserved samples of the Armenian monumental painting of the 7th – 10th centuries (Lmbatavank, Aruch, Karmavor in Ashtarak and Mren, 7th century; Poghos-Petros (Paul-Peter) in Tatev and Sb. Nshan (St. Cross) in Haghpat, 10th century) [1, 2, 16, 18].

This system of illustration in the Armenian art can be seen in St. Cross Church in Akhtamar (915-925) and, as noticed by S. Ter-Nersesyan, in the 10th century rock-cut chapels in **Cappadocia**²⁵. Comparative parallels can be drawn between the illustrations of the St. Cross Church and those of churches and chapels in Vilanle, Holy Virgin in Göreme, Pürenle Seki, Ayval, and Aghuts-Alt. For example, on the eastern facade of Vilanle there is the images of Reigning and Legislator Christ, angels on the arch and portraits of saints in two rows, in the left and the right sides of the vault. On the eastern façade of the Holy Virgin Chapel, in the top of the forward-placed two-arched sanctuary, is the scene of the Intercession, with the images of ancestors, apostles and saints of the church in medallions stretching through the center of the vault and thematic scenes on the sides. In Ortahisar, on the eastern façade is the image of Christ Emmanuel, on the ark is the ancestors of Christ, kings David and Solomon standing tall; in Ayvali, on both sides of enthroned Christ the apostles are depicted standing face to face²⁶. In Cappadocian churches that we observed, the commonality of a certain system of distribution of images indicates the existence of monumental painting tradition formed in a multinational cultural environment (Fig. 2,5) [12, 16, 23].

Correlations between Armenian monumental art works and the “Armenian-influenced” Cappadocian church illustrations are noticeable also in the pictography and style of evangelic scenes. A number of scholars have referred to commonalities of some of the Lordly scenes in the Armenian art, in particular in miniature painting, and in Cappadocian frescoes (“Birth”, “Baptism”, “Foot Washing”, “Crucifixion”, “Harrowing of Hell”, etc.)²⁷. They are a result of long and close cultural contacts and prompt that the painters were aware of similar monuments or the existence of the same prototypes. For example, the scene of crucifixion in Akhtamar and in the 10th – 11th century Cappadocian frescoes (Achikle Aga, Chemlekchi) have features characteristic for early type. The crucified Christ's face is calm, He is dressed with collobium, with images of the sun and the moon over His head, on the right side is John and the soldier with spear and three women on the left²⁸. In the nativity scene, the pictographic image of Joseph sitting in the left corner, with his back to the viewer is typical of the Cappadocian fresco painting (Forty Martyrs of Sebaste Church), which is typical also of Armenian miniature paintings (Moghni Gospel, Trabizond Gospel, Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation, manuscript 1400-108)²⁹ [10, 12, 14, 17, 21].

By the style of depicting, there are similarities between the images of saints standing high under the arches of Armenian (Mren, 6th – 7th c., Karmavor and Aruch in Ashtarak, 7th c., Akhtamar, Tatev and Haghbat 10th c.)³⁰ and Cappadocian (St. Virgin, St. John, Nikita (Nicetas) Stylites, 10th-11th cc.) churches, with somewhat stretched bas-relief faces having features characteristic of Armenian faces: raised eyebrows, wide open large eyes, slightly curved nose and longish mouth. Art connoisseur L. Durnovo and V. Lazarev have marked that such features were completely different from Egyptian, Assyrian and Ravenna types and, on the contrary, left their trace on all the further Cappadocian and Byzantine art [8, 12, 13, 16].

In terms of mutual pictographic interactions, the images of holy soldiers in the Armenian and Cappadocian art are remarkable. In his work dedicated to these soldiers, V. Lazarev connects this to their cult quite widespread in Armenia and Cappadocia³¹. In Armenian monuments (the most ancient examples are the monument in Dvin, the 4th century fresco paintings in Lmbatavank and 7th century³² frescoes in Talin, Kosh, and Karmavor in Ashtarak, bas-reliefs in Akhtamar, etc.). St. Sargis, St. Gevorg and St. Theodorus are presented with the pictographic types of both fighters against sinister forces and martyrs, without symbols of sinister forces under the horse's hooves. These two pictographic types of St. Soldiers can be encountered also in the Cappadocian fresco painting (e.g. in St. Barbara Church in Göreme, Tokali kilise), which have common use of the graphic method of performance, pure and bright colors, and the artistic trick of outlining the image with dark chestnut

color. It is remarkable that in Cappadocian monuments, unlike the Armenian and Western samples, the equestrian saints are mainly presented in pairs and with the heads of horses facing each other [2, 4, 12, 15, 20, 23].

The stylistic commonality of frescoes is based on the use of graphic linear method of performance. One of the characteristic features of this method is goffering of clothes with a darker shade of the same color. Thanks to making the folds with parallel lines and the light places with geometric (curved, semi-curved, triangular) forms, the body acquires a bas-relief solution and it is emphasized with the help of pure colors with no tints (red, blue, green, ochre) (Fig. 3,4).

In the decoration of Cappadocian churches, Armenian style is also manifested in the placement of the ornaments and especially in the selection and unique elaboration of those geometric and plant motifs, the ornament forms of which are characteristic of the Armenian miniature and fresco painting³³. For example, in the Church of Holy Virgin, the scenes that separate the galloons are consist of a rhythmic series of twisting stems and bud/pistil motif; in Vilanle, rhombus-shaped and repeated every other time rectangular ornament, while over the arch a rainbow-colored spring-shaped ornamented ribbon is stretching. The first one of them reminds the frames of the narrative paintings of the Moghni Gospel of the same era (Yerevan, Matenadaran, manuscript No 7736), while the versions of the spring-formed ornaments remind the head ornaments of the sanctuaries in Armenian manuscripts. On the ceilings of the chapel and the southern prayer room in Kisile Shukur, an equal-armed cross is sculptured. In the illustrations of churches, we can often see diverse images of equal-armed crosses within wicker frames, rosettes and frames. Armenian crosses are found also at the top of the arch of the sanctuary or on the wall, separated with an arch (Church of Holy Virgin, Vilanle, Chemlekchi, Urgoup)³⁴ [5, 12, 20, 23].

In terms of examination of the commonalities between Armenian and Cappadocian frescoes, the fresco of 1198-1212 in the rock-cut tomb of Tigran Honents in Ani is remarkable³⁵. In the sanctuary-shaped hollow of the tomb is the scene of “Intercession”, with Gabriel and Michael archangels standing face to face to each other and with related explanations. The color photo of comparatively well preserved fresco of the archangels gives an idea on the characteristics of depiction of the figures and faces built with clear brown outlines and vertically stretching linear rhythm. The bas-relief structure, the strict and simple style of performance, the use of decorative elements (green, blue and reddish-brown chequered, ornamented ribbon-like stole thrown over Gabriel’s long shirt) and unalloyed, bright colors reminds us the Cappadocian frescoes of the same era. For example, the figures of the martyrs in the yellow-soil colored depth of the vault in the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste Church are divided into two groups, are similarly arranged and have the same form of depiction³⁶ (Fig. 2,3,4) [9, 17, 22, 23].

The illustration of churches of Cappadocia, as written by S. Manukyan, “Definitely express also the preferences of the Armenian population, thus becoming, as a matter of fact, a unique branch of the Armenian art in this complex junction of eastern and western arts, where there were favorable conditions to contact with the aesthetic traditions of neighboring peoples, to influence them and be influenced by them”³⁷ [7, 10, 21, 22].

The Armenian-Cappadocian artistic relationships continue up until the conquest of Byzantine Empire and Armenia by the Ottoman Turkey (14th – 15th centuries). We can see its vivid manifestation in the art of Sargis Pitsak, the last prominent Armenian miniature painter living in the independent Cilicia (the illustrated manuscripts date back to 1316-1353). The stylistic and pictographic commonalities with fresco painting of Cappadocian churches noticed in Pitsak’s miniatures were thoroughly studied by the distinguished art critic V. Ghazaryan in his aforementioned work, *Sargis Pitsak*³⁸. They are first of all related to the historic events, when the migration of a large Armenian population from the region to Cilicia took with it also some Cappadocian painting traditions. In other words, we are dealing with the fact that just as the Armenian painters moving from Historic Armenia to Cappadocia have had their contribution in the art of the region, the ones who immigrated from Cappadocia to the homeland have also brought some artistic traditions formed in Cappadocia. We can see one of the important features of medieval Christian (and not only) art, according to which, thanks to the interrelations due to the common faith and taking place in the range of spiritual and cultural contacts, the national art, preserving its originality, gets even richer and acquires a multicolor feature.



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Fig. 1. Samples of frescoes from medieval churches comparative examples

1. Talin Cathedral Church, Armenia, 7th c., Cross and Ancestors. Fresco
2. Cross and ancestors, frescos from Cappadocia



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Fig. 2. Captions of photos for the article

1. Mren Church, Armenia, 7th c., Saints. Fresco

2. Interior view towards the main barrel vault in the Church of Meryem Ana



1



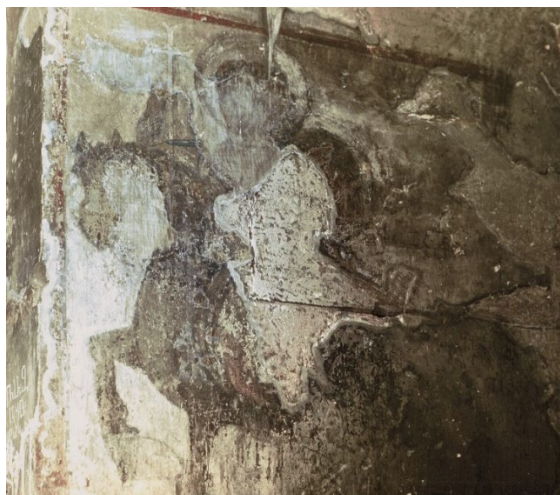
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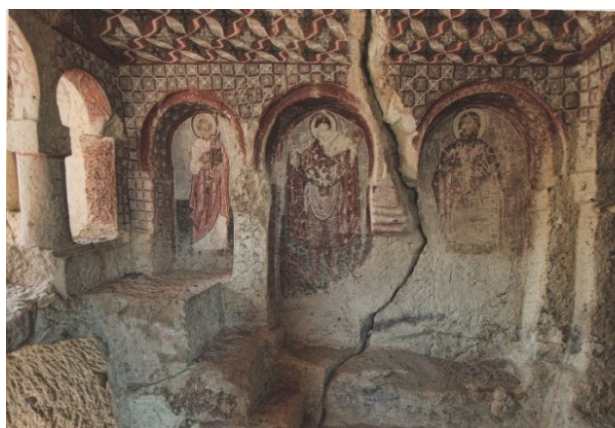
6

Fig. 3. Frescoes in Armenia

1. Akhtamar, Sb. Khach (St. Cross) Church, Armenia, 915-925; Crucifixion. Fresco, photo by Hrayr Bazé
2. Poghos-Petros (“Paul-Peter”) Church in Tatev, Armenia, 10th c.; Three Prophets. Fresco, photo by S. Manukyan
3. Haghbat, Sb. Nshan (St Cross) Church, Armenia, 10th c., Pentecoste. Fresco, photo by Priest H. Tarverdyan
4. Poghos-Petros (Paul-Peter) Church in Yerevan, 4th-6th cc., ornament on the doorway lintel
5. Lmbatavank, St. Stepanos Church, Armenia, 7th c., Sb. Sargis. Fresco
6. Lmbatavank, St. Stepanos Church, Armenia, 7th c., Sb. Gevorg (St. George). Fresco



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Fig. 4. Frescoes of medieval churches in Cappadocia examples

Pictures by pages: «The Rose Valley and the Red Valley in Cappadocia» Intenational Carlo Scarpa Prize for Gardens 2020-2021, Edited by P. Boschiero and L. Latini. Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche Antga. Treviso 2020. 261p.

1. Cappadocia p.116
2. Cappadocia p. 183-1
3. Cappadocia p. 156-2
4. Cappadocia p. 164
5. Cappadocia p. 161-1
6. Cappadocia p. 183-2
7. Cappadocia p. 155
8. Cappadocia p. 161-2
9. Cappadocia p. 12-7
10. Cappadocia p. 75
11. Cappadocia p.152



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Fig. 5. Samples of the two-story stage tabernacle church in Cappadocia and Armenia
 1. Tsitsernavank, Armenia, 3th c. Interior, 2. Interior of the church near Georem

Notes

- ¹ A. Bixio, R. Bixio, A. De Pascale. The Rose valley and the Red valley in Cappadocia. The International Carlo Scara Prize for Gardens 2020-2021 year. Trivisio 2020, 264p., 250 ill.
- ² In medieval Armenian, Latin, and Greek manuscripts, at least we did not come across the name of the state “Byzantium” of the Eastern Roman Empire. We are putting into circulation the term “Horom” often used in the Armenian bibliography, which is another version of the word “Hrom” (“Rome”).
- ³ 722 A.D., St. Hovhan Odznetsi, Catholicos, author of the “Armenian Book of Canons”.
- ⁴ Heraclius (610-641) replaced Latin, the official language of the Empire, by Greek.
- ⁵ The first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea recognized arianism as heresy; in the same year, 325 A.D. the Armenian Apostolic Church, at the Church Council in Vagharshapat, authored by Patriarch St. Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Illuminator), recognized the decisions of the Nicaea Council and the Articles of Faith, as well as anathematized the Arianism. Later on, in 381, the First Council of Constantinople reaffirmed that Arianism was heresy.
- ⁶ Nestorianism still exists with its churches although it was recognized as a sect.
- ⁷ Already in the 8th century, Pavlikians were so much spread and had become powerful all over the Eastern Armenia that the Church Council in Dvin in 719 made a decision to eradicate the sect and put a “fox stamp” on the foreheads of those who were identified. See «ՏԵԱՌՆ ՅՈՎԻԱՆՆՈՒ ԻՆՍԱՍՄԱՍԻՐԻ ԱԼՃՆԵՂՆԻ ՄԱՍՆԵՆԱԳՐՈՒԹԻՒՆՔ» (“Chronicle by Sir Hovhan Odznetsi the Philosopher), Venice, 1834, p. 74. Vrtanes Kertogh, Յաղագս պատկերամարտից (“On the idoloclast”) // «Echmiadzin», 1970, Issue Զ-Է (6-7), p. 91: Bartikyan H, Pavlikians (in Armenian), «Christian Armenia” encyclopedia, Yerevan, 2002, p. 847.
- ⁸ Nicholas Adontz, «The Issue of Images» (in Armenian), Department of Theology, YSU, «YSU» Publishing House, 2003, Yerevan, 90 pp.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ According to the legend, Abgar has reigned from the late first century B.C until A.D. The Apostle Thaddeus, who had previously cured the king of a serious illness, converted him to Christianity in Edessa.
- ¹² Nicholas Adontz, «The Issue of Images» (in Armenian), Department of Theology, YSU, «YSU» Publishing House, 2003, Yerevan, 90 pp; p 17 and p 72.

- ¹³ Vardges Surenyants has painted the canvas “The face of Christ: Vernicle” from the original kept in St. Bartolomeo Church in Genoa, which, according to the Fathers of the Church, is the same canvas that Anan has transferred from Christ to Abgar.
- ¹⁴ See` Bartikyan R.M. Notes on the Byzantine epic poem on Digenes Akritas, «Byzantine Chronicle», 1964, v.25 (in Russian).
- ¹⁵ **A. Hakobyan**, European scholars on the Armenian churches and church decorations of Cappadocia // «Echmiadzin», 2004, No 7-8, p. 80, notes 1-5 (in Armenian).
- ¹⁶ **G. de Jerphanion.**, Une nouvelle province de l’art Byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce, tt. I-IV, Paris, 1925, 1932, 1936, 1942. **N. et M.Thierry**, Nouvelles église rupestres de Cappadoce, région du Hasan dagi, Paris, 1963, 246 p., 100 pl. **J. Lafontaine-Dosogne**, Frescoes of church named Chemlekchi Kilise and the problem of presence of Armenians in Cappadocia //Byzantine. Southern Slavonians and the Ancient Russia. Western Europe Art and Culture. Collection of articles, Moscow: Nauka, 1973, pp. 78-93, il. (in Russian).
- ¹⁷ **A. Hakobyan**, *ibid.*, pp. 82-83, il.
- ¹⁸ **S. Ter-Nersesyan**, The Armenian Art in Middle Ages, Yerevan, 1975, pp 70-118; **H. Hakobyan**, Several commonalities between the miniature paintings in Vaspurakan and fresco paintings in Cappadocia // «Bulletin of Matenadaran», 1977, No 12, p. 50-68, il.; **M. Hovhannisyan**, Artistic correlations between Moghni Gospel and Cappadocian monuments //«Echmiadzin», 2011, No 9, p. 105-112; **S. Manukyan**, Correlations between the artistic traditions of Vaspurakan and monumental painting of Cappadocia // «Echmiadzin», 2015, No 8, pp. 102-117; **S. Manukyan**, Armenian murals in Caesarian and surrounding Churches / Armenian frescoec: Collection of scientific articles and materials, Yerevan: Tigran Metz, 2019, pp. 215-222.
- ¹⁹ **J. Lafontaine-Dosogne**, Nouvelles notes Cappadociennes // «Extrait de Byzantion», m.XXXIII, Bruxelles, 1963, p. 171-172.
- ²⁰ **N. et M., Thierry**, Nouvelles église rupestres de Cappadoce, région du Hasan dagi, Paris, 1963, 246 p., 100 pl.
- ²¹ **S. Manukyan**, Correlations between the artistic traditions of Vaspurakan and monumental painting of Cappadocia, *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- ²² **S. S. Manukyan**, The mural art of Medieval Armenia /Armenian frescoec: Collection of scientific articles and materials, *Ibid.*, pp. 19-56, il. pp. 305-320. In the large article, the scholar provides the main outline of the complete picture of illustration of Armenian churches of 4th -13th centuries.
- ²³ **V.N. Lazarev**, History of Byzantine painting, v. 1, Moscow: Iskustvo,1986, pp. 57, 76, 92, 115-116, 117, il. 85-86, 153, 273, 380-382, 383, (Hagia Sophia of Thessaloniki, Phokis, Hosios Loukas, Dormition of the Mother of God in Daphne, 9th – 12th centuries churches in Montreal); Güllüdere and Kizilcukur: The Rose Valley and Red Valley in Cappadocia, Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, Treviso, 2020, p.156-157, il. 3, 4.
- ²⁴ **S. S. Manukyan**, *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27, il. pp. 305, 306, 308, **A. Zaryan, K. Lamure**, The Restoration of wall Paintings in several Armenian churches of first Christian ages, Yerevan:Tigran Metz, 2019, pp. 143-152, il. 400, 486 (in Armenian)., **N. Kotanjyan**, Monumental Painting of Early Medieval Armenia (4th -6th centuries) Yerevan:Tigran Metz, 2017, il. 45, 52 (in Russian). The first sample in the Armenian art appeared in 4th -7th centuries in portrait sculptures (tetrahedral monument in Kharabavank, Odzun, Ptghni, Mren Churches). Seealso: **B. Arakeiyan B. Arakeiyan**, Armenian sculptures in IV-VII centuries, Yerevan: RA NAS Publishing House, 1949, p. 50, il. 21, p. 54, ill. 25- 27, pp. 57-61, ill. 34, 37-39, 44 (in Armenian).
- ²⁵ **S. Ter-Nersesyan**, *Ibid.*, p. 103. In the article “Akhtamar: Historical overview”, the scholar gives the thorough description and analysis of the cathedral’s exterior and interior decoration, see pp. 70-123, fig. 1-77.
- ²⁶ **C. Jolivet-Levy**, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l’abside et de ses abords, Paris 1991, pl. 9, 10, 12, fig. 2. See the description of illustration of Chemlekchi in the above work by **J. Lafontaine-Dosogne**, pp. 80-81.
- ²⁷ **S. Ter-Nersesyan**, *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113, **V. Ghazaryan**, Sargis Pitsak, Yerevan: Publication of ASSR Academy of Sciences, 1980, pp. 60-62, 65(in Armenian), **L. Chugaszyan**, Grigor Tsaghkogh, Yerevan: Yerevan University Publishing House, 1986, pp. 73-74(in Armenian), **J. Lafontaine-Dosogne**, *Ibid.*, p. 88 (in Russian).
- ²⁸ Armenian frescoec: Collection of scientific articles and materials, *Ibid.*, fig. p. 311, (in Armenian). **J. Lafontaine-Dozogne**, *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87 (in Russian).
- ²⁹ Güllüdere and Kizilcukur: The Rosse Valley and Red Valley in Cappadocia, Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, Treviso, 2020, p. 72, fig. 22; **T. Izmaylova**, Armenian Manuscripts XI c., Moscow: Iskustvo, 1979, p.171 (in Russian).

- ³⁰ **S. S. Manukyan**, *Ibid.*, pp. 28, ill. Pp. 314-315, **H. Tarverdyan**, *The Frescoes of Monastrey of Haghbat / Armenian frescoes: Collection of scientific articles and materials*, *Ibid.*, pp. 98-102, ill. pp. 346-351.
- ³¹ **V. N. Lazarev**, *A new monument of easel painting of XII century and the image of George the Warrior in the Byzantine and Russian art / Medieval Russian painting*, Moscow, 1970, p. 77 (in Russian).
- ³² **A. Zaryan, K. Lamure**, *Ibid.* pp 79, 81, 143-144, fig. 171, 402, 403: There are images of either a dragon or a man with tied hands and legs or leopard under the feet of the St. Soldiers in the bas-reliefs of Akhtamar, see **S. Ter-Nersesyan**, *Ibid.*, page 91. (in Armenian).
- ³³ We mean the sculptures and illustrations on the inner walls of Tsitsernavank, Kasagh, Poghos-Petros church in Yerevan, Odzun, Ptghni, Mren, Lmbatavank. Seealso: **B. Arakeiyan**, *Ibid.*, ill. 63,64, **A. Zaryan, K. Lamure**, *Ibid.* ill. 145, 147(in Armenian), **N. Kotanjyan**, *Ibid.* ill. 7, 9 (in Russian).
- ³⁴ **C. Jolivet-Levy**, *Ibid.* Table 11, fig. 1, 2.
- ³⁵ **K. Matevosyan**, *The materials on some mural paintings of Medieval Armenia /Armenian frescoec: Collection of scientific articles and materials*, *Ibid.*, pp 88-89, il. p 342. (in Armenian).
- ³⁶ Güllüdere and Kizilcukur: The Rose Valley and Red Valley in Cappadocia, *Ibid.* p 162, fig. 13.
- ³⁷ **S. Manukyan**, *Ibid.*, p 115.
- ³⁸ **V. Ghazaryan**, *Ibid.*, p 121.

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