

ANI

THE CAPITAL OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIA
AND ITS INHABITANTS



KAREN MATEVOSYAN

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Երևան 2024

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**THE CAPITAL OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIA
AND ITS INHABITANTS**

*TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
HARUTYUN KHUDANYAN AND SONA BALOYAN*

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This book presents the history and urban development of Ani, the capital of medieval Armenia, along with a detailed study of the monasteries and fortresses surrounding the city. It also provides a wealth of primary source material concerning the people of Ani, including the nobility, urban clans, and ordinary citizens.

The volume is intended for specialists in Armenian and world history and culture, as well as for the general readership.

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE ENGLISH PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK

Ani, the capital of medieval Armenia, is a significant part of world cultural heritage and is the only city in historical Armenia – now in Turkey – that was included in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List in 2016. Ani played an exceptionally important role not only as the political and spiritual centre of Armenia, serving as the royal (961-1045) and catholicos (990-1046) residence of the Bagratids, but also as a leading hub for the development of urban life, economy, crafts, trade, culture, and art.

Since the mid-11th century, the population of Ani became increasingly multi-ethnic. Following its incorporation into the Byzantine Empire in 1045, Byzantine officials and garrisons settled in the city. Subsequently, after the Seljuk conquest in 1064, and during the rule of the Shaddadid amirs, a considerable Muslim population also established itself in Ani. In the 12th century, the city briefly came under the control of the Kingdom of Georgia on two occasions. After 1198, Ani became the centre of the domain of Zakaré Zak'arian, the amirspasalar of the Georgian kingdom, and remained under the governance of his dynasty until the mid-14th century.

Meanwhile, in 1236, the Mongols captured Ani, bringing the region under their control; however, the city continued to be governed by the Zak'arians. During this period, Ani was home to three distinct religious communities. The Armenian population, adhering to the Armenian Church, constituted the majority, while the other two communities comprised Georgians and Chalcedonian Armenians, who followed the Georgian Church, and a Muslim community representing various ethnic groups. The severe economic decline and the extremely adverse conditions for urban life from the latter half of the 14th century led to mass emigration from Ani, ultimately resulting in the city's abandonment by the early 15th century.

This new work on Ani distinguishes itself from previous editions by extending its focus beyond the city itself to include its surrounding settlements and monasteries, as well as dedicating a separate section to the population of Ani. It is well established that Ani had extensive suburbs and functioned as an administrative and spiritual-ecclesiastical centre, in conjunction with the three major monasteries in its vicinity: Horomos,

Bagnair, and Arjoarich. The most significant of these was Horomos, which housed the tomb of the Bagratid kings.

Since Ani's inclusion on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List, interest in the site has grown. In light of this, the present edition seeks to draw attention to the monasteries surrounding Ani – Horomos, Bagnair, and Arjoarich – as well as the fortresses of Tignis and Maghasberd, which guarded the approaches to the city. These fortresses were closely linked to Ani during the Middle Ages, effectively forming part of its domain. However, they are now located in Turkey, where they lack monument status and are on the brink of destruction.

We hope that the English edition of this book will contribute to the broader dissemination of Ani's history and its rich cultural heritage to the public, as well as support the crucial task of preserving the monuments of the city and its surroundings. The recent works and publications by Georgian and Turkish scholars are also significant for the study of Ani's monuments. After all, Ani is part of the heritage of world civilization, and its preservation demands international cooperation.

We extend our deepest gratitude to His Eminence Archbishop Hovnan Derderian, Primate, Western Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America (USA), for sponsoring the English translation and publication of this book. It was possible through the generous contribution of “The Clara Margossian Trust.” The organization of this project was facilitated by Trustee Dr. Varoujan Altebarmakian and Rev. Fr. Gomidas Zohrabian, to whom we express our sincere thanks.

The English translation was skillfully executed by our esteemed colleagues: Harutyun Khudanyan, an accomplished translator and researcher at the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, who also undertook the general editing; and Sona Baloyan, International Development Specialist at the Matenadaran, to whom we also extend our thanks.

We are gratified that all who contributed to this endeavor have done so with unwavering dedication, perceiving it as a testament of their reverence for the glorious capital of Ani.

Karen Matevosyan
Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor

INTRODUCTION

In the history of medieval Armenia, Ani played an exceptionally significant role. It functioned not only as the political and spiritual centre of the country, serving as the royal residence and the seat of the Catholicos during the Bagratid period, but also as a prominent hub for urban development, economic growth, craftsmanship, trade, culture, and art.

The history and rich cultural heritage of Ani, particularly its architecture, have been extensively studied for over two centuries. A substantial body of literature has emerged on this topic.¹ Notably, the study of Ani's history and cultural heritage has been termed "*Aniology*" within Armenology. Several distinguished scholars have made substantial contributions to this field, including Ghevond Alishan, Marie-Félicité Brosset, Nikolai Marr (whose excavations from 1892-1893 and 1904-1917 brought Ani international recognition),² Joseph Orbeli, T'oros T'oramanian, Varazdat Harutyunyan, and many others.

In recent decades, numerous studies have been conducted to investigate various aspects of Ani's history and cultural heritage.³ This work sets itself apart from previous Aniological publications by expanding its focus beyond the city itself to include its broader spatial context, neighbouring settlements, monasteries,⁴ and the population of Ani in a

¹ See S. Guendjan, *Ani Bibliography*, Yerevan, 2006. The book mentions 1,300 works related to Ani, which were published in Armenian and other languages between the years 1775 and 1995; Sezai Yazıcı, *Ani Bibliography*, Ankara, 2017. The book mentions 2029 publications.

² In addition to the booklet-reports published under the title "*Анийская серия*" ("*Ani series*") during the excavations initiated by N. Marr, the scholar also published a monumental work dedicated to Ani: N. Marr, *Ani, Book History of the City and Excavations at the Site of the Settlement*, Yerevan, 2011/ Н. Я. Марр, *Ани, книжная история города и раскопки на месте городища*, М.-Л., 1934.

³ K. Matevosyan, *Ani: Ecclesiastical Life and Manuscript Heritage, Etchmiadzin*, 1997; Idem. *The Manuscripts and Newly Discovered Additions of Samvel Anetsi's Chronicles*, Yerevan, 2009; Idem. *Pages from the History of Ani-Shirak* (Collection of Articles), Yerevan, 2010; *Samuel Anets'i and Continuator's*, The Chronicle, critical text, study and commentaries by Karen Matevosyan, Yerevan, 2014; Idem. *From the History of the Nobility of Ani or Three Grigor Magistrose*, Yerevan, 2015, etc. Some of our nearly four dozen scientific articles related to Ani are listed in the bibliography of this book.

⁴ We had the opportunity to visit Ani twice, first in August 2012, and then again at the end of September and October 2013, as participants in the international workshop "*Ani in Context*." The second visit proved to be particularly fruitful as it allowed us to explore a wide range of sites around Ani, including the monasteries of Horomos, Bagnair, Arjoarich, Khtskonk', as well as Argina, Tignis, Bagaran, Yerazgavors-Shirakavan, Tekor, Tailar, Karmir Vank' or the Red Monastery, Agarak, Oguzlu (Yerznka), and Mren.

dedicated section. Much of the information regarding the city's inhabitants has been preserved in inscriptions found in Ani and its surrounding monasteries, as well as in the colophons of manuscripts produced in the region. Consequently, there is a need to widen our perspective and consider the city in relation to its wider administrative area. In this regard, we are studying what may be conventionally termed "*Greater Ani*," encompassing both the city and its immediate surroundings. It is important to note that Ani had extensive suburbs and also functioned as an ecclesiastical-administrative entity, overseeing several renowned monasteries in its vicinity, such as Horomos, Bagnair, and Arjoarich.

Ani and its citizens maintained several significant spiritual centres within the region. In Western Shirak, these included Argina (the seat of the Catholicos), Mren, Bagaran, Tekor, and the Khts'konk' Monastery, while in Eastern Shirak, the monasteries of Marmashen and Harich played a central role. Additionally, there were numerous smaller monasteries and churches, such as Yereruyk', Karmir Vank' (located on the shore of the Akhuryan river near Ani), and Lmbatavank' near Art'ik. Epigraphic inscriptions at these sites, alongside the colophons of manuscripts produced in these areas, provide a rich source of historical information about Ani. These records not only mention place names within the city, (such as streets, guest houses, shops, etc.), but also document numerous benefactors and donors associated with the city. Interestingly, more references to street names and locations in Ani have been preserved in the inscriptions of the surrounding monasteries than in those of the city itself.

The citizens of Ani maintained particularly close ties with the three monasteries in the immediate vicinity of the city. Among these, Horomos stands out as the most significant. Indeed, it could be aptly described as the monastery of Ani, for it served as the final resting place (burial site) of the Bagratid kings who were enthroned in the city.

The monasteries of Horomos, Bagnair (established in 1010), and Arjoarich (likely founded around the same period) form a notable triangle around Ani. T'oros T'oramanian's observation regarding the connection between these monasteries and Ani is particularly significant. He noted, "*Undoubtedly, the Horomos Monastery, Bagnair, Arjoarich, and the villages like them 4 to 10 kilometres away, now in ruins, essentially served as the suburbs of Ani. They had a direct and integral connection with the*

internal administrative and economic affairs of the city."⁵ While it might be an exaggeration to describe these monastic residences as suburbs of Ani, in terms of their ecclesiastical-administrative, economic, and cultural roles, they undoubtedly constituted integral components of Ani. The inscriptions, as well as some of the colophons of manuscripts, provide evidence of the substantial role these monasteries played in the life of Ani and its inhabitants. During the 13th century, two abbots from Horomos and Arjoarich ascended to the position of bishops of Ani. Many residents of the city received their education at the schools affiliated with these monasteries, and hundreds of individuals contributed donations to them, including properties such as houses, shops, and gardens within Ani, etc.

This work is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the history of Ani, with particular emphasis on the Bagratid period, under the title "*Ani as the Capital and Catholicate.*" It then briefly outlines the events and cultural life of the post-Bagratid era. The subsequent section addresses the integration of the city of Ani and various urban development issues. The ancient districts of Ani (namely, the Inner Fortress, the Citadel, and the Small Town), along with the city streets, are explored through primary sources. Following this, the discussion extends to the suburbs, nearby monasteries, and fortresses in dedicated subsections. Noteworthy landmarks, such as the significant monasteries of Horomos, Bagnair, and Arjoarich, as well as the fortresses of Tignis and Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd and its adjacent Tsaravan settlement, are presented in detail.

The second part of the book is devoted to the inhabitants of Ani, a unique focus given that the residents of Ani, and indeed any other city in Armenia during the Middle Ages, have not been thoroughly investigated. The citizens of Ani included a diverse array of individuals, such as the kings and queens enthroned in the city, the catholicoses and bishops, the local princes and their families, the clergy, soldiers, and various other notable figures, as well as a substantial representation of the urban class. This section begins with an examination of the noble families of Ani, with particular attention given to the Pahlavunis, especially Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni. It was through his efforts that the seat of the Catholicos was transferred to the Pahlavuni family in the latter half of the 11th century. Additionally, the

⁵ T'. T'oramanian, *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture* (Collected Works), Yerevan 1942, p. 328; see also H. Manandian, *Works*, vol. 6, Yerevan, 1985, pp. 325-328.

emergence of new Pahlavunis in Ani during the 13th century is highlighted. The discussion continues through separate subsections, beginning with Smbat Magistros, the founder of the Bagnair Monastery, and an exploration of his lineage. The focus then shifts to Grigor Apirat Magistros, credited with the construction of the Kech'aris Monastery, and the Hassanian-Apiratian family, which played a significant role in Ani, particularly during the governance of the Shaddadids.

Ani's vibrant urban class consisted of craftsmen, merchants, diverse officials, and other social groups. Among the cities of Armenia from the 11th to the 14th centuries, Ani stands out for its well-preserved information about city clans and prominent families, to which a significant portion of this study is dedicated. The exploration also encompasses various episodes related to contemporary historiographical trends, including the history of everyday life and the experiences of ordinary people. The conclusion of the work features a comprehensive list of Ani's citizens and related individuals, encompassing a total of 785 names.

In 2016, Ani was inscribed on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List, which has significantly heightened interest in this historical site. Consequently, it is of paramount importance to recognise the historical, cultural, and civilisational significance of this ancient Armenian capital. Such recognition acts as a catalyst for further research into Armenian heritage, with the aim of presenting it to both the Armenian and global communities. In alignment with these objectives, this edition seeks to illuminate the Armenian monasteries and other monuments surrounding Ani. In the Middle Ages, these structures were intricately linked to the city, serving as integral components of its cultural and historical landscape. Regrettably, despite their historical importance, these monuments currently lack formal heritage status in Turkey, placing them in a precarious state of preservation. This publication aims to draw attention to these monuments and emphasise the urgency of their preservation.

Before delving into the narrative, it is pertinent to briefly explore the unique role of Ani in Armenian history and the various circumstances that have engrained it into the collective consciousness of the Armenian people over centuries. Ani is not merely acknowledged as a "*historical capital*" but has ascended to the status of a sacred site and a symbol of statehood.

The initial four kings of the newly restored independent Armenian state, led by the Bagratids, initially designated Bagaran, Erazgavors

(Shirakavan), and Kars as their capitals. However, this uncertain situation underwent a radical transformation in 961, marking a pivotal moment in Armenian history. Ashot III the Merciful (953-977) decisively settled in Ani, crowning it as the permanent capital of the country. Ashot, who succeeded his father Abbas Bagratuni (928-953), sought a stable capital. After a failed military attempt to reclaim the former Armenian capital, Dvin, he chose Ani as the new capital in 961, solidifying this decision with his coronation. The ceremony, officiated by Armenian Catholicos Ananias I Mokats'i (946-968), was a grand occasion, marked by a procession attended by numerous guests and the entire Armenian army. This historic coronation in Ani is meticulously chronicled by Matt'eos Urhayets'i.⁶

During this period, the Catholicosal See was located near Ani, specifically in the Argina settlement of Shirak. Ashot the Merciful aimed to establish Ani not only as a royal residence but also as the seat of the Catholicate, and he took several steps to achieve this. However, during Ashot's reign, his plan was only partially realised, with limited success during the brief tenure of one of the Catholicoi (which will be discussed in the following section). The full realisation of this vision occurred later, under the rule of his son, Gagik I (989-1017). It was during this time that the king's patron, Catholicos Sargis I Sewants'i (992-1019), took up residence in Ani. As a result, the city not only became politically significant but also assumed the role of spiritual capital. Ani thereby mirrored the status of Vagharshapat and Dvin, the first capitals of Christian Armenia, which had also been the residences of both kings and Catholicoi.

The early key figures in Ani's secular and spiritual leadership were instrumental not only in relocating the Catholicosal seat but also in overseeing the construction of remarkable churches. These edifices reflected the architectural style of classical Armenian periods, evident in both their structural forms and decorative elements. Notably, direct imitations of earlier works were undertaken, a practice not typically associated with Armenian architecture. A prominent example of this is the Church of St. Gregory (Gagkashen), commissioned by Gagik I, which was a replication of the 7th-century Zvart'nots' (St. Gregory) built by Nersēs III. This replication is even highlighted in historical chronicles. Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik, a

⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, *Chronicle* (translation into Modern Armenian and notes by H. Bart'ikian, the text in Classical Armenian (grabar) according to the 1898 edition of Vagharshapat), Yerevan, 1991, pp. 8-9, 484.

contemporary of Gagik, recorded that the king constructed the Church of St. Gregory in Ani “to the same size and structure”⁷ as the Church of St. Gregory in Vagharshapat. Samuel Anets’i further remarked on “the most famous St. Gregory... in Ani,” emphasising that Gagik had created a “model” based on the magnificent St. Gregory Church built by Patriarch Nersēs.⁸ Similarly, Ani’s Church of the Holy Apostles, which later became an episcopal church, is said by T‘. T‘oramanian to replicate the plan and proportions of Etchmiadzin Cathedral, albeit with minor variations.⁹ In essence, Ani evolved into a centre where the highest achievements of church architecture from earlier centuries were consolidated, developed, and brought to new heights.

The rapid pace of church construction in Ani was, in part, spurred by the approaching millennium of the birth of Christ in 1001, a fact corroborated by direct evidence found in Asoghik. Regarding the Church of St. Gregory (Gagkashen), Asoghik notes that King Gagik initiated its construction “when the 1000th year of our Lord Christ’s coming into the world was marked.”¹⁰

The construction of the Cathedral of Ani, the seat of the Catholicos, under the patronage of Queen Katramidé, was likewise completed in the year 1001 of the Armenian calendar, commemorating the 1000th anniversary of Christ’s birth, as indicated at the beginning of the building inscription (Col. fig. 3).¹¹ Following the king and queen, prominent princes also founded churches and monasteries throughout the country.

In considering the Bagratid kings of Ani, it is crucial to observe that, alongside their support for the church, they placed considerable emphasis on the principal Christian symbol – the cross. This emphasis was reflected not only in their coat of arms but also in their royal attire. Preserved on the city wall near the Avag (Principal) Gate is the coat of arms of the Bagratids or

⁷ Step’anos Taronetsi Asoghik, *Universal History*, edited by S. Malkhasiants’, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 282 (hereinafter referred as Asoghik).

⁸ Samuel Anets’i and Continuators, p. 180.

⁹ T‘. T‘oramanian 1942, p. 224.

¹⁰ Asoghik, p. 282.

¹¹ For more detailed information on the building inscription of the cathedral, see K. Matevosyan, *On the Supposed Hijra Date in the Building Inscription of the Ani Cathedral*, “Bulletin of Matenadaran,” N 31, Yerevan, 2021, pp. 23-40.



Fig. 1. Ani's coat of arms near the Avag (Senior) Gate of the city.



Fig. 2. Wooden lectern with a 1272 inscription, found in Ani during excavations (History Museum of Armenia).

the city of Ani (Fig. 1), featuring an image of a cross.¹² In analysing this elegant coat of arms, some scholars have frequently focused on the sculpture of a lion within its composition. However, it is evident that the isosceles cross, crafted from diagonal square stones at the top, forms an integral part of the design (the section with three dark stones, representing the base of the cross, is visible beneath the frame of the lion sculpture).¹³ One might even surmise that the lion and the cross symbolise the convergence of secular and spiritual authorities in Armenia, embodied in the capital city of Ani.

It is intriguing to note that the motif of a lion and a cross appears in other cultural monuments of Ani. This design, for example, is featured in the decoration of a wooden reading desk from the Church of the Holy Apostles at Ani, dating to 1272 (State History Museum of Armenia) (Fig. 2).

The presence of a cross in the sculpture of King Gagik I, unveiled through archaeological excavations, is particularly noteworthy. In this depiction, where the king is presented in a plain, unadorned garment (in

¹² Ani, "Documents of Armenian Architecture," N 12, Milano, 1984, p. 71.

¹³ In recent years, Turkish restorers undertook the repair of that section of the wall, during which they removed the cross image, even though the foundational stones of the cross remained beneath the frame of the lion sculpture.



Fig. 3. Statue of
Gagik I Bagratuni (circa 1001).

contrast to the richly embellished attire of Gagik Artsruni in the sculpture at Aghtamar), there is a conspicuous isosceles cross hanging from his neck, extending down to the belt (Fig. 3). This feature stands out, especially when compared to images of other Armenian kings found in medieval Armenian sculpture and miniatures, as none of them depict the king with such a prominently displayed cross.

At the end of the 10th century, while construction of the two grand royal churches in the capital – St. Gregory (Gagkashen) and the Cathedral (Kat‘oghiké) – was underway, Catholicos Sargis Sewants‘i undertook the building of the round church dedicated to the Hripsimiants‘ Virgins (only the foundations of this church have survived; see col. fig. 2). Particularly significant is the fact that, upon completing the construction, the Catholicos transferred part of the relics of the holy

virgins from the shrines in Vagharshapat to this new site in Ani. He subsequently established a special holiday in Ani to commemorate this event. Vardan Arevelts‘i provides insight into this occurrence, stating, *“Father Sargis... built a martyr’s house (chapel) at the shrine of Hripsimiants‘, near the Cathedral of Ani. With a grand procession, he transferred the relics of the saints there and established that day as a great holiday.”*¹⁴ This historical narrative demonstrates the Catholicos’s vision for Ani – not merely as a religious centre, marked by the presence of the Catholicate, but as a sacred sanctuary embodying the sacraments of the Armenian Church. In essence, following the model of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral (Holy Mother of God) near the shrines of the Hripsimiants‘ Virgins in Vagharshapat, Catholicos Sargis initiated the construction of a shrine dedicated to the Hripsimiants‘ Virgins near the Cathedral of Ani

¹⁴ Vardan Arevelts‘i, *Universal History* (the text in Classical Armenian (grabar) according to the 1862 edition of Venice), translated into Modern Armenian by G. Tosunyan, Yerevan, 2001, p. 98.

(Holy Mother of God). The relocation of the saints' relics and the establishment of a major holiday in Ani "...mirrored the ancient practices observed at the Etchmiadzin Cathedral in Vagharshapat."¹⁵

It is also important to highlight that Ani, in its early history, was already associated with the name of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, the first Catholicos of Armenia. Although the two sources that testify to this are from the 13th century, they are based on earlier historical or traditional accounts. The oldest part of Ani is the Inner Fortress, built on a rocky promontory south of the citadel (later colloquially known as Aghjkaberd). Archaeological evidence confirms its role as a pagan sanctuary-fortress in antiquity. According to Vardan Arevelts'i, Gregory the Illuminator baptised the recalcitrant prince of the Inner Fortress within this "*old building*."¹⁶ Presumably, following the baptism, Gregory the Illuminator would have dismantled the local pagan temple and raised a cross, thus laying the foundation for the later construction of a Christian church.

In the early 13th century, Ani's governor, Amirspasalar Zak'aré, erected a church within the Inner Fortress with the intention of securing salvation for his soul and that of his family. The building inscription records that it was built "*near the church that was built by our St. Gregory the Illuminator...*"¹⁷ On the wall of this church, there was once a sculpture (now lost) which, judging by its attire and posture, likely represented Gregory the Illuminator (Fig. 4). The historian's account and the inscription, mutually reinforcing one another, strongly suggest that Gregory the Illuminator was present in Ani



Fig. 4. Sculpture on the wall of Zakaré's church in the Nerkin (Inner) Fortress (St. Gregory the Illuminator).

¹⁵ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* [National History], Etchmiadzin, 2001, v. I, p. 1375.

¹⁶ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 92.

¹⁷ Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions, vol. 1, Ani, compiled by J. Orbeli, Yerevan, 1966, p. 58 (hereinafter referred as CAI, I).

during his preaching mission and contributed to the establishment of one of Armenia's earliest Christian churches. Whether this account is rooted in tradition or historical fact may be of secondary importance; what is crucial is that, at one time, it was accepted without question by the residents of Ani. In this context, it is also noteworthy that, among the churches in Ani bearing the names of prominent saints, those dedicated to St. Gregory constitute the largest number.

Indeed, the transfer of the relics of the Hripsimants' Virgins to Ani by Catholicos Sargis Sewantsⁱ further underscores the settlement's significance. This importance, initially established through the activities of Gregory the Illuminator, was elevated to that of a pan-Armenian spiritual and ecclesiastical centre, as well as a sanctuary.

The distinctive evolution of this trend is notably evident in one of the most eminent figures of the Armenian Church, the 12th-century Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali. In his renowned composition, the "*Lament on Edessa*," where he extols Ani, he draws a profound connection between the trilateral nature of the city's name and the symbolism of the Holy Trinity:

*"You eastern city, Ani...
Bearing a beautiful, wondrous name,
Comprising three letters,
A symbol of the Trinity."*

*«Արեւելեան քաղաքի Անի...
Գեղեցիկանուն զարմանալի,
Որ երրակի տառիւ բերի՝
յԵրրորդութեանն խորհրդի»:¹⁸*

At various times, Ani safeguarded numerous sanctities of paramount importance to both the church and its people. The primary repositories for these sacred artefacts were the Catholicate and the Cathedral, where relics of saints, miraculous crosses, Holy Books, scrolls, and splendid religious objects were carefully preserved. Other churches in the city, including the Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles and various monasteries, also housed treasures of comparable significance, albeit in slightly smaller quantities.

In the early 11th century, the governor Ablgharib, as noted in the building inscription of the Church of the Redeemer, recounts his acquisition

¹⁸ Nerses Shnorhali, *Lament on Edessa*, Yerevan, 1973, p. 37.

of a relic of the Lord's Cross, obtained "*with great effort and at great cost*" during his sojourn in Constantinople. Upon bringing this precious relic to Ani, he initiated the construction of the church.¹⁹

Ani's spiritual significance endured beyond the Bagratid era, continuing even under the Shaddadids. Historical records indicate that in 1094, during the time of Amir Manuch'ê and Catholicos Barsegh I Anets'i, Saint Nune's (Nino) cross (a virgin who preached Christianity in Iberia and became one of the venerated saints) was brought to Ani. The cross had been transferred to Armenia during the time of Sahak Part'ev and became one of the sanctities of the Mamikonian family. It was safeguarded in Kapuyt Berd (Blue Fortress) before eventually being taken to Ani, where a holiday was established in its honour: "*At this time, the Holy Cross of Nune was also brought to Ani... a holiday was set on the Sunday following the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Khach'verats')*."²⁰

Around the same period, Atom, the abbot of the Khavaradzor Monastery in the Arsharunik' canton, brought with him the Holy Cross known as Getargel to Horomos. According to tradition, he used the power of the cross to break rocks and divert the river away from the monastery, thus protecting it from the threat of water accumulation.²¹ Another cross, known as "*Hazarap'rkich'*" ("*Saviour of Thousands*"), was also housed in Ani, though it was later transferred to Geghard.²² An inscription in Ani recounts the capture of yet another famous cross, which was ransomed by a brave citizen in Tabriz and returned to the city.²³

Ani's builders constructed the city as a Christian citadel, and it is no coincidence that even within its defensive structures, the wall towers, they erected chapels or tabernacles. Historical accounts and archaeological excavations corroborate this, with evidence indicating that Ashot the Merciful founded churches within the city walls. As one historian attests, "*He built churches in all the wall towers.*"²⁴ In addition to the chapels, the walls of Smbatashen are adorned with large crosses in various colours or

¹⁹ CAI, I, p. 46.

²⁰ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 115.

²¹ Alishan, *Shirak*, Venice, 1881, pp. 28-29.

²² M. Smbatians', *A Description from the Surb Karapet Monastery of Yernjak*, Tpkhis 1906, p. 78.

²³ CAI, I, p. 52.

²⁴ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 95.

composed of large stones, along with numerous sculptures, including dozens of khachkars and other symbolic carvings (Fig. 5, col. figs. 8-9).

The construction of a wall tower in Ani was regarded as an act that pleased God, with the builder hoping for the salvation of their soul – an intention explicitly stated in some inscriptions.²⁵ These efforts were made to fortify the city's defences and to make it invulnerable with divine assistance. Notably, one of the scribes copying the "*Chronicle*" of Samuel Anets'i added a comment after transcribing the text. Referring to a Muslim attacker, the scribe wrote: "*And after some time, he returned to his world, unable to achieve anything, for the Lord had preserved the city with His might.*"²⁶



Fig. 5. Cross-ornamented walls of Ani.

Ani was adorned with a multitude of churches, and the sheer number of soaring domes left a lasting impression on its contemporaries. Situated on the elevated left bank of the Akhurian gorge, the city resembled a jewel held in the palm of a hand, offering a timeless view. This perspective, both past and present, captures the essence of Ani's grandeur. Another expansive panorama of the city could be seen from the Bagnair Monastery to the northwest. These vistas were particularly striking because of the city's prominent domes, each adorned with a cross. It is known that a large silver

²⁵ CAI, I, pp. 2, 5.

²⁶ Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, p. 218.

cross graced the dome of the Cathedral of Ani.²⁷ Interestingly, the central axis of Ani's Stone Bridge over the Akhurian river (which also had two wooden bridges)²⁸ aligned with the position of the Cathedral. This deliberate design ensured that the majestic church was prominently visible to those crossing the bridge (Fig. 11).

The abundance of churches in Ani was a distinctive feature during the Middle Ages. Many sources refer to it as the city of "*a thousand and one churches*." Remarkably, this observation is not confined to Armenian sources; Arab, Syriac, Georgian, and European authors also emphasise the considerable number of churches in Ani. Historical records from the 12th to the 14th centuries make reference to the "*thousand and one churches*" of Ani.

Matt'eos Urhayets'i (first half of the 12th century), recounting the siege of Ani by the forces of Alp Arslan in 1064, noted that the city's population prayed for salvation. He observed that on that fateful day, a service was conducted in the "*thousand and one churches of Ani*."²⁹ Kirakos Gandzakets'i (13th century), describing the siege of Ani by the Mongol general Charmaghan in 1236, emphasised the abundance of churches in the city. He remarked that even in routine oaths, people would declare: "*One thousand and one churches of Ani are witnesses*."³⁰ Additionally, late medieval Armenian sources, including the "*History of the Crimean Armenians*" (1690), Yeremia Chelepi's map (1691), and Abraham of Crete's "*History of the City of Ani*," provide further testimonies about the numerous churches in Ani during this period.

The information from foreign authors is indeed noteworthy. The Arab historian 'Izz ad-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī (1160-1233), describing the capture of Ani by Alp Arslan, remarked: "*This was a large and crowded city, where there were more than five hundred churches*."³¹ Ibn al-Athīr's account stands out as an exception among chroniclers regarding the number of Ani's churches, as he specifically states "*more than five hundred churches*." It is possible that the Arab author simply "*shared*" the number of 1000 mentioned by other authors, which perhaps seemed to him an exaggeration.

²⁷ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 162-163.

²⁸ T'. T'oramanian, 1942, p. 328.

²⁹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 160.

³⁰ «Եւ եկեղեցի բազում կայր ի նմա (in Ani – K. M.), մինչ ի կարգ խօսից երդման այսպէս երդնուին՝ «Անույ հազար ու մի եկեղեցին» (Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *History of the Armenians* (compiled by K. Melik' Ohanjanian), Yerevan, 1961, p. 258).

³¹ Ibn al-Asir (translations and notes by A. Ter-Ghevondian), Yerevan, 1981, p. 220.

The 13th-century Arab historian Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, referring to the capture of Ani in 1064 and citing al-Kamil Abu'l-Fawariz as an eyewitness, records: “*They say that there are... a thousand churches and monasteries in the city.*”³² Meanwhile, the Syriac historian Abu-l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus notes that in Ani there were “*700 thousand houses and 1000 churches*” during the same period.³³

The anonymous Georgian historian (early 13th century) in “*The History and Praise of the Kings*” recounts the capture of Ani by King George of Georgia in 1161. The historian notes, “*...went to the great city of Ani...where there still exist a thousand and one churches.*”³⁴

Historical accounts from European authors provide additional insights into Ani. The Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264) documented the Mongol invasion of Ani in his encyclopedia, noting, “*There is a magnificent city in Armenia called Ani, where a thousand churches stand and 100,000 families reside.*”³⁵ William of Rubruck, a Franciscan monk who visited Ani in 1255, observed in his travel notes: “*There are a thousand Armenian churches and two Arab mosques here.*”³⁶ Furthermore, John Mandeville, a 14th-century English traveler and member of the Franciscan order, also remarked on the city’s multitude of churches.³⁷

The repeated references to the “*thousand churches of Ani*” cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence. While it is improbable that any of these authors physically counted the churches, the consistent mention of a substantial number contributed significantly to Ani’s reputation as a city with a “*thousand and one churches.*”³⁸

Ani’s valleys were not only home to churches and chapels but also encompassed entire monastic complexes within its caves. Beyond the city walls, vast suburbs were adorned with churches, forming a significant

³² The historian adds that Ani had 700 thousand houses and that the Seljuks captured 50 thousand people (S. Bournazyan, *Armenia and Seljuks in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Yerevan 1980, pp. 108-109).

³³ *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus, Gregory Abu-l-Faraj, 1225-1286*, translated by E. W. Budge, Amsterdam, 1976, p. 216; Alishan, 1881, p. 90.

³⁴ Kh. T’orosyan, *The “History and Praise of the Kings” as a Source on the History of Zak’arian Armenia and the Zak’arians*, Yerevan, 1992, p. 334.

³⁵ H. Hakobyan, *Travel Notes*, vol. I, Yerevan, 1932, p. 27, note 1, cf. Alishan 1881, p. 90.

³⁶ H. Hakobyan, *Travel Notes*, vol. VI, Yerevan, 1934, p. 23.

³⁷ Alishan, 1881, p. 90.

³⁸ In our previous monograph, we extensively examined the number of churches in Ani, presenting a list and map of the 104 preserved monuments found in the city’s ruins (K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 148-188).

“triangle” around the city that included the monasteries of Horomos, Bagnair, and Arjoarich, all closely linked to the capital.

In the ecclesiastical life of Ani, the Horomos Monastery held a distinctive position as the final resting place for the Bagratid kings, spanning from Ashot the Merciful to Hovhannes Smbat. Due to its royal significance, the road leading from the citadel – beginning at the palace, passing through the Avag Gate, and continuing to Horomos – frequently witnessed regal processions. This route, described by architect Armen Zarian as the “avenue of ceremonies and rituals,”³⁹ featured a notable structure not far from the

monastery: a unique pair of three-story tower arches situated on a hill (Fig. 6). Referred to in various literatures as a triumphal arch, belfry, or entrance arch (“ghosher”),⁴⁰ its precise function has remained elusive, leading to its occasional attribution of a mysterious role. Architect Armen Zarian interprets the monument as “...the door connecting the two ‘cities’ – the secular Ani and the spiritual centre Horomos.”⁴¹

In 1211, the painter Margaré, at the behest of Sahak Anets’i, used the aforementioned monument as a model for the depiction of the entrance to the holy city in the miniature illustrating “Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem” in the Gospel of Haghbat, illuminated in the Bekhents’ Monastery (Col. fig. 45). Notably, the tower in the miniature closely mirrors the structure of the monument, displaying symmetrical floor arrangements, a shared overall



Fig. 6. Twin-towered arch on the Ani-Horomos road (photograph by Karapet Hovhanjanyants', 1884).

³⁹ A. Zarian, *An Outline of Town-Planning History in Ancient and Medieval Armenia*, Yerevan, 1986, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Ghosher means a pair in Turkish: Ghosh = Kosh (in Turkish dialect) (they meant the twin towers).

⁴¹ A. Zarian, op. cit., p. 125.

composition, and matching details such as the shape of the small window. It becomes clear that the artist intentionally chose to depict the entrance of Ani as a symbolic representation of the entrance to Jerusalem. This interpretation gains further credence when considering that the artist depicted all members of Sahak Anets'i's family – the commissioner of the manuscript – dressed in typical costumes, positioned among the citizens welcoming Christ.⁴² Thus, the artist imbued the familiar biblical narrative of "*Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*" with the subtext of "*Christ's Entry into Ani*." Significantly, this practice of localising and Armenising biblical narratives is neither unusual nor unprecedented. For instance, Grigor Narekats'i, in the canto "*Resurrection*," writes that the Chariot of God descends from heaven to earth on the right slope of Mount Masis (Ararat) before entering Jerusalem.

A vivid illustration of Ani's status as a sacred city is found in the valuable work "*History of the City of Ani*." The anonymous author, recounting the invasion by the Georgian king, declares: "*The king of Georgia...came... to the royal city of Ani, which I might also call the god-dwelling city, and I will not be ashamed.*"⁴³ This portrayal aligns with the Armenian tradition of referring to significant monasteries and renowned sanctuaries as "*god-dwelling*," and the author applies this term to Ani as well.

As previously mentioned, Ani held not only political significance but also served as the seat of the Catholicate, making it the spiritual capital of Armenia. With its numerous churches and shrines, Ani earned the status of a holy city. Consequently, its destruction was viewed as an act warranting divine retribution. A poignant testament to this belief is found in an inscription left by a former citizen of Ani, who had migrated to Yerevan in 1364, on the wall of the local Kat'oghiké Church: "*May God destroy the one who destroys Ani.*"⁴⁴

It is important to note that Ani endured a series of calamities throughout its history. Initially captured by the Seljuks in 1064, the city later became a battleground in the 12th century, fell under Mongol conquest in 1236, and suffered mass emigration due to oppressive taxation during the

⁴² K. Matevosyan, *The Arch on the Road Horomos – Ani*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 1982, N 1, pp. 143-149; Idem. The miniature "*Entry into Jerusalem*" by painter Margaré, "Herald of Social Sciences," 1982, N 9, pp. 52-63; Idem. *The Haghbat Gospel*, Yerevan, 2012, pp. 12-25.

⁴³ Mkhi'tar Anets'i, addition, p. 109.

⁴⁴ K. Ghafadaryan, *Yerevan: the Medieval Monuments and Epigraphic Inscriptions*, Yerevan, 1975, p. 141.

14th and 15th centuries, ultimately descending into desolation. In medieval Armenian literature, this sequence of events was often attributed to divine providence, interpreted as celestial retribution for the sins of its inhabitants.

One of the foremost proponents of this view was Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, who, in his poem recounting the Seljuk invasion and the destruction of Ani, placed greater emphasis on moral judgement than on the detailed historical events or military operations. Significantly, Lastiverts‘i drew parallels between Ani’s fate and narratives from the Holy Scriptures, linking its downfall to the construction of the Tower of Babel, the destruction of Jericho, and the fall of Jerusalem. When describing the devastation wrought by the Seljuks, Lastiverts‘i asserted that no earthly power could resist divine wrath, emphasizing God’s capacity to bestow blessings or inflict punishment for human sin.⁴⁵

Other historians, such as Samuel Anets‘i, conveyed a similar perspective when recounting Ani’s tragic history. Anets‘i wrote: “...*the Lord Creator beheld our pride and turned against us, bringing sorrow, just as He had once done with Israel in ancient times. For if He did not spare the elder, why should He show mercy to the younger...*”⁴⁶

The most comprehensive expression of this perspective is found in the writings of Abraham of Crete. His “*History of the City of Ani*,” written in the early 18th century, is a deeply moralistic work. Abraham condemns the sinful behaviour of Ani’s citizens, offering a thorough critique of their moral failings.

It is worth highlighting that in Ani, alongside the sins of individual inhabitants, there existed a broader notion of the “*sins of the city*.” A notable example of this is found in a 13th-century inscription attributed to Bishop Mkh‘it‘ar Tegherts‘i. In this inscription, the temporary prohibition of Sunday sales in the city streets – implemented as a precaution against the risk of an earthquake – concludes with a stern admonition: anyone who violates this decree “*bears the burden of the city’s sin*” («քաղաքիս մեղացն տնր է»)⁴⁷.

Nevertheless, despite the principled stance of the Armenian clergy, who were predominantly the authors of our medieval literature, they were

⁴⁵ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, *History* (compiled by K. Yusbashian), Yerevan, 1963, pp. 60-61, 133-135 (hereinafter referred as Aristakes Lastiverts‘i).

⁴⁶ Samuel Anets‘i and Continuator, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁷ CAI, I, 24.

far from indifferent to the fate of Ani. On the contrary, they deeply mourned its decline, recalling its former glory. The capture of Ani by foreign forces, the many hardships endured by its citizens, devastating earthquakes, widespread emigration, and the subsequent transformation of the once magnificent city into an uninhabited ruin became indelibly etched in the historical memory of the Armenian people. Ani not only symbolised statehood and independence but also became enveloped in an aura of suffering and martyrdom. Even if often subconsciously, Ani was regarded as one of the primary Armenian national symbols and sanctities.

The emigration of the people of Ani and their descendants, spanning regions such as Jugha, Van, Cilicia, and extending beyond Armenia's borders to the banks of the Volga, Crimea, Poland, Persia, and other lands, carried with them cherished memories of the splendid Ani. They brought not only recollections but also tangible traditions and sacred elements, remaining steadfast in their commitment to the creative spirit of their homeland. Remarkably, Ani continued to serve as a wellspring of patriotic fervour.

In 1722, upon hearing of the rebellion led by David Bek, a group of 285 young Armenians from Crimea, guided by two courageous priests – Father Bartholomew and Father Markos – hurried to Syunik' to support their kinsmen. Referred to as "*Crimean Armenians from Ani*" in the original account, these individuals, undeterred by obstacles on their journey from Trabzon to Syunik', made their first stop at the ruins of Ani. In a poignant act of devotion, they pledged their patriotic oath and sought the blessings of the holy city before embarking on a war for survival.⁴⁸ It is plausible that Khach'atur Abovyan drew inspiration from this historical reality when crafting the emotionally charged episode in his novel "*Wounds of Armenia*," in which the protagonist, Aghasi, takes a similar oath in Ani.

Symbolically, following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, which rekindled great hopes for liberation among Armenians, the courageous Patriarch of Constantinople, Nerses Varzhapetian, adopted the title "*Archbishop of Ani*,"⁴⁹ adding it to his official title as "*Patriarch of the Ottoman Armenians*." Furthermore, a century before, the leader of the

⁴⁸ V. Mikayelian, *History of the Armenian Colony in the Crimea*, Yerevan, 1964, pp. 183-184.

⁴⁹ See Markos Aghabegian, *Letter from Markos Aghabegian to the Most Reverend Archbishop Nerses, Patriarch of the Ottoman Armenians*, Constantinople, 1878, p. 1.

Russian-Armenian Diocese, Archbishop Hovsep Arghutian, presented a plan for the liberation of Armenia to the Russian court, advocating for either Vagharshapat or Ani to serve as the capital of a sovereign Armenia.⁵⁰

The exclamation of the Armenian poet Avetik‘ Isahakyan, who visited the ruins of the city in the early 20th century, encapsulates the mindset of the intellectual generation of his time: “*Ani is a spirit.*” Even today, it is impossible to find an Armenian with a sense of national identity who is not moved by the fate of this once-prosperous capital. Currently situated just beyond the borders of the Republic of Armenia, on the very edge of its territory, Ani endures as an ancient site with partially ruined monuments. Nevertheless, it remains a vibrant embodiment of history and a sacred symbol for the Armenian people.

⁵⁰ History of the Armenians, vol. 4, Yerevan, 1972, pp. 224-225.

Part I

FROM THE HISTORY OF ANI

ANI AS A CAPITAL AND CATHOLICOSAL SEE

The proclamation of Ani as the royal seat and capital in 961 AD was of great significance for strengthening the Armenian state. Prior to this, the Bagratids, who restored the Armenian kingdom in 885 AD,⁵¹ did not possess a permanent residence. As previously noted, the first four Bagratid kings successively enthroned in Bagaran (Ashot I), Yerazgavors-Shirakavan (Smbat I), and Kars (Abbas). This pattern can be traced back to the 7th century AD, during the period of the Armenian princely state,⁵² when each prince, as a major landowner, used the centre of his domains as a residence before being elected “*Prince of Armenia*.” This residence also served as the administrative centre of the realm during his rule. Notable examples include Aruch, the residence of the Armenian prince Grigor Mamikonian (661-685 AD), Darouynk‘ during the reign of Ashot Bagratuni (685-688 AD), and Talin under Nerseh Kamsarakan (688-692 AD). Each of these princes constructed significant churches in their residences after their elevation to the title of the “*Prince of Armenia*.”

This phenomenon of relocating the administrative centre and establishing churches is also evident in the early period of the Bagratid kingdom. For instance, when Smbat I ascended the throne in Yerazgavors, he built a large church there (St. Savior), and Abbas did likewise in Kars (St. Arak‘elots‘).

⁵¹ In a new study dedicated to the first Bagratid king Ashot I, A. Yeghiazaryan, relying on the evidence of Tovma Artsruni, puts forward the point of view that Ashot’s accession to the throne took place in 887 (A. Yeghiazaryan, *King of Armenians Ashot I Bagratuni*, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 66-68).

⁵² On this see A. Ter-Ghevondian, *Trade and Economic Growth in the Seventh Century Armenia*, “Bulletin of Matenadaran,” N 30, 2020, pp. 154-165.

From the perspective of strengthening and centralising the state, Ashot III Bagratuni's initiative to establish Ani as a permanent royal capital was both far-sighted and judicious. Historian Raphael Matevosyan, reflecting on the period of his reign, concludes his analysis with the following epilogue: *"Establishing the permanent capital was perhaps the most important of all transformations of Ashot III. It was inseparable from other measures aimed at strengthening the central government and consolidating the entire state around the Bagratid sovereign: the joint reign, the permanent enthronement of the Catholicate in Ani, the strengthening of ties between the country's periphery and the state's centre, and the subjugation of local feudal lords to the Armenian king through vassalage, among others. Together, the issue of the permanent capital forms a whole and shows that Ashot III's role in the history of Bagratid Armenia was far more significant than merely being known as 'the Merciful.' In 961, a new era commenced in the Bagratid kingdom, which, according to Leo, can be referred to as the 'Anian period.'"*⁵³

It was in Ani that the coronation of Ashot took place in 961, officiated by the Armenian Catholicos Ananias I Mokats'i (946-968) during a grand ceremony attended by numerous guests and members of the Armenian army. This event confirmed the status of Ani, which was still a fortress at the time, as the new royal residence.

Notably, Ashot had inherited the throne earlier from his father, Abbas Bagratuni, but had not yet been crowned. Concerned about establishing a permanent capital, he initially attempted to capture the former Armenian capital, Dvin, from the Arabs. However, upon failing in this endeavour, he decided to designate Ani as the new capital. Ani was strategically located further from the Byzantine borders than Kars and was situated in the central part of the Bagratid domains.

The coronation ceremony is vividly detailed by the historian Matt'eos Urhayets'i (Matthew of Edessa) with inspiration, who describes the attendees, including Pilip, King of Aghvank (Philip, King of Caucasian Albania), and Catholicos Hovhannes, accompanied by forty bishops. The historian also reports on the military parade that occurred that day, noting *"a parade of soldiers... a hundred thousand..."* While this figure may seem

⁵³ R. Matevosyan, *Ani as a Royal City and Capital*, "Herald of Social Sciences," 1978, N5, p. 94.

exaggerated, even a reduction by a factor of ten would still convey an impressive image of the event.⁵⁴

Ashot earned the epithet “*the Merciful*” from his contemporaries due to his numerous acts of charity and compassion. However, his primary objective was to transform the castle-town of Ani into a fully-fledged city, as attested by historian Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, who succinctly notes: “*Ashot the Merciful, son of Abbas, reigned over Ani for 25 years and built the Pok‘r k‘agh‘ak (Little city).*”⁵⁵ The king fortified the shortest section between the Akhuryan gorge and Tsaghkots‘adzor in the northeast part of the citadel of Ani, which, according to the historian, created what he referred to as the “*Little city*” (further elaboration can be found in the subsection on the “*Ancient Districts of Ani*”).

As previously mentioned, Ashot the Merciful envisioned Ani not only as a royal city but also as a Catholicosol see, akin to Vagharshapat and Dvin, the early capitals of Armenian Christianity. At that time, the Armenian Catholicosol see was located in the settlement of Argina in Shirak. Following the death of Ananias Mokats‘i, Vahan I Syunets‘i (968-969) was elected as the new Catholicos during a church assembly convened in Shirakavan. However, Vahan’s tenure was short-lived due to his attempts to approach the Chalcedonians, particularly the Georgians, a move that the traditionalist Armenian clergy could not tolerate.

To investigate Vahan’s actions, a church meeting was convened in 969 in the newly established royal city of Ani at the king’s behest. However, Vahan, not waiting for the assembly’s decision, fled to Vaspurakan, seeking refuge with King Hamazasp Abusahl. Consequently, the assembly declared him deposed and elected a new Catholicos, Abbot Step‘anos of Sevan, at the suggestion of Ashot the Merciful. The contemporary historian Step‘anos Taronets‘i Asoghik⁵⁶ recounts these events, while Step‘anos Orbelian adds that Step‘anos Sewants‘i was enthroned in Ani.⁵⁷

In fact, Step‘anos III Sewants‘i (969-972) was elected, ordained, and enthroned as Catholicos in Ani. Thus, Ashot the Merciful was able, albeit briefly (969-972), to fulfil his ambition of concentrating both the political and spiritual power of the country in Ani. This achievement was of great

⁵⁴ See the complete section of Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i’s “*Chronicle*” related to these events in the appendix of this book.

⁵⁵ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, p. 67.

⁵⁶ Asoghik, p. 181.

⁵⁷ Step‘anos Orbelian, *History of the Province of Syunik*, Tiflis, 1910, pp. 289-290.

importance to the Bagratids, particularly given that, at the time, Armenia was politically fragmented, with other Armenian kingdoms having emerged. However, the spiritual and ecclesiastical authority of the Armenian Catholicos extended over all Armenians (also outside the borders of the country). Therefore, the presence of the Catholicos in Ani inevitably conferred a degree of pan-Armenian supremacy on the local ruler.

The ambitious kings of Vaspurakan, recognising this, sought to prevent Ani from becoming a permanent Catholicosal see. They achieved this temporarily by offering refuge to Vahan Syunets'i, whom they recognised as the legitimate Catholicos, granting him a seat in Dzoravank'.

Step'anos's brief tenure was consumed by his struggle against Vahan Syunets'i, in an atmosphere of mutual hostility. This conflict compelled Step'anos to convene a second church council in Ani. According to M. Ormanyan, this occurred in 971, after which Step'anos journeyed to Vaspurakan. However, the Artsruni king and Catholicos Vahan, disregarding Step'anos and his two accompanying archimandrites, arrested and imprisoned them in Aghtamar. Though the archimandrites were later released, Step'anos was moved to another location, where he died the following year. In the same year 972, Vahan Syunets'i also passed away, bringing the church division to an end.

The election of the next Catholicos and the decision regarding the location of his enthronement likely occurred through a compromise between the kings of Ani and Vaspurakan. Bishop Khach'ik of Arsharunik' (Khach'ik I Arsharunets'i, 973-992) was elected Catholicos, but the see of the Catholicate was returned to Argina. Step'anos Asoghik, a contemporary historian, records this event.⁵⁸ In fact, Khach'ik I Arsharunets'i restored the Catholicate in Argina and undertook reconstruction efforts there. His motivations were twofold: firstly, to placate the rulers of Vaspurakan, and secondly, to keep the Catholicate independent from political influence, thereby ensuring its autonomy.

The historian notes the extensive church construction initiated by Catholicos Khach'ik I in Argina, which included the Cathedral (Kat'oghiké) designed by the architect Trdat (Fig. 7), the enrichment of the library, and other works. These endeavours resemble the founding of a new Catholicate rather than a mere renovation of the existing one. This suggests that his predecessors may not have viewed Argina as a permanent residence, likely

⁵⁸ Asoghik, p. 185.



Fig. 7. Cathedral (Katoghiké) Church of Argina (photograph from the early 20th c., now completely destroyed).

anticipating that the seat would eventually be transferred to the capital, as indeed happened after Khach'ik Arsharunets'i's tenure.

Following Ashot the Merciful, his eldest son Smbat II (977-989) constructed the great wall of Ani and began the building of the Cathedral (Kat'oghiké) or the "*Mother Church*" in the city's central area, again under the direction of the architect Trdat. This was obviously done with the intention of permanently relocating the Catholicate to Ani. Judging by the evidence, Trdat was also responsible for designing and overseeing the construction of the city wall. The Smbatashen walls of Ani, which feature a double-row fortification on the northern side and are reinforced with towers, were later expanded by various rulers with additional ramparts. According to modern calculations, the walls of Ani comprised "*55 towers in two rows, and in total 94 towers, 14 gates, and 3 small doors*" on the northern side.⁵⁹

However, Smbat II passed away prematurely and did not witness the completion of the Cathedral. The work was finished by Queen Katramidé

⁵⁹ H. Khalpakhchyan, *Compositional Characteristics of Planning of Wall-Building Structures of Armenia*, "Armenian Art" collection No. 1, Yerevan, 1974, p. 27.



Fig. 8. Eastern facade of the Cathedral of Ani.

(Katranide),⁶⁰ the wife of his brother, Gagik I Bagratuni, in 1001 (Fig. 8). Sargis I Sewants'i, elected Catholicos during Gagik's reign in 992, moved the Catholicate from Argina to Ani, establishing the capital as the ecclesiastical centre of Armenia. Thus, from 992 onwards, the Bagratid capital also became the church's administrative seat.⁶¹

During this period, numerous churches commissioned by kings and princes were erected one after another in Ani. As mentioned earlier,

⁶⁰ In the building inscription of the Cathedral, the queen's name is written as "*Katranidé*," while in the works of her contemporary historian Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik and 12th century historian, priest of the Cathedral Samvel Anets'i (followed by subsequent historians) it is mentioned "*Katramidé*" (Asoghik, p. 256, Samuel Anets'i and Continuers, p. 182).

⁶¹ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 26-27, Annie et Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à nos jours*, Éditeur. Perrin, 2012, p. 159.

Catholicos Sargis Sewants'i played a key role in this development by establishing a church dedicated to the St. Hrip'simian virgins within the city. Upon the completion of the church, he ceremoniously transported a portion of the relics of the holy virgins from their shrines in Vagharshapat to Ani, instituting a special holiday to mark the occasion.

Moreover, at the start of the 11th century, following the example set by the king, queen, and Catholicos, many prominent princes of the Bagratid kingdom also founded churches and monasteries. Grigor Apirat Magistros constructed the Kech'aris Monastery (1003), while his brother, Prince Gevorg, lord of Keghi Fortress, built the Kat'oghiké Church of the Havuts' T'ar Monastery (1002). Smbat Magistros established the Bagnair Monastery, Vest Sargis built the St. Sargis Church of Khats'konk' (1024),⁶² Vahram Pahlavuni commissioned the Amberd Church (1026) and the Marmashen Monastery (1029), and his brother Ablgharib Pahlavuni constructed the All Savior Church of Ani (1036), among others.

However, Ani's flourishing was not solely the result of royal ambitions. The city also benefited from favourable political and economic conditions, as well as its strategic location on an international trade route. Due to the ongoing Arab-Byzantine conflicts and wars, caravan routes through Mesopotamia and southern Armenia became perilous, while the northern route, passing through Dvin and Ani, remained relatively safe. Even Smbat I Bagratuni (890-914) had assured the Byzantines of his commitment to ensuring the safety of trade routes within his kingdom. Undoubtedly, this policy was continued by subsequent rulers, allowing both the kingdom and its capital to participate in and benefit from international transit trade.

As a result of this trade, several caravanserais were constructed along these routes, likely with state support, and large stone bridges were built over the Akhuryan river (Col. figs. 10-11). The road from Dvin to Ani became particularly active, evidenced by the fact that the southeast gate of the Smbatian walls was named "*Dvno Door*," (Dvin Gate) while one of the gates in Dvin was referred to as "*Bab Ani*" (Ani's Door).⁶³

During this period, Ani was an impressive city with its high citadel and Nerk'in Berd (Aghjkaberd) situated on the edge of a rocky promontory,

⁶² K. Matevosyan, *Newfound Data on the History of the Havuts' T'ar Monastery and the Apiratian Clan*, "Bulletin of Matenadaran", N 17, Yerevan, 2006, pp. 147-167.

⁶³ Al-Moqaddasi, *Kitáb ahsán at-tákasim fí ma'rifat al-akálim*, "Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum," ed. III, p. III, Lugd. Bat., apud E. J. Brill, 1967, p. 377.

the towering Smbatian ramparts with their beautifully decorated gates, numerous splendid churches (Col. figs. 12-17), palaces, caravanserais, taverns, paved streets, commercial districts, bridges, and more. The surrounding suburbs were also densely populated, especially the rock-hewn districts.

Ani's prosperity was further supported by the rise of the urban class and the formation of the council of elders (*"Chiefs of the City"*), first mentioned in the 11th century. This body gained significant importance, particularly after the fall of the Bagratid kingdom, allowing the citizens of Ani to act collectively in pursuit of common interests.

The reign of Gagik I is considered the peak of the Bagratid kingdom of Ani. Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik writes of Gagik I: *"...and he took control of numerous fortresses and cantons on the borders of Vayots' Dzor, Khach'en (Arts'akh – auth.), and P'arisis, more than his brother, and there was no one to fear Armenians until this day, when I am writing these words of memory."*⁶⁴

During Gagik I's reign, the Armenian Catholicate played a crucial role in maintaining the strength and unity of the country. Although, according to Asoghik, Catholicos Sargis Sewants'i was a lover of ascetic life, he skillfully organized the multifaceted activities of the Armenian Church and the Catholicate during his 27-year tenure.⁶⁵ It is likely that the Catholicate building was constructed in Ani at this time. This structure, overlooking the Akhuryan gorge, was later partially transformed in the 1070s into a mosque by the emir of Ani, Manuch'ê (Fig. 9).

Matt'eos Urhayets'i also provides insight into the staff of the Catholicate of Ani: *"twelve bishops, four archimandrites, and sixty elder clergymen were present at the residence of the patriarch..."*⁶⁶

There are several accounts that indicate the king and the Catholicos worked together. In 1001, following the disobedience of the King of Tashir-Dzoraget, Davit Anhoghin, Gagik I organized a punitive raid against him. The conflict was resolved *"through the mediation of the patriarch, Ter Sargis,"* and David submitted *"like a son to his father."*⁶⁷ Similarly, in 1006, at the request of King Vasak of Syunik', Queen Katramidé's father, and with King Gagik's mediation, Hovhannes was ordained Bishop of Syunik' in Ani

⁶⁴ Asoghik, p. 256.

⁶⁵ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 166.

⁶⁷ Asoghik, p. 280.



*Fig. 9. Hall of the Catholicate of Ani
(it was converted into a mosque during the time of amir Manuch'ê).*

by Catholicos Sargis Sewants'i. During this event, the Metropolitanate's honors and privileges, which had been revoked during the tenure of Ananias Mokats'i due to the rebellion of Bishop Hakob of Syunik', were restored. Sacred relics stored in the "*shrine's room*" of the Catholicate of Ani, including the "*the own cross of Syunik', the embroidered banner, the precious scepter, and the honorary throne,*" were also returned to the Syunik' See.⁶⁸ This initiative helped strengthen the internal unity of the Armenian Church and fostered closer ties between the Kingdom of Syunik' and the Bagratid Kingdom.

Under Catholicos Sargis I, theological and confessional tensions with the Byzantine Church persisted, especially following the Erroneous Easter of 1007, where Easter was celebrated on different days. Domestically, the sectarian Tondrakian movement also became more active, and the Catholicos waged a relentless campaign against it.⁶⁹

The Catholicos, together with his associates, addressed several other significant matters. During his tenure, the materials for the principal collection of Armenian ecclesiastical law, which governed both spiritual and

⁶⁸ Step'anos Orbelian, p. 304.

⁶⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 124.

ecclesiastical life, were compiled into the “*Kanonagirk‘ hayoc‘*” (Armenian Book of Canon Law), organized into 40 groups of canons. Additionally, the “*Gavazanagirk‘*” (chronological list of names) of Armenian Catholicos was appended, with the final entry noting the ordination of Sargis Sewants‘i himself.⁷⁰ Step‘anos Taronets‘i Asoghik, one of the servants of the Catholicate, wrote his “*Universal History*” (graduated in 1004) under the commission of Catholicos Sargis.

Unfortunately, the favourable state of both political and spiritual-ecclesiastical life changed dramatically after the death of Gagik I in 1017⁷¹ and during the accession of Catholicos Petros I (1019-1054), the successor of Sargis Sewants‘i.

During this period, unprecedented events unfolded in the Armenian state and church. Following Gagik I’s death, a dispute over the throne arose between his sons, who inherited power in the order of seniority. According to historian Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, the succession conflict was between Hovhannes Smbat, described as “*thick in body and massy,*” yet intelligent, and Ashot, “*brave-hearted.*”⁷² For the first time, probably in 1017, King George I of Georgia (1014-1027) mediated a reconciliation between the brothers. It was decided that Hovhannes Smbat, as the elder, would receive

⁷⁰ Armenian Book of Canon Law (*Kanonagirk‘ hayoc‘*) (with the diligence of V. Hakobyan), v. II, Yerevan, 1971, pp. XXIII-XXV.

⁷¹ The exact date of Gagik I’s death is not confirmed in the sources, 1020 is accepted in the literature. The point of view about the year 1017 was put forward by Karen Yuzbashyan, attesting to the 1018 inscription of Tekor, where King Hovhannes (Hovhannes Smbat) is mentioned, and that according to Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, the conflict between Gagik’s sons Hovhannes Smbat and Ashot and the latter’s departure to Constantinople took place before 1018. Considering these facts, K. Yuzbashyan concludes: “*We date Gagik’s death to 1017, although 1016 is not excluded.*” (K. Yuzbashyan, *Armenian States of the Bagratid Era and Byzantium in the 9th-11th Centuries*, Moscow, 1988, pp. 156-157 /К. Юзбашян, *Армянские государства эпохи Багратидов и Византия IX-XI вв.*, Москва, 1988, с 156-157). We should add that the data kept by Samvel Anets‘i also speaks in favor of 1017, which indicates 29 years for Gagik. Accordingly, considering 989 as the first year of Gagik’s reign (according to Asoghik), his 29th year (death) coincides with 1017. By the way, in a number of manuscripts of Samvel Anets‘i’s poem, other authors added “*Gagik Shahanshah died*” before the year 1017 (Samuel Anets‘i and Continuator, pp. 180, 182). From the point of view of clarifying the issue, a note by Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i is also noteworthy, where Sargis I and Hovhannes Smbat are considered the addressees of the Byzantine emperor’s letter, that is, the latter was king until the resignation of the Catholicos (1019) (Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, p. 50). For a thorough examination of this problem and the resignation of Sargis Sevants‘i, see K. Matevosyan, 2010, pp. 22-27.

⁷² Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 27.

Ani and its surrounding regions for seniority, while Ashot would be given *“the inner part of the land, which faces Persia and Georgia.”*⁷³

After the negotiation, as Hovhannes Smbat returned to Ani, one of Ashot's princes complained to George I that Hovhannes Smbat had seized the Shatik fortress, which rightfully belonged to him. Enraged, George sent his soldiers, who captured Hovhannes Smbat at a caravanserai and brought him to the Georgian king. They also pursued his companions, driving them to Ani. George imprisoned Hovhannes Smbat, seized three of his fortresses, and only then released him.

According to the same historian, Ashot, faced with the challenge of fully asserting control over the territories allotted to him, travelled to Constantinople, where he gained the favour of the emperor and received a contingent of auxiliary troops. Upon his return, he proceeded to Vaspurakan, where he secured the support of the Artsrunis, before moving on to the territory assigned to him, seizing control of the canton and its fortresses. Likely prompted by Byzantine instigation, Ashot attempted to seize Ani in early 1021, thereby violating the previous agreement.

Before this, however, an unprecedented event occurred in Ani: in 1019, during the lifetime of Catholicos Sargis I Sewants'i (990-1019), Petros I was ordained as Catholicos by Sargis himself (later nicknamed *“Getadardz”*). As subsequent events reveal, the traditional order of succession for the Catholicos (where the new Catholicos was chosen only after the death of the incumbent) was disregarded at the behest of Hovhannes Smbat. He opposed Catholicos Sargis retaining patriarchal authority, given Sargis's advanced age and his detachment from the country's affairs. Unable, or perhaps unwilling, to act as a mediator between the feuding brothers, Sargis's position weakened.⁷⁴ This may explain why the King of Georgia intervened in the matter, ultimately treating Hovhannes Smbat in a humiliating manner.

Hovhannes Smbat summoned the proactive Petros to the Catholicos See, who hailed *“from the province of Shirak, from a noble house..., from the nobles and honorees of Kamrjadzor, which is in the land of Ani,”*⁷⁵ anticipating a dependable mediator in the face of Ashot's renewed rebellion.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ K. Matevosyan, 2010, pp. 25-27. Catholicos Sargis settled in the Horomos Monastery near Ani, where he died in 1022.

⁷⁵ Armenologists were not familiar with this information before, which was preserved in a 1404 Homilies (Matenadaran, Ms. 1520, p. 30b).

His expectation was swiftly realised when Ashot, having consolidated his power, triumphed over a substantial army and advanced towards the walls of Ani. Historian Matt'eos Urhayets'i recounts that, in the ensuing battle, the citizens of Ani suffered a crushing defeat with significant losses. At that critical moment, Catholicos Petros intervened on a mission of conciliation: *"Patriarch Petros and all the princes came to meet Ashot and, with a great oath, crowned Ashot as the king of the entire Armenian kingdom, the king of the Outside world, while it was agreed that Hovhannes (Hovhannes Smbat) would sit as king in the city of Ani, and if Hovhannes dies, Ashot will be the king of the entire Armenian kingdom."*⁷⁶

As we can observe, following this new reconciliation, Ashot's military triumph earned him the royal title (thus, he is referred to in the literature as King Ashot IV) and the right to rule in Ani after the death of Hovhannes Smbat. It is remarkable that these two entirely distinct episodes of conflict and reconciliation between Hovhannes Smbat and Ashot (which differ in process, mediators of reconciliation, and what each party gained as a result) are often presented as a single event in academic works on Armenian history.⁷⁷

During this period, the Byzantines were systematically stripping the Armenian authorities and kingdoms (Taron, Tayk', Vaspurakan) of their independence, with Ani becoming their next target. In 1021, Emperor Basil II (976-1025) embarked on a campaign against the rebellious Georgian King George I, causing devastation in Tayk' and the surrounding regions, before moving to Trebizond on the Black Sea coast to spend the winter. John Skylitzes recounts that Hovhannes Smbat offered military aid to the King of Georgia⁷⁸ (Armenian sources do not provide this information), which prompted the emperor to demand Ani from him. On this occasion, Catholicos Petros acted as Hovhannes Smbat's envoy to the emperor. Aristakes Lastiverts'i writes: *"Hovhannes told the Catholicos to write a*

⁷⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 14.

⁷⁷ See History of the Armenian People, Vol. III, p. 144, Armenian History, v. II, book 2, Yerevan, 2014, p. 158. It is noteworthy that after these two clashes, Ashot made another attempt to seize the throne of Ani by deceiving his brother, but Hovhannes Smbat escaped death thanks to Prince Apirat (Grigor Apirat Magistros), who did not fulfill Ashot's order and returned the king to Ani. About those stages of the conflict between Hovhannes Smbat and Ashot, see the section *"Grigor Apirat Magistros and the Hassanian-Apiratian Clan"* of this book.

⁷⁸ John Skylitzes, translation from the original, preface and notes by H. Bart'ikian, Yerevan, 1979, pp. 146-147.

letter and give a will to the king that after my death, my city and country I bequeath it to him as an inheritance.”⁷⁹

Thus, the emperor’s demand was met. On Epiphany (6 January 1022), by imperial order, the Catholicos of Armenia performed the water blessing ceremony with the Armenian clergy according to the Armenian canon, while the Greek clergy present followed their own rites. According to Armenian historians, the ceremony conducted by the Catholicos of Armenia was highly impressive, with rays of light emitted when the myrrh was poured into the water. After the rite, the emperor honoured the patriarch⁸⁰ (the exaggerated reactions to this event later gave rise to the Catholicos’s nickname “*Getadardz*”).⁸¹ It can be surmised that the meetings in Trebizond and the lavish imperial hospitality made a profound impression on the Catholicos and influenced his future political leanings.

In 1033, on the 1000th anniversary of Christ’s crucifixion, a solar eclipse⁸² occurred, leaving a significant impact on contemporaries. The king and the Catholicos dispatched a special delegation from Ani to the Sevan Monastery, to consult Archimandrite (Vardapet) Hovhannes Kozern regarding the interpretation of the event. Kozern foretold numerous calamities, attributing them to the universal moral decline and impiety, even criticising the church leader himself.⁸³ As can be seen, there were grievances against Catholicos Petros due to his avarice, which Aristakes Lastiverts‘i explicitly mentions: “*Petros was such a great lover of treasures that many reprimanded him for it.*”⁸⁴

In the same year, Catholicos Petros clashed with Hovhannes Smbat, secretly departing from his seat in Ani and relocating to Dzoravank‘ in Vaspurakan, which had come under imperial control, where he remained for

⁷⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 32.

⁸⁰ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, pp. 31-32.

⁸¹ The Armenian clerics performing the water blessing ceremony, led by the Catholicos, stood in the upper part of the river, and the Greek clergy in the lower part, in order to, according to the idea of the organizers, once again rebless the water blessed by the Armenians. This is the reason why, shortly after that, in the atmosphere of heated religious disputes and unconcealed hostility with the Greeks, the tradition was born that after the blessing of water by Peter, the flow of the river stopped, then turned back, hence the nickname “*Getadardz*” (M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* [National History], pp. 1405-1407).

⁸² The solar eclipse happened on June 29. See B. Tumanyan, *History of Armenian Astronomy*, Yerevan, 1968, pp. 138-139.

⁸³ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, p. 78.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 82.

over three years. At the request of the king and the council of elders, and with the intervention of the Byzantine prefect (governor) of Vaspurakan, Petros returned to Ani in 1036. However, shortly after his arrival in the city, he was arrested and detained in Bjni by the king's order. At the end of that same year, a church council was convened in the capital, which deposed Petros and appointed Deoskoros, the leader of the Sanahin Monastery, as Catholicos. Deoskoros proceeded to ordain new bishops in Ani and promote those previously rejected by Petros. Nevertheless, the traditional Armenian clergy rebelled against the decision made in Ani. The court was compelled to relent; after just one year and two months on the throne, Deoskoros was deposed and returned to Sanahin, and by the end of 1038, Petros, who had garnered considerable support in Ani, was reinstated as Catholicos.⁸⁵

The crisis of the Bagratid kingdom was approaching its zenith. In 1040-41, the irreconcilable brothers passed away – first Ashot, followed by Hovhannes Smbat – leaving the country in a state of instability. In the final years of the childless Hovhannes Smbat's life, a prominent figure known chiefly as Vest Sargis played a leading role in his court. According to Aristakes Lastiverts'i, he served as regent⁸⁶ at the time of the king's death and sought to assume power in Ani. However, as Matt'eos Urhayets'i notes, "*the Bagratid kin did not accept him, because he was from the Haykazun kin,*"⁸⁷ indicating that he belonged to a different clan (specifically, the Syuni princely family). Armenian historians, with the exception of Samvel Anets'i, generally critique this figure harshly, accusing him of usurping power and later adopting a pro-Byzantine stance.

Following a brief political struggle, Gagik II, the 18-year-old son of Ashot IV (1042-1045), ascended to the Bagratid throne in Ani in 1042, facilitated by the influential Pahlavuni family, led by Sparapet Vahram Pahlavuni. The consecration was performed in the Cathedral of Ani by Catholicos Petros. The coronation of Gagik II was significant primarily because it united the two factions of the kingdom.

⁸⁵ The removal of Deoskoros from Ani takes place in the conditions of disagreements organized by Peter's supporters, the crowd attacks the Catholicos and tears off the veil from his face, which was worn by the Catholicos at that time. Narrating about it, Kirakos Gandzakets'i adds that the Ani citizens later regretted it, thinking that the subsequent disasters that befell the city were due to that unfair treatment (Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 90-91).

⁸⁶ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 57.

⁸⁷ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 94-95.

Under these circumstances, the formidable machinery of Byzantine diplomacy set itself against the small kingdom of Ani, ultimately achieving its objective with the leverage of Hovhannes Smbat's will. The political events of this phase in Ani's history have been extensively studied, so they will not be addressed here. However, it is particularly intriguing to examine the actions of Petros, who, during this period, departed from the established traditions of the Armenian Church by appointing his sister's son, Khach'ik (Khach'ik II Anets'i), as his co-regent following the death of Hovhannes Smbat. This is attested by an inscription from 1041 found in Mren, near Ani.⁸⁸

Thus, Petros I determined the succession of the next Catholicos during his own lifetime, likely as a safeguard against a recurrence of the tumultuous events of the past and to ensure a reliable accomplice. It is also worth noting that, at the time, the Armenian Catholicate commanded vast material wealth, including ownership of hundreds of villages and other assets.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, the Byzantine Empire, refusing to recognise the reign of Gagik II, increased its pressure on the Bagratid kingdom of Ani, enlisting Abulasvar, the Emir of Dvin, and David Anhoghin (Landless), along with their forces, against him. The country was ravaged by raids, and several fortresses fell into enemy hands. Gagik's countermeasures were, however, ineffective. It is telling that the historian Samvel Anets'i, a native of Ani, reprimanded the king for his preoccupation with "books" at a time when courage and decisive leadership were needed for war.⁹⁰ This critical view of Gagik II may not have been solely Anets'i's opinion but perhaps reflected a broader sentiment formed in Ani during the post-Bagratid period. Notably, the later historian Mkh'it'ar Anets'i entirely omits Gagik from his list of Bagratid kings, concluding the lineage with the name of Hovhannes Smbat.⁹¹

After Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1054) ascended to power, he extended an invitation to Gagik under the pretext of fostering peace and friendship. In 1044, upon Gagik's arrival in Constantinople, he was detained and barred from returning to his homeland, with the emperor demanding Ani in exchange for another city within the empire. Leaderless, Ani endeavoured to resist, but factions quickly emerged among its citizens. Many, outraged by the Byzantine betrayal, contemplated surrendering the city to David

⁸⁸ N. Sargisian, *Topography of Lesser and Greater Armenia*, Venice, 1864, p. 197.

⁸⁹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 166-167.

⁹⁰ Samuel Anets'i and Continuators, p. 186.

⁹¹ Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, p. 67.

Anhoghin, the Georgian King Bagrat, or even to Abulasvar, Emir of Dvin, whose wife was Gagik II's sister.⁹²

At this juncture, recognising the mood within Ani, Catholicos Petros acted decisively. According to the historian Aristakes Lastiverts'i, Petros informed the emperor, via the Byzantine prefect in Samosata, that he could deliver the city to him.⁹³ It is important to note that Petros was not alone in this; there was indeed a strong "*Byzantophile*" faction within Ani, which worked to fulfil the empire's desires.

The first Byzantine prefect, Iasites (referred to as Asit by Lastiverts'i), "*came and honored patriarch Petros with immense honour.*"⁹⁴ However, this honour was short-lived. Following Iasites's failed military campaign against the Emir of Dvin, he was replaced by Katakalon Kekaumenos, who revealed the true nature of Byzantine politics. The hopes held by some Armenian figures, including Petros I, of living securely under the protection of a powerful Christian neighbour, were quickly dashed. Katakalon Kekaumenos expelled the Catholicos from Ani, informing him that the emperor had ordered his relocation to the city of Artsn.⁹⁵ In reality, after deposing Gagik II and seizing Ani, the Byzantines set about dismantling the Armenian Catholicate, beginning with the removal of the Catholicos from his seat.

Samvel Anets'i, though briefly, documents the atmosphere of panic that gripped Ani following the Byzantine occupation. Citizens and princes alike betrayed one another to the emperor through accusations, slander, and treachery, with the Catholicos also becoming entangled in these intrigues. Taking advantage of the chaos, the Byzantines deported many Armenians against their will, leaving the rest impoverished and humiliated.⁹⁶ Aristakes Lastiverts'i further notes that, as a result of the kingdom's fall, the once-professional Armenian military of Ani-Shirak was left displaced and wandering.⁹⁷

Catholicos Petros has a premonition that he may not be allowed to return to Ani any more and he sees some preparations, he leaves Khach'ik, who received the Catholicos' anointing, in the city, secretly blesses the

⁹² Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 62.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁹⁴ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 63.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, pp. 186-187.

⁹⁷ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 60.

myrrh and hides it so that it does not fall into the hands of the Byzantines.⁹⁸ It is after all this that Petros leaves Ani with a ceremonial procession, accompanied by important officials of the Catholicate and a large number of clergymen and goes to Artsn. However, the Greeks unequivocally deal with the Catholicos, who has already left the capital. According to Lastiverts'i, on the day of the Feast of the Epiphany in Artsn (Jan. 6, 1047) the "*prisoners arrived*" and took Petros to one of the fortresses of Karin, and his sister's son Khach'ik was brought from Ani to the fortress called Sev K'ar ("*Black Stone*") and kept them locked up until Easter (mid-April 1047), after which they were taken to Constantinople.

Petros is given a proper welcome in the capital of the empire. He stayed here for three years, as Aristakes Lastiverts'i testifies, the emperor "*received him with great honor and respect and ordered him to be given a generous salary, but he kept him with him for three years, because he suspected that if he left Armenia, he would go and make Ani rebel.*"⁹⁹ The historian's last words confirm that the once "*Byzantophile*" patriarch was already a threat to the Byzantines themselves.

Finally, through the mediation of Atom Artsruni, Petros gets the right to leave Constantinople and he is allowed to settle in Sebastia (Lesser Armenia). In essence, the Byzantines treat the Catholicos of Armenians in the same way as they treated the rulers of big and small Armenian kingdoms, removing them from their own estates and the proper country itself. As it can be seen, the Catholicos established in Sebastia was in isolation to a considerable extent, because even the information about the year of his death is quite different. In the literature, it is accepted to consider the year of Petros's death as 1058, which comes from Malachia Ormanian. He hesitated between the years 1053 or 1054 and 1058 reported by different sources, and chose the latter,¹⁰⁰ but the examination of the facts makes the year 1054 more probable.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 114.

⁹⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 82.

¹⁰⁰ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, p. 1460.

¹⁰¹ In the ancient copy of Samvel Anets'i's "*Chronicle*" (1176), Peter's years reach up to 1054 year of the Armenian Calendar (Matenadaran, Ms. 5619, p. 97a). In a record written in 1057, Khach'ik II Anets'i is remembered for the first time as a sole Catholicos in the T'avblur Monastery (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 100). It is known that immediately after the death of Petros I, Khach'ik was taken to Constantinople and kept for three years, after which he was allowed to settle in T'avblur. In other words, judging from the inscription, Petros died at least three years before 1057.

As for the evaluation of Petros I's activity, the reality is that he ascended the Catholicos seat in a difficult period, when the Catholicos, whoever he was, could hardly avoid getting involved in political issues. Petros was simply the person who entered politics willingly and not without personal interest. With that, his "Byzantophilism" never left the political sphere, and he kept the confession of the Armenian Church non-negotiable. In any case, neither Aristakes Lastiverts'i, who is a bold critic of the Catholicos, nor another medieval author, have even a hint that Peter I was related to the Byzantines in ecclesiastical and theological matters.¹⁰² We should add that this Catholicos was also a hymn (sharakan) writer, it is known that he ordered Hovhannes Kozern to write the history of the Bagratid house, which has not been preserved.

After the death of Petros, Khach'ik, who was the first Catholicos with the nickname "Anets'i," became the sole locum tenens, the Byzantines did not allow him to set foot in his native city again and began to openly persecute him. Matt'eos Urhayets'i writes in this regard: "*When Ter Petros died, at that time the Horoms (i.e. Greeks, Byzantines) attacked the holy see and wanted to destroy it, and wanted the Armenians in general make to the lawless creed of Chalcedon.*"¹⁰³ The Byzantines first immediately took Khach'ik from Sebastia to Constantinople, then looted the treasures of the Catholicate stored here and in Ani.¹⁰⁴ With particular effort, they tried to take possession of the treasures of the Catholicos Petros, and in order to find out their location, they tortured many people in Sebastia.¹⁰⁵

The Byzantine religious pressure is also expressed by the confessional demand presented to the Armenian Church (accepting the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon), the establishment of Chalcedonian bishoprics in Armenia and the granting of certain privileges to the people who accepted Chalcedonianism, especially the nobles.

A. Matevosyan mentioned the years of Petros I as 1019-1054 (Ibid., p. 102). We believe that the mentioned data allow us to accept this date and consider 1054 as the date of Peter's death.

¹⁰² H. Bart'ikian put forward a hypothesis according to which Petros Getadardz, before the fall of Ani, went to Constantinople and secretly converted to Chalcedonism (H. Bart'ikian, *Armenian-Byzantine Studies*, v. 1, Yerevan, 2002, pp. 598-600, see also *History of Armenians*, v. II, book II, pp. 159-160), something that is not attested in any source (such a shocking event could not have gone unnoticed), so it cannot be a reality.

¹⁰³ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 150.

¹⁰⁴ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 82.

¹⁰⁵ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 150.

The Byzantines are putting unprecedented pressure on the Catholicos Khach'ik Anets'i and according to Matt'eos Urhayets'i, they are even trying to make him a taxpayer.¹⁰⁶ Finally, Khach'ik Anets'i's three-year sufferings ended when, through the mediation of former sovereign Gagik II Bagratuni, King of Kars Gagik Abasian and others, they managed to get him out of the capital of the empire and secure a place of residence in T'avblur, Lesser Armenia. After living here for several years and living through the Seljuk conquest and destruction of Ani in 1064, Khach'ik Anets'i died in 1065.

After the fall of the statehood, regardless of the policy pursued by the empire, in the consciousness of the Armenian people, Ani continued to be considered the centre of the country and a legitimate Catholicos seat. Aristakes Lastiverts'i, speaking about the Byzantine rule, writes: *"Now the king, fallen from honor, as a captive, is in a distant place and the Catholicos see has also been abandoned by its dweller, it is seen with a sad face, like a newlywed woman, who became a widow."*¹⁰⁷ In other words, the patriarchal seat was Ani, only the Catholicos was not there.

The 19-year Byzantine rule in Ani ends with the invasion of the Seljuks in 1064 and the capture of the city. The Byzantine garrison organizing the defense of Ani shows weakness, the consequences of which are tragic (this issue has been researched in detail, so we do not mention it here).

Armenian historians consider the 25-day siege of the city by Seljuk leader Alp Arslan and its subsequent capture and destruction as heavenly punishment. After that, Alp Arslan gives the city to Shaddadian Abulasvar, emir of Dvin, who gifts it to Manuch'é, his and Ashot IV's daughter son in 1065.

While these dramatic events were taking place in Ani, the Byzantine Empire continued its adopted policy towards the Armenians. After the death of Khach'ik Anets'i, the Byzantines resorted to an extreme step: in order to abolish the Armenian Catholicate altogether, they forbade the election of a new Catholicos. At the cost of great efforts, only the Armenian nobility succeeded in electing a new Catholicos in 1066, Vahram-Grigor (Vkayaser, in Eng. – *the Martyrophile*), the son of Grigor Pahlavuni Magistros, who was also established outside the borders of Armenia, in Tsamndav. Grigor II Vkayaser (1066-1105), however, was far from the administrative affairs of the Catholicate and was completely absorbed in the work of translating

¹⁰⁶ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 83.

¹⁰⁷ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 60.

scriptural and hagiographic works from Greek to Armenian (hence his nickname “*Vkayaser*”). This reality causes dubiety in the sense that the spiritual pastor of the Armenian people, who were deprived of statehood, politically divided and faced with theological problems caused by the Byzantines, in fact, maintains the status of Catholicos only nominally. During the reign of Grigor Vkayaser, several other four or five catholicoi appeared (something never seen before), whose ordination he did not oppose.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, Ani was gradually healing the wounds of the Seljuk devastation. From the religious point of view, the transformation of the Cathedral into a mosque by the conquerors was a heavy blow for the Ani citizens (it was consecrated again and returned to the Armenians in 1124 by the Georgian king David the Builder). But the young emir of the city, Shaddadian Manuch‘é tries to establish good relations with the citizens and the Hassanian house, which was relatively little affected by the Seljuk invasion – Vasak, the son of Grigor Apirat Magistros, and the latter’s son Grigor.

Under these conditions, Catholicos Grigor Vkayaser came to Ani in 1072. 26 years after Petros’s departure, the Catholicos of Armenia is again stepping on the sacred land of the former centre of Catholicosal seat. The motive of Vkayaser’s visit was purely personal; he came to visit his aged mother. However, the Ani citizens reaped a significant result from this visit, because the Catholicos ordained a bishop here, Vasak’s and his sister’s son Barsegh from the Hassanian-Apiratian clan, giving him “*extensive authority to control the cantons of Armenia as a Catholicosal vicar...*”¹⁰⁹ Some time after that, in 1081, with the knowledge of Grigor Vkayaser, with the consent of emir Manuch‘é and the organization of Kiwriké, Bagratuni king of Tashir-Dzoraget, Barsegh was solemnly ordained Armenian Catholicos in Haghbat and went to Ani in a glorious procession.

Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i writes about Barsegh’s ordination as a Catholicos and his settlement in Ani quite in detail and with inspiration, ending the story with the following words: “*They ordained Ter Barsegh as Catholicos, on the chair of St. Gregory, over the entire Armenian world... At that time, the chair of St. Gregory was restored in the city of Ani... And they seated Ter Barsegh on the chair of Ter Petros. And on that day there was a great day*

¹⁰⁸ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, pp. 1494-1496, 1515-1518, 1521-1525, 1532-1534.

¹⁰⁹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, p. 1507.

and joy in all of Armenia, because they saw the restoration of the Catholicos seat in the city of Ani.”¹¹⁰

With such long-lasting efforts, the Ani citizens manage to restore the Catholicos seat of Ani for a short time. Since at that time the Cathedral of Ani was turned into a mosque, the residence of Barsegh I in the city became the church of Arakelots‘ built in the 11th century. The exact time of the latter’s foundation and the builder are not known, it is traditionally attributed to the Pahlavunis, but it is not excluded that this church belonged to Barsegh’s kin (representatives of the Hassanian-Apiratian house). Later, it became the residence of Barsegh II Anets‘i of the same kin, where he also erected a khach‘k‘ar in memory of his parents.¹¹¹

The general situation of the Armenian Church at that time was very difficult. As a result of the decline of statehood and the weak rule of Grigor Vkeyaser, several anti-seat Catholicates emerged, against which no action was taken.

In 1090, Barsegh I Anets‘i travels to Sultan Melikshah of the Seljuk state with gifts, receives from him privileges for the Armenian Church, as well as permission to act against the anti-seat Catholicates, and achieves a significant success.

In 1105, Barsegh Anets‘i came to the Armenian principality of Kesun on the border of Cilicia, the Red Monastery, where the dying Grigor Vkeyaser informed him of his last will, according to which his sister’s grandson, Grigor, should be ordained Armenian Catholicos after Barsegh. Shortly after that, Grigor Vkeyaser died, and from 1105 Barsegh became a sole locum tenens of the patriarchal throne. At that time, the question arose before him: should he return to Ani or should he stay in the Kesun region, where the most powerful Armenian principality of the time, led by Prince Gogh Vasil, was located? Probably considering the fact that in the past the Armenian political and church authorities were located in one centre, Barsegh decides to stay. The vicars of the big monasteries of Armenia complain about this decision, naturally also the Ani citizens.

In May 1113, Barsegh Anets‘i became a victim of an accident; a newly built house dilapidated and mortally wounded the patriarch there. The dying Catholicos manages to ordain young Grigor as bishop and dies three days after the incident. Grigor, known as Grigor III Pahlavuni, was 17-18 years

¹¹⁰ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, pp. 236-238.

¹¹¹ CAI, I, p. 31.

old at the time. A few days after Barsegh's death, he was ordained Armenian Catholicos and held the throne until 1166. The latter begins negotiations with the new emir of Ani, Abulasvar, son of Manuch' , who died in 1110, to transfer the throne to Ani. Samvel Anets'i, the priest of Ani Cathedral, who wrote his Chronicle on the order of Grigor III Pahlavuni, is the only author who informs about it.¹¹² However, the political events unfolding in Ani in the 1120s, particularly the capture of the city in 1124 by King David of Georgia, unintentionally thwarted this initiative.

Thus, Ani became the capital of the Bagratid state in 961-1045, from Ashot III the Merciful to Gagik II, Catholicosal seat in 990-1046, from Sargis I Sewants'i to Petros I, and for a short time, in 1081-1105 during the reign of Barsegh I Anets'i.

At the end of the 12th century, during the reign of Barsegh II Anets'i, the Ani citizens made an attempt to re-establish the Catholicosal seat in Ani, but it was only partially realized (it will be discussed below in the *"Hassanian-Apiratians and Some Events of the 12th Century"* section).

¹¹² Ibid., p. 208.

ANI IN THE POST-BAGRATID PERIOD

A number of events and episodes of the post-Bagratid period of Ani's history have already been presented above, some data about it is also available below in the sections dedicated to Ani's nobility, as well as monasteries (especially Horomos), so here we will very briefly present the main events following the fall of Ani's kingdom, until the city was emptied of its population.

In 1045, after Ani-Shirak came under the power of the empire, it was included in the "*Armenia and Iberia*" theme or catepanate, which, as Hrach Bart'ikian notes, "*was the most important... catepanate among the Byzantine themes organized in different provinces of Armenia*" (the author also presents the list of rulers (*katepáno*) of that catepanate during the 19-year Byzantine rule: Michael Iasites, Katakalon Kekaumenos, Leo Tornikios Kontoleon, Aron of Bulgaria, Ioannes Monastiriotes, Bagrat Vkh'kats'i, carefully addresses the administrative, economic, religious policy conducted by the Greeks, etc.).¹¹³ Most of the Byzantine rulers and officials of the city were Chalcedonian Armenians in that period.

It should be noted that since that time, the Chalcedonians – Greeks or Armenians, and later Georgians, have appeared together with the ethnically and confessionally homogeneous Armenian population of Ani. And after the Seljuk conquest, in 1064, a Muslim community was also formed in the city.

The facts prove that Byzantium deliberately emptied the country of Armenian nobility and military. After king of Vaspurakan Senek'erim Artsruni and Gagik II, Gagik Abbasian (1065-1080) of Kars had his small kingdom taken away from him in 1065 and Tsamndav (between Caesarea and Melitine) was given instead. One of the powerful princes of Ani, Grigor Pahlavuni, understanding the policy pursued by the empire, voluntarily surrendered his native Bjni (in Kotayk' province) and instead received estates in northern Mesopotamia and Taron, and was also awarded the honorary title of magistros (more about this in the section "*Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni*"). Another general named Grigor (Grigor Pikht), whom historians call "*prince of Shirak*," accepted the Chalcedonian confession

¹¹³ John Skylitzes, 1979, XLIX-LXXII.

after serving with the Byzantines and progressed to become the Duke of Antioch.¹¹⁴

Aristakes Lastiverts'i testifies that as a result of the fall of the Bagratid kingdom, the Armenian elders and the military of Ani-Shirak became homeless and wanderers and left their native land: "*The cavalry was wandering lordlessly, some in Persia, some in Greece, some in Georgia. The main group of nobles leaving the homeland, deprived of luxury, roar like a lion's fangs...*"¹¹⁵

The negative consequence of this policy of the empire appeared very soon, when the Seljuk raids began, and the military forces sent to the east to the Armenian regions to resist the raids and consisting mainly of mercenaries showed very weak resistance. The defense of Ani surrounded by fortified walls also failed, which was besieged and captured by the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan (1063-1072) in 1064. Armenian and foreign historians describe the capture, destruction of the flourishing city, the massacre and capture in gloomy colors. The Arab historian Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (13th century) states that the number of captives alone was 50 thousand people.¹¹⁶ It is clear that after this cruel blow, the emigration of a part of the Armenian population from Ani and its surroundings begins.

By defeating emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1067-1071) in the Battle of Manazkert (Manzikert) in 1071, the Seljuks expelled the Byzantines from Armenia forever. It is interesting, however, that the large masses of Armenians who left Armenia, settling in the territories of the weakened Byzantine Empire, in northern Syria, Euphrates and Cilicia, soon created their semi-independent or independent principalities there (Philaretos Brachamios, Kogh Vasil, the Rubenids). Later, that population, which did not lose its sense of statehood, restored the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia.

After the Seljuk conquest, despite the difficult conditions created in Ani, the city got a chance to recover during the rule of the Shaddadid emirs

¹¹⁴ Armenian historians do not give the name of this figure, but they call him Picht or Bekht, his name Grigor became known recently, thanks to the addition made by Hetum Korikosts'i in Samvel Anets'i's "*Chronicle*." This prince is also known for his victorious battles against the Seljuks. Later, he owned Andrunin fortress in Cilicia, where he was killed by poisoning by a Greek confessor (see K. Matevosyan, *Grigor Picht Shirakats'i*, "Etchmiadzin," 2009, pp. 95-105, also: K. Matevosyan, 2010, pp. 150-168).

¹¹⁵ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 60.

¹¹⁶ S. Burnazyan, *Armenia and the Seljuks in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Yerevan, 1980, pp. 108-109.

(of Kurdish origin) established here. Abulasvar emir of Dvin, who joined the Alp Arslan campaign and took part in the capture of Ani, received it from the Sultan and handed it over to his son Manuch'ê. However, the Shaddadids soon lost Gandzak and Dvin under the pressure of the Seljuks, maintaining their power for a much longer time only in Ani.¹¹⁷ The emirs of Ani were in vassalage to the Seljuk sultan.

The 12th century is marked in the history of Ani as a period of protracted struggle between the Shaddadid emirs on the one hand to maintain their power, and on the other the thrones of the strengthened Georgian monarchs to conquer the city and its surroundings. During that time, three times: in 1124-26, 1161-64, 1174-76, the city passed to the Georgians and was returned to the Shaddadids (see the history of this period of Ani below in the section "*Hassanian-Apiratians and Some Events of the 12th Century*").

The emirs of Ani ruled here in the following order: Manuch'ê (Manuch'ïhr ibn Shavur) 1065-1110, Abulasvar 1110-1124, Fadlun (Patlun) I 1126-1132, Khusher (short time), Mahmud Shaddad (until 1155), Fadlun (Patlun) II 1155-1161, Shahnshah 1164-1174, Sultan 1174-1198.¹¹⁸

Aram Ter-Ghevondian, referring to the inner life of the cities under the control of the Muslims, makes some notes that are also applicable in the case of Ani. He writes: "*In the cities, next to the emir, there was also the head of the religious community, who was known by the name of kadi – judge, and managed the religious and judicial, as well as immobilized donations called 'waqf' (stabilized) (the affairs of the mosque or other estates...).* The emir was guided by Sharia laws, which were applied among the Muslim population of that city, and the people themselves were guided by their ancient rules..."¹¹⁹ Remarkable information has been preserved about a qadi of Ani. Burhan al-Din was born in Ani in 1143, witnessed the capture of the city by George III of Georgia in 1161, during which he was captured and taken to Tpghis (Tiflis). Here, the king found out and made sure that Burhan al-Din knew Georgian, Armenian, was familiar with the Bible, and released him.¹²⁰

In this period, the role of the urban population is greatly increasing, which also becomes a political factor. In situations where the fate of the city

¹¹⁷ A. Ter-Ghevondian, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, Yerevan, 1965, p. 214.

¹¹⁸ A. Ter-Ghevondian, 1965, pp. 206-214, 268, H. Margarian, 1980, pp. 83-118.

¹¹⁹ A. Ter-Ghevondian, 1965, pp. 251, 255.

¹²⁰ S. Burnazyan, 1980, pp. 14, 69.

was at stake, the different religious communities of Ani sometimes stood together in defense of common interests. This reality is clearly seen during the capture of Ani by George III in 1161, when the Ani citizens unitedly resisted the Georgian king, and the latter, taking over the city by force, punished both Christians and Muslims.¹²¹ The citizens showed the same unity during the events of Tsarak'ar in 1186, because, in fact, while being under the power of amir Sultan, the Armenian citizens of Ani raided and seized the fortress and massacred the local Muslims, because the latter were engaged in banditry and brutally killed those who fell into their hands.¹²²

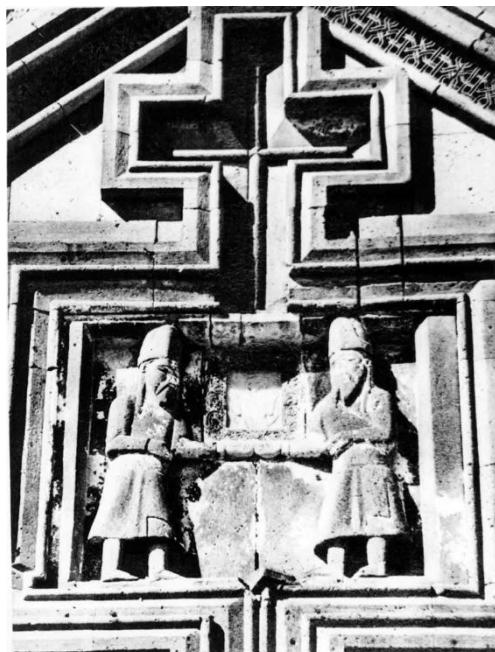


Fig. 10. Bas-relief of Zakaré and Ivané Zak'arians in the Harich Monastery (1201).

At the end of 1198, after the death of emir Sultan of Ani, the city opened its doors without resistance to the Armenian-Georgian troops led by the Armenian generals Zak'aré and Ivané Zak'arians' of the Georgian Kingdom (Fig. 10).¹²³ The city, incorporated within the Georgian Kingdom, becomes the centre of the large-scale domains of amirspasalar Zak'aré.

The second flourishing period of Ani begins, when it also regains its leading role in the country's economy, becoming a place of residence for the wealthy from the urban environment, some of whom often exceeded the representatives of the old and new noble houses in their abilities. New luxurious churches, secular structures (palaces, guest houses, stalls, baths) are being built in the city, walls are being strengthened. The commercial and economic role of the city is growing incomparably. It is in the epigraphs of

¹²¹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 474, H. Margarian, 1980, p. 103.

¹²² Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 136.

¹²³ Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, pp. 234, 416, K. Matevosyan, *The Time of Establishment of the Zak'arians in Ani according to the Newfound Colophon*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 1997, N 1, pp. 280-283, A. Shahnazaryan, *The First Stage of the Zak'arian's Battles for Liberation*, Institute of History of NAS RA, The Problems of the History of Armenia (Scientific journal), issue 6, Yerevan, 2005, pp. 140-147.

this period that the most information about Ani's commercial rows and streets, guest houses-marketplaces («խանապար» - “*khanapar*”), taverns («փնդուկ» - “*pnduk*”), and “*stalls*” («կուղպակ» - “*kughpak*”) with different functions, which were mainly shops-workshops, have been preserved. Secularisation trends are becoming more evident in cultural life. It is noteworthy that during the rule of the Zak'arians', the Muslims of Ani were not persecuted.¹²⁴ However, this new rise of Ani is abruptly interrupted by the Mongol invasions. In 1236, the new conquerors, under the leadership of Chormaqan, besieged the city and caused great destruction.¹²⁵ However, it should be noted that even the brutal Mongol attack did not immediately stop the development of Ani, and as evidenced by the facts, recovering within a decade, the city lived a normal life until the end of the 13th century.

Ani continues to be in the hands of the representatives of the house of amirspasalar Zak'aré, who accepted the hegemony of the Mongols: Shahnshah I, Shahnshah II, Shahnshah III and others (the main information about them is mentioned below in the “*index of the Ani citizens and people related to the city*”). The Mongols were mainly interested in tax collection, which they had a special official in the city to follow.¹²⁶

The administration of Ani was carried out by noblemen from the Zak'arian dynasty, under whose authority were the “*emirs*” («ամիրապետներ» – “*amiras*”) who performed the functions of the mayor, as well as other officials, managers of princely houses («հեյբուր» – “*hejub*”), tax collectors («տաղմաճի» – “*taghmatchi*”) and customs official («բաժրար» – “*bazhrar*”).

In this era, the bishops of Ani, Sargis son of Apirat, Grigor son of Abulamr (Magistros), Barsegh son of Amir Yerkat', Sargis II, Mkh'it'ar Tegherets'i, Grigor II, Hovhannes I, were entrepreneurial figures and contributed to the strengthening of the episcopal see. And the priestly class of Ani appears in the inscriptions of the 13th century under the common name of “*yerets'ani*” («երեցանի») («իրիցանի» – “*irits'ani*”)¹²⁷ as a social class with certain privileges and interests (about the history of this period of Ani, see also below in the section “*New Pahlavunis in Ani*”).

¹²⁴ Encyclopedie de l'Islam, tome I, Paris, 1960, p. 523.

¹²⁵ Kirakos Gandzakets'i, pp. 258-259.

¹²⁶ William of Rubruck, who visited Ani in 1255, mentions this, writing: “*On February 2, I was in the city called Ani, which belongs to the Shahnshah... The Tatars put a tax collector there*” (H. Hakobyan, 1932, 23).

¹²⁷ CAI, I, pp. 17, 22-25, 75.

The Chalcedonian community of the city also had its bishop, who was subordinate to the Catholicos of Georgia. In Ani, the extensive Georgian inscription of Catholicos Etip'an (Etip'anos) of Georgia, dated 1218, was preserved on the wall of the “*Georgian*” church (Fig. 11), which contains the “*regulatory writing*” defining the duties and rights of the Chalcedonian clergy and laity of Ani, “*which is a remarkable document.*”¹²⁸ It is interesting that the letters addressed by the Georgian queen Rusudan and At'abek Ivané to Pope Honorius III in 1223 were taken to Rome by the Chalcedonian bishop David of Ani. The Queen's letter concludes with the following words: “*To our beloved David, the bishop of Ani, the bearer of this letter, trust in all things as you have heard from our mouth.*”¹²⁹ The



Fig. 11. “*Georgian*” Church of Ani (photograph from the early 20th c.)

Armenian Chalcedonian community of Ani and the role of the city in the Armenian-Georgian relations were also addressed by Georgian researchers.¹³⁰

The harsh tax policy of the Mongols and their succeeding tyrants became one of the main reasons for emigration from Ani. Especially in the 14th century, information about the great migration of the Ani citizens was

¹²⁸ For a detailed analysis of the text, see P. Muradyan, *The Georgian Inscriptions of Armenia*, Yerevan, 1977, pp. 35-48.

¹²⁹ P. Muradyan, 1977, p. 63.

¹³⁰ See *Ani – a Symbol of a Multinational Caucasus*, Tbilisi, 2020.

preserved in a 17th-century colophon written in Homilies and in the verse work “*History of the Crimean Land*” («Պատմութիւն Ղրիմայ երկրի») by Martiros Ghrimets‘i.¹³¹ The latter, mentioning the year of emigration in 1331, writes:

*“Great city Ani, pride of our nation,
Flowery, fertile Shirak canton...
With the fundamental destruction of the city,
My impoverished nation was taken captive...
And those who were spared the blows,
They left here as refugees...
Breaking through they escaped to Jugha and Van,
And the others – other places, where they wanted...”*¹³²

Abu Sa‘id Bahadur Khan’s declaration written specifically for Ani in 1330 and inscribed here on the Mosque of Manuch‘é in Persian directly states that because of the illegalities during the collection of taxes, the citizens of Ani leave their property, home and place and leave. Although the declaration talks about reducing taxes and prohibiting illegal activities,¹³³ as the subsequent history shows, it does not significantly reduce the process of desolation of the city. The image presented in the colophon of a manuscript written in 1398 is noteworthy: “...*they burned the houses of some, ate the earnings of others and found all the reserves, and captured the impregnable fortress of Ani, and those who were spared, were then extorted through tax collection, like a robbery...*”¹³⁴

In the 14th century, a group of priests and members of their families who migrated from Ani to Sultania (near Tabriz) are mentioned in the manuscripts written there, among them prolific priest Grigor with his children and scribe-illustrator Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i. The latter wrote longingly in the 1338 verse colophon of the Bible: “*I remember my native canton, the fortified capital Ani.*”¹³⁵ And at the beginning of the 15th century,

¹³¹ Gh. Alishan, *Hayapatum*, part II, Venice, 1901, pp. 575-580, A. Martirosyan, *Martiros Ghrimets‘i*, Yerevan, 1958, pp. 142-152, T. Hakobyan, *History of Ani*, book II, Yerevan, 1982, pp. 340-349.

¹³² A. Martirosyan, 1958, p. 145.

¹³³ V. Bartold, *Persian Inscription on the Ani Mosque of Manuch‘é*, “Ani series,” N 5, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁴ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., p. 621.

¹³⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., II, p. 327.

we also see the last bishop of Ani, Yovannēs Voskep‘orik, exiled from his hometown, copying manuscripts in different places: in the Sanahin Monastery, then in the Tmok‘ (Tmogvi) fortress of Javakhk‘. However, before that, at the end of the 14th century, he was engaged in scribe’s art in Ani, too.¹³⁶

In the 14th-15th centuries, emigrants from Ani moved to Yerevan, Jugha, Akn, Van, Cilicia, Georgia, Persia, Sarai (on the banks of the Volga), Crimea, Transylvania, Poland and other places. The study of the migration history of Ani is a separate topic.

¹³⁶ K. Matevosyan, *Scribe Yovannēs Voskep‘orik, Bishop of Ani*, “Etchmiadzin,” 1985, N8, pp. 38-44.

AN OUTLINE OF CULTURAL LIFE

The spiritual-cultural life and huge cultural heritage of Ani is the subject of a separate extensive research, which is largely studied. The contribution of the Ani school of Armenian architecture is especially significant, which has been the subject of many studies, so we will not touch on it here. Let us just quote architect Armen Zaryan's description of the overall architectural image of the city, which states: *"In Ani, the architectural style takes on a new meaning. Compared to the past, the environment changes: it becomes urban, the standard changes, it becomes royal. In this case, the city is seen as a work of art."*¹³⁷

We have discussed the manuscripts written in Ani and Horomos and their illustrations in detail in our previous book dedicated to Ani (1997), we have published the *"Chronicle"* of the 12th century historian Samvel Anets'i (2014),¹³⁸ and we have discussed the cultural heritage of Ani on various occasions. Below, we will present the cultural contribution and role of Ani in general terms, which was extremely large in the medieval Armenian reality, especially from the point of view of the spread of secular trends.

In medieval Armenia, spiritual-ecclesiastical culture was paramount, the main centres of its development were the large monasteries, which were also entrusted with the task of education. And the cities were the places where the phenomena of secular culture were manifested more prominently. In Ani we see the combination of these two. On the one hand, the royal court and palatial luxuries, the presence of the ruling elite in the city, on the other hand, the presence of the Catholicate and a large number of clergy, have created a unique environment here.

Unfortunately, we know little about Ani's school, which operated in the Bagratid period, but it is known that there was a manuscript repository and a scriptorium next to the Catholicate, and there were manuscripts in the court, in the royal treasury.¹³⁹ The information about Ani's school refers to a slightly later period, in the 1080s, and is associated with the name of Yovhannēs Sarkavag, a famous priest, theologian, chronicler, calendarist, pedagogue, musicologist, poet. The two places of his activity are the

¹³⁷ A. Zarian, 1986, p. 137.

¹³⁸ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 217-319, Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, pp. 5-450.

¹³⁹ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 225-227, 236-240.

Haghbat Monastery and Ani city. He studied in Haghbat, became proficient in science, then came to Ani, headed the local school, wrote some of his works, which were necessary for the educational process. He was one of the most prestigious archimandrites of the time, an erudite individual, about whom historians Samvel Anets'i, Vardan Anets'i, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i and others speak with great honor. The school headed by him in Ani operated for more than four decades from the end of the 11th century (after 1081) to the 20s of the 12th century. At the end of his life, he returned to Haghbat again, died at an old age in 1129.

The activity of Yovhannēs Sarkavag in Ani is mentioned in the biography of the archimandrite.¹⁴⁰ The researchers referring to the school led by him did not delve into the circumstances of its foundation, which is why the circumstance of the re-establishment of the Catholicosate in Ani was ignored in that period. It was assumed that Sarkavag created a private school in the city, and some people considered it just a secular school. Ashot Abrahamyan writes: "*After receiving education in Haghbat, Yovhannēs came to Ani and established a school there.*"¹⁴¹ According to Karlen Mirumyan, Sarkavag was "*the head of Ani's school (perhaps one of Ani's schools)*" which acquired a "*secular character.*"¹⁴²

It should be noted that during the time of Hovhannes Sarkavag, a school of pan-Armenian importance could be opened in Ani under the rule of the Muslim Shaddadid emirs only under the conditions of high church patronage. As for the direction of the school, it provided higher spiritual-clerical education, which included all the main directions of the science of the time.

As mentioned above, at the end of the 11th century, the Catholicosate see was briefly restored in Ani under the leadership of Barsegh I Anets'i. The reopening of the school of the Catholicate in Ani, under the leadership of Hovhannes Sarkavag, should be considered one of his important works. This was the reason why people came to Sarkavag from different parts of the Armenian land to get higher education, and according to the author of his biography, as "*merchants – treasure of wisdom,*" after studying in Ani, they became "*teachers with an enlightened soul,*" and returning to their

¹⁴⁰ A. Abrahamian, *The Works of Hovhannes Imastaser*, Yerevan, 1956, pp. 120-121.

¹⁴¹ A. Abrahamian, 1956, p. 25.

¹⁴² K. Mirumian, *The Worldview of Hovhannes Sarkavag*, Yerevan, 1984, p. 29.

cantons, they spread the words of the archimandrite throughout Armenia: “...his teachings filled the entire Armenian sphere.”¹⁴³

The fact that Hovhannes Sarkavag dealt not only with local (Haghbat, Ani) but also with pan-Armenian problems can be seen from his work on the calendric reform. The previous history of the Armenian calendar shows that the calendric problems, which were of primary importance from the point of view of the regulation of church holidays, were always solved with the cooperation of the Catholicos of Armenia and one of the prominent teachers of the time. In the 6th century, Movses II Yegh'ivardets'i and Athanas Taronats'i were in such cooperation, in the 7th century, Catholicos Anastas Akorets'i and Anania Shirakats'i, so in the 11th century, Catholicos Barsegh I Anets'i should be seen next to archimandrite Hovhannes Sarkavag. Malachia Ormanian is right when he writes: “...it is impossible that Barsegh did not have any cooperation,”¹⁴⁴ Manuk Abeghian expressed the same opinion.¹⁴⁵

Hovhannes Sarkavag compiled the table of the second 532-year period of the Armenian calendar for the years 1085-1616 (Armenian Small Date). His book “*Patchen tumari*” (“*Copy of Calendar*”) containing an explanation of calendar issues was written in 1094.¹⁴⁶ A number of other archival writings of Sarkavag have also been preserved, which are sometimes answers to questions addressed to him. However, Sarkavag's reforms were only partially implemented, the reason for which was that Armenia was deprived of statehood, and Armenians were fragmented and a large part of them was outside the borders of the country itself.

Thus, Hovhannes Sarkavag was involved in pedagogy in Ani, as well as calendric issues and gave his disciples the necessary knowledge in this direction, which is mentioned in his biography. In Ani, Hovhannes Sarkavag first of all prepared and edited books that were necessary for educational work.¹⁴⁷

Hovhannes Sarkavag was also engaged in scientific creative and literary activities in Ani. Sen Arevshatyan notes that Hovhannes Sarkavag

¹⁴³ A. Abrahamian, 1956, p. 120. The distribution of the Psalter (Saghmosaran) edited by Hovhannes Sarkavag is also presented in the same style: “*to all the borders of Armenia*” (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 157).

¹⁴⁴ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, p. 1309.

¹⁴⁵ M. Abeghian, *Works*, v. IV, Yerevan, 1970, p. 449.

¹⁴⁶ R. Vardanian, 1999, pp. 231-232, 265-266, see also Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 113.

¹⁴⁷ A. Abrahamian, 1956, pp. 120-121, 137, E. Harutyunian, *Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 115.

*“became the shaper of the natural philosophical direction in the Armenian reality.”*¹⁴⁸ He refers to a number of ideas expressed by Sarkavag, such as: *“No statement can be accepted without examining and trying,” “an opinion cannot be considered true without experience,” “it is not the word that confirms the verification of the thing, but the thing of the word, and from this based on which the truth must be sought”* and so on, connecting their emergence with the development of cities, *“which had brought new branches of science to life, causing interest towards accurate knowledge.”*¹⁴⁹

The new worldview trends born in the urban environment have found expression in the poem entitled *“The Words of Wisdom of the Philosopher and Archimandrite Hovhannes Sarkavag.”*

Without presenting the details of this highly valuable and thoroughly researched work, let us quote the conclusions of Asatur Mnatsakanyan: in the poem *“Word of Wisdom”* a new topic is developed: the question of the relationship between man and nature. a) Nature, represented by Sturnus, is the primary source of arts, from which humanity learns and continues to learn, b) Humanity is unjust because it persecutes the creative forces of nature. ... *“The questions of art examined in the poem ‘Word of Wisdom’ were born on the basis of general cultural achievements developed in Ani’s environment.”*¹⁵⁰

It should be noted that, of course, Ani did not have the brilliance of the Bagratid period during the time of Hovhannes Sarkavag, but it was a time when the urban class was coming together under certain difficulties and gaining its unique face. The re-establishment of the Catholicosate in Ani under the leadership of Barsegh I Anets‘i, albeit for a short time, gave a new momentum to the cultural awakening of the city. M. Abeghian is right when he writes: *“Indeed, during the days of the Bagratid kings, already in Ani... there was a great aspiration and effort to renew science among the Armenians, and the representative of that aspiration and effort was Grigor Magistros, but the real performer, the one who brought it to fruition was Sarkavag Vardapet. He continued the work of the city of Ani, necessarily also under the influence of this city...”*¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ History of Armenians, 1976, p. 339.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁵⁰ As. Mnatsakanian, *The Poem “Word of Wisdom” by Hovhannes Sarkavag and Its Assessment according to the Sources Used by the Author*, “Bulletin of Matenadaran,” N14, Yerevan, 1984, p. 38.

¹⁵¹ M. Abeghian, 1970, p. 70.

The emergence of writings defending the principles of religious tolerance in the Armenian medieval reality is due to the awareness of the coexistence of social groups with different religions and confessions in the urban environment, and in particular the solidarity of Christians.¹⁵² From this point of view, the views and corresponding writings of Mkh'it'ar Gosh and Vardan Aygekts'i (13th century) are known, but they are preceded by Hovhannes Sarkavag, whose theological works clearly emphasize the need for religious tolerance.¹⁵³

The historical writings of Hovhannes Sarkavag concerning the Seljuks, from which his disciple Samvel Anets'i made extensive quotations must also have been written in Ani.¹⁵⁴ Most likely, the author of those writings was Catholicos Barsegh Anets'i, who needed information about the Seljuks before going to Sultan Melikshah. By the way, from the information given by Matt'eos Urhayets'i, it can be assumed that Hovhannes Sarkavag was part of Barsegh Anets'i's delegation that left Ani in 1090. The Catholicos, taking care of the diplomatic requirements of the time in advance, with appropriate lavish gifts, left Ani with a large delegation to the Sultan: "...along with nobles, bishops and priests, taking with him also the archimandrite."¹⁵⁵

It is clear that the presence of the "archimandrite" in the delegation was not mentioned by chance. In this period (in the Armenian Middle Ages in general) the famous archimandrites were unique personalities, known not only for their extensive theological and other knowledge, but also for their knowledge of languages (sometimes they were called by the title "*Vardapet Hayots*" ("*Archimandrite of the Armenians*"). The words of the historian that the Catholicos took the archimandrite with him would not leave any doubt about his identity among the contemporaries of the mentioned cases. Urhayets'i does not give a name here, because he does not mention the name of anyone other than Barsegh and Melikshah (the first persons). However,

¹⁵² P. Muradyan, *The Ideas of Religious Tolerance and Inter-Ethnic Solidarity in Armenia in the XII-XIII cc. in Armenia*, "Gandzasar," IV, 1993, pp. 95-109, K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 190-192.

¹⁵³ Fr. M. Aramian, Hovhannes Sarkavag's Collection *On the Confession of Faith of the 318 [Fathers] of Nicea*], "Gandzasar," VI, 1996, pp. 45, 76-78.

¹⁵⁴ See this in detail K. Matevosyan, *Hovhannes Sarkavag's Papers with Historical Content according to Samvel Anets'i*, Institute of History of the NAS RA, The problems of the history of Armenia, Scientific journal, issue 6, Yerevan, 2005, pp. 122-131, K. Matevosyan, 2010, pp. 169-191.

¹⁵⁵ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 257-258.

he specially emphasizes that the “archimandrite” was also part of the delegation, which in this case, in our opinion, should be Ani’s magister scholae, Archimandrite Hovhannes Sarkavag. The lines written by Hovhannes Sarkavag himself about Melikshah with the immediacy of an eyewitness speak in favor of this assumption: *“He was wise and free-minded, and the appearance of his body was also worthy of a kingdom... He loved our nation, so much so that he even asked for prayers and blessings from the Patriarch when he went to him.”*¹⁵⁶

Hovhannes Sarkavag was also a figure concerned about the country’s future. Historian Kirakos Gandzakets’i notes that Hovhannes Sarkavag wrote the hymn about the Ghevondian priests who participated in the War of Vardanants (451) *“in a sweet manner and appropriate words.”*¹⁵⁷ And in the words of that hymn, the author asks God to gather the scattered children of the Armenian Church, those exiled from the country with tears in their eyes, and save them.¹⁵⁸ Those words, written under the compulsion of time, gave a new meaning to the religious song performed in the church. Manuk Abeghian writes in this regard: *“This prayer of Sarkavag Vardapet is very small, very simple in its form... but in its content it is great and sublime and being sincerely derived from reality, it is deeply moving, especially when it was sung in the church in its ‘sweet way’...”*¹⁵⁹ Bringing together the image of the mentioned period of Armenian literature, he adds: *“And here is born the desire to gather and save the scattered Armenian people with a certain ideology, whose first exponent in literature is the great Sarkavag Vardapet.”*¹⁶⁰

In the last period of his life, after 1124, when the Cathedral of Ani was re-consecrated (after it was turned into a mosque in 1064), Hovhannes Sarkavag served in that church as well. The disciples of the magister scholae partially continued his work both in terms of spiritual service and creativity.

One of his disciples, Samvel Anets’i, who is remembered as an elder of the Cathedral, by order of Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni, compiled a chronology from Adam to his days (1163) based on the principle of the “Chronicle” of Eusebius of Caesarea, and also wrote a calendric work –

¹⁵⁶ Samuel Anets’i and Continuators, p. 199.

¹⁵⁷ Kirakos Gandzakets’i, p. 113.

¹⁵⁸ M. Abeghian, 1970, p. 71.

¹⁵⁹ M. Abeghian, 1970, pp. 71-72.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

*“Interpretation of Calendar.”*¹⁶¹ Among the Ani students of Sarkavag, the archimandrites Eremia Andzrewik and Sargis Kund, Khach‘atur, Grigor, Hovhannes are also remembered in history. Grigor was also an archpriest of the Cathedral (probably before Samvel Anets‘i). Very recently, it became known that one of the youngest students of Hovhannes Sarkavag was also Grigor Harichets‘i, the initiator of the second revival of the Harich Monastery, the author of Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i’s *“History.”*¹⁶² Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i himself is remembered as the sacristan of the Cathedral, and the preserved introductory part of his book (unfortunately, the work itself is lost)¹⁶³ contains the author’s significant remarks on historical science, which are unique in Armenian historiography. He emphasizes the great cognitive and educational importance of history, that based on past experience, history suggests ways to overcome difficulties in the future, etc.¹⁶⁴ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i was also engaged in translations, in particular, according to Vardan Arevelts‘i, he translated a work on the eclipse of the sun and the moon from Persian.¹⁶⁵

The cultural environment of Ani also contributed to the rise of medieval Armenian literature. The only work of the poet, archimandrite Vardan Anets‘i that has come down to us is typical, with the acrostic title *“The song of Ani citizen archimandrite Vardan about the (divine) chariot”* (presumably 11th century).¹⁶⁶ What Vardan Anets‘i created is such a high-art composition that some researchers even compared it with the genius Grigor Narekatsi’s work.¹⁶⁷ In some parts of eulogy, according to As.

¹⁶¹ A. Abrahamian, *Samvel Anets‘i’s Calendrical and Cosmological Works*, “Etchmiadzin,” 1952, I, pp. 30-36.

¹⁶² K. Matevosyan, *The Newfound Paper of Grigor Haritchets‘i*, “Handes Amsorya,” 2009, pp. 171-178.

¹⁶³ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i’s manuscript originally had three parts following the introduction, which, unfortunately, have not been preserved. In the introduction, the historian states that the first part of his work covers the period from Paruyr Haykazn to Hovhannes Smbat (1041), the second from Hovhannes Smbat to the priesthood of Barsegh II Anets‘i (the 70s o the 12th c.), and the third from that time to 1193. Regarding these last two parts, the historian states that he wrote extensive and detailed stories (Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, pp. 59, 61).

¹⁶⁴ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, pp. 40, 43.

¹⁶⁵ Vardan Arevelts‘i, p. 139.

¹⁶⁶ As. Mnats‘akanian, *Vardan Anets‘i – the Poet of Ani*, “Bulletin of Matenadaran,” N 10, Yerevan, 1971, pp. 261-292.

¹⁶⁷ A. Chopanyan notes: *“There is another Narekats‘i that we had in that Vardan.... It is Ani’s architecture, Ani’s art, Ani’s spirit under the poetic form, which we find for the first time in that composition.”* (A. Chopanyan, *Armenian pages*, Paris, 1912, p. 74).

Mnatsakanyan's observation, occasionally the creative breath of the construction and artisan bustle of the capital of Ani can be directly felt.¹⁶⁸

Poets (gandzasats') Sargis Tonkants' Anets'i and Gevorg Anets'i cultivated their artistry in Ani. More poems (gandzs) have survived from Sargis. They are spiritual songs composed of long-breathed lines, but at the same time "*seasoned with beautiful images and similes.*"¹⁶⁹

It should be noted about the general cultural environment of Ani that it was formed together with the formation of the city during the reign of the Bagratids. Being located in Shirak canton with ancient cultural heritage, becoming a Catholicos' see shortly after being declared the capital, Ani achieved cultural flourishing in a very short period of time.

From the beginning, the fine arts were respected in Ani. The following words of T'oros T'oramanian are characteristic: "*The exquisite sculptures carved on the doors and hearths of the most ordinary houses in Ani show that here the princes and nobles were not only special in their desire for fine arts, all classes of people were infected with its love.*"¹⁷⁰ Another participant of the excavations of the city, Jovseph Orbeli, also noticed "*the desire of the Ani citizens to decorate everything according to convenience in any way.*"¹⁷¹

One of the main tendencies of Ani's cultural life was secular orientation, which appeared in various manifestations. For example, if in the past translations were made mainly from ecclesiastical, exegetical or hagiographic literature, then in Ani, translations of medicine books (on the order of Gagik I and Hovhannes Smbat) and oneirocritics are also made. In the city, they respected the song and music of the gusans,¹⁷² perhaps also the theatrical games.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ As. Mnats'akanian, 1971, p. 283.

¹⁶⁹ A. K'oshkerian, *The Poet Sargis Anets'i*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 1971, N 2, pp. 201-209.

¹⁷⁰ T'. T'oramanian, 1942, p. 319.

¹⁷¹ J. Orbeli, *Ruins of Ani*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 30 (И. Орбели, Развалины Ани, С.-Петербургъ, 1911, с. 30).

¹⁷² It is interesting that in the letter addressed to Prince Levon II of Cilicia (later King Levon I), Nerses of Lambron, in response to the accusations directed at him by the Eastern archimandrites, reprimands them for their love of drinking wine, and writes about Bishop Barsegh II of Ani that he was inseparable "*from the gusans (singers – auth.) and gluttony and drunkenness...*" (See M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, p. 1774). The mention of "gusans" is especially interesting for us. It is natural to think that their singing and music were an integral part of the meals and feasts in Ani.

¹⁷³ Abraham of Crete (18th century), who gathered some information from the traditions kept among the generations of the Ani citizens, noting the sins of the citizens, writes that they avoided entering the church even during the liturgy, and taking a sacramental

Undoubtedly, the urban class had literature and art corresponding to its worldview and lifestyle. In this regard, the Armenian fables and tales that were widespread in the 13th century are particularly characteristic, which contain many interesting episodes regarding socio-economic relations, urban life and lifestyle, the practices and worldview of artisans and merchants. Mkh'it'ar Gosh, one of the famous Armenian fabulist, who was the most illustrious archimandrite and scholar of his time, although he did not live in Ani, it is known that in the winter of 1207 he visited the city to participate in the church meeting called by amirspasalar Zak'aré. The latter, in a letter written to the secular and spiritual leaders of Georgia through the Zak'arian brothers, urged them not to consider confessional differences as a priority, but to be friends as Christians, at the same time, each keeping the order of his church. It is noteworthy that while justifying his idea, Gosh emphasizes the principle of unity of human society, emphasizing the role of cities as places of coexistence.¹⁷⁴

In Ani, we witness a remarkable fact that the episodes of secular life and art penetrate even into the illustrations of the religious book, the Gospel. We are talking about the book illustrated in the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani in 1211 (written in the same year in Haghbat and therefore known as "*Haghbat Gospel*") (Matenadaran, Ms. 6288), where the artist Margaré painted five human figures in the altars, the superscriptions made near three of them confirm, that they are portraits of real people, the citizens of Ani (Col. figs. 40-42). They are extremely important from the point of view of the study of urban secular culture, costume and lifestyle of Ani.

In the same manuscript, the artist painted the priest Sahak, the recipient of the manuscript, and his lay brother Arak'el. And the "*Entry into Jerusalem*" miniature is more interesting (we also mentioned it in the preface of this book), where the artist depicted all the members of the commissioner's family as citizens welcoming Christ: father and mother, two sisters and two brothers, in their typical costumes (Col. fig. 45).¹⁷⁵ The names of all of them are mentioned in the colophon of the manuscript, and the comparison of the figures welcoming Christ in the picture with those data (by

bread outside, they "*attended festivities, theater and hippodrome,*" and at feasts "*they drank various flower-scented wines with fables-talks, songs and dances*" (for the translation of Abraham of Crete's work into Modern Armenian see Matevosyan, 2010, p. 276).

¹⁷⁴ P. Muradyan, 1993, p. 107.

¹⁷⁵ K. Matevosyan, 2012, pp. 12-25.

number, gender and age) completely match. It should be added that “*Entry to Jerusalem*” is the only Lordly miniature of this book (no other image was painted), and the manuscript was written to be placed in the chapel built by this family in the Arjoarich Monastery, that is, it was a family Gospel. It is noteworthy that in the miniatures of the manuscript there are also some details specific to the architecture of Ani, such as in the “*Entry to Jerusalem*” miniature and the image of John the Evangelist (Col. figs. 43, 45).

The intellectual rise of the urban class also contributed to the development of the general manuscript culture and the growth of the demand for handwritten books. Among the accessories necessary for this work, writing material, which was traditionally parchment, was of great importance, but since the end of the 10th century, paper has also appeared in Armenia, which was cheaper and the use of which was a great incentive for the work of creating manuscripts. It is noteworthy that paper was not only imported to Armenia, but also produced locally and, according to some data, in the very Ani region.

The most ancient Armenian manuscript, which is written entirely on paper and at the same time easier for writing in uncial (“*bolorgir*” in Arm.) writing, is a compilation by the priest Davit in 981 and written by his son Ghukas (Matenadaran, Ms. 2679). Davit compiled a “*textbook*” covering various bibliographic, theological, and scientific materials and inherited it to his son, but addressing the future readers in the colophon as well, he notes: “*for those who read and study,*” etc., that is, his manuscript is intended for reading and studying.¹⁷⁶ The manuscript contains large and small materials taken from the works of about 50 Armenian and foreign authors. Some of the available materials were taken from the documents and manuscripts of theological nature in the Armenian Catholicate, therefore the actual collection was made not far from the Catholicate (Argina, Ani), that is, in the region of Ani.¹⁷⁷

The results of the physical and chemical examination of the manuscript’s paper indicate that the paper and ink were produced in the same geographical environment where the scribe acted. According to the laboratory research, the paper dated 981, the cotton thread removed from the

¹⁷⁶ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 66.

¹⁷⁷ “*Book of Science and Faith by Priest David*”: study, interpretation, annotations by Artashes Matevosyan, Yerevan, 1997, pp. 11-12.

manuscript and the ink were made in the same geographical region.¹⁷⁸ If the paper needed for the creation of the manuscript was imported, then the thread and ink should have been imported as well, something that is simply incredible for a country with a high development of writing, especially since the ink was usually made in scriptoria, mostly by the scribes themselves. We should also add that from 981 to 1000 AD, four paper manuscripts have been preserved from Armenia, a circumstance that testifies to the wide use of that writing material. It is very likely that the initial centre of Armenian medieval paper production was Ani, the largest craft city of the time. It should be added that the paper of the 981 manuscript was made from vegetable raw materials, using flax straw, and Shirak and Ani were famous for the cultivation of flax in the Middle Ages, from which they produced oil. It is enough to mention that the ruins of 19 oil mills were found in the densely populated city itself.

The manuscripts that have survived from Ani to the present day were created in several scriptoria that operated in the city at different periods. Among them are the scriptorium of the Cathedral operating next to the Catholicate, the scriptoria of the Bekhents' Monastery, as well as the scriptoria of the Horomos Monastery near the city. Manuscripts were also written in Ani's Inner Fortress, St. Gevorg and other churches. Especially since the 13th century, the creation of manuscripts not written by prior order, but created for the purpose of sale, begins, among the old examples of which is another manuscript Gospel written in the same Bekhents' Monastery of Ani (Matenadaran, Ms. 5554).¹⁷⁹

In addition to manuscript writing, epigraphic writing reached a high level of development in Ani. Hundreds of beautiful and symmetrical inscriptions have been preserved on the walls of numerous monuments of the city. The reputation of the epigraphers in Ani was quite high and they engraved their names under the inscriptions. We observe that even in the case of inscriptions of kings, Catholicoses, bishops, something that testifies to their craft and the great respect for them. Among the master epigraphers

¹⁷⁸ The research was carried out in the spectral laboratory of the Institute of Geology of the National Academy of Sciences and the analytical laboratory of the Institute of Fine Organic Chemistry. See L. Khajakian, *The Results of the Physicochemical Analysis of Fragments of the Paper Manuscripts of the 10th-14th cc.*, "Bulletin of Matenadaran," N14, pp. 167-168.

¹⁷⁹ See K. Matevosyan, *The Mediator of Scribe and Recipient*, (book intended for sale in medieval Armenia), "Historical-Philological Journal," 1990, N 4, pp. 121-131.



Fig. 12. Khach'k'ar in the wall of the Church of St. Saviour (11th c.)

who worked in Ani and nearby monasteries, the sources mention scribes with the names Gevorg, Tovma (11th century), Hovsep (12th century), Manasé, Bené, Raybik, Margaré, Khots'adegh, Israel, Sargis, Simeon, Eghbayros, Eghbayrik, Anané, Khach'atur, Davit, Mkh'it'ar (13th century), Yesu, Simeon, Ptugh, Bubarak' (14th century).

In connection with the rapid rise of architecture, sculpture, khach'k'ar sculpturing developed in Ani (Fig. 12), the art of mural painting was also popular. We will consider the latter in a little more detailed way, because a number of new data have appeared, especially in recent years. It is known

that a number of churches of the city, as well as secular buildings, such as the Bagratid palace and the "*Paron's*" palace, had frescoes, but only minor traces of them reached the 20th century (Ani's period of scientific study). And in the mural painting of Holy Saviour Church, probably made after the renovation in 1193, the ancient self-portrait of the painter, known in the history of Armenian mural painting, has also been preserved. Next to the image of Matthew the Evangelist, the artist knelt is painted and adjacently is inscribed: "*Saint evangelist of Christ, intercede Sargis Parshkan before Christ*" (Col. fig. 35). The church also preserved the images of the other three evangelists, the scene of the Last Supper, etc. (Col. fig. 34). Unfortunately, as a result of the collapse of the tabernacle part, the apse painting was also destroyed, of which only a photograph has reached us (Fig. 13).

The richest and fully illustrated building of the city is the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator built by Tigran Honents', a rich citizen (wealthy person) in 1215, whose walls were probably illustrated a little later, in the middle of the same century. The Georgian inscriptions on them show that the church belonged to the Armenian Chalcedonian community of Ani at the time of its being illustrated. It is noteworthy that an extensive and impressive image series in the murals is dedicated to the hagiography of Gregory the

Illuminator, to the history of the adoption of Christianity as the state religion in Armenia. One of the images shows the Armenian king Trdat III with a mounted retinue (Col. fig. 37).¹⁸⁰



Fig. 13. Fresco in the altar of the Church of St. Saviour in Ani
(photograph from the early 20th c.)

Recently, with the research of Christina Maranci, it was found that the Cathedral of Ani also had frescoes. It was known about those very dim images earlier. In particular, T'oros T'oramanian once wrote about it: *"The Cathedral once had images, only in the altar, and there came a time when they were once again covered with thin plaster."*¹⁸¹ Using photographs taken with modern photographic equipment, Christina Maranci was able to *"bring out"* the images of some parts of the murals under a thin layer of plaster and through research show that they are closer in style and iconography to the

¹⁸⁰ Zaruhi Hakobyan, engaged in detailed research of this mural, referred to the features of its pictorial system, showing that it differs from other Georgian and Armenian Chalcedonian churches, and that here a great place is devoted to the history of Armenian conversion and the hagiography of Gregory the Illuminator (Z. Hakobyan, *The Reflection of Armenian-Chalcedonian Traditions on the Frescos of St. Gregory Church (Tigran Honents) of Ani*, "Armenian frescoes," Collection of scientific articles and materials, Yerevan, 2019, pp. 103-124).

¹⁸¹ T'. T'oramanian, 1942, p. 166.

early medieval traditions rather than to the 12th-13th centuries of mural painting (Col. fig. 32).¹⁸² In other words, the image of the altar of the Cathedral, which according to most likely represented Christ sitting on the tetramorphic throne (of the four animals holding the throne, the head of the ox is especially well preserved), was most likely created during the construction of the church itself (1001). As for when it was covered with plaster, it can be assumed with great probability that it happened after 1064, when the Seljuks captured the city and turned the Cathedral into a mosque (it was returned to the Armenians of the city and re-consecrated in 1124).

Probably, the mural painting of St. Gevorg Church of Horomos, which also has an apse painting of Christ enthroned (Col. fig. 33),¹⁸³ probably belongs to the 11th century. Determining the time of creation of the cathedral mural is very important for the history of Armenian mural painting, because after the creation of the famous murals of Aghtamar and Tatev in the 10th century, we see the continuation of this artistic tradition in Ani in the 11th century. We believe that the professional restoration of this mural, by removing the layer of plaster covering it, will reveal a unique work of not only Armenian, but also world art. We should add that a fragment of an Armenian painted inscription has also been preserved in the fresco of the Cathedral, which excludes the connection of the fresco with Chalcedonian art (Col. fig. 32).

As the observations have shown, the Church of St. Gregory of the Abulamrenc' of Ani (probably also the 11th century) had frescoes, of which insignificant traces have been preserved. More clearly painted mural fragments were found in the excavations of the 13th century church of Ani's Khach'ut or Bakh'tagh'ek, which also have Armenian inscriptions and are now in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (Col. fig. 39). The clan graveyard of Tigran Honents' in Tsaghkots'adzor cave was also decorated with frescoes¹⁸⁴ (Col. fig. 38). We think that with the inclusion of all these old

¹⁸² Christina Maranci, *Visions of Ani: Software-Recovered Painting from the Apse of the Cathedral and the Church of Saint Gregory "Abulamrenc',"* "Revue des études arméniennes", N 40, 2021.

¹⁸³ K. Matevosyan, *The Materials on Some Mural Paintings of Medieval Armenia, "Armenian Frescoes,"* Collection of scientific articles and materials, Yerevan, 2019, pp. 86-87.

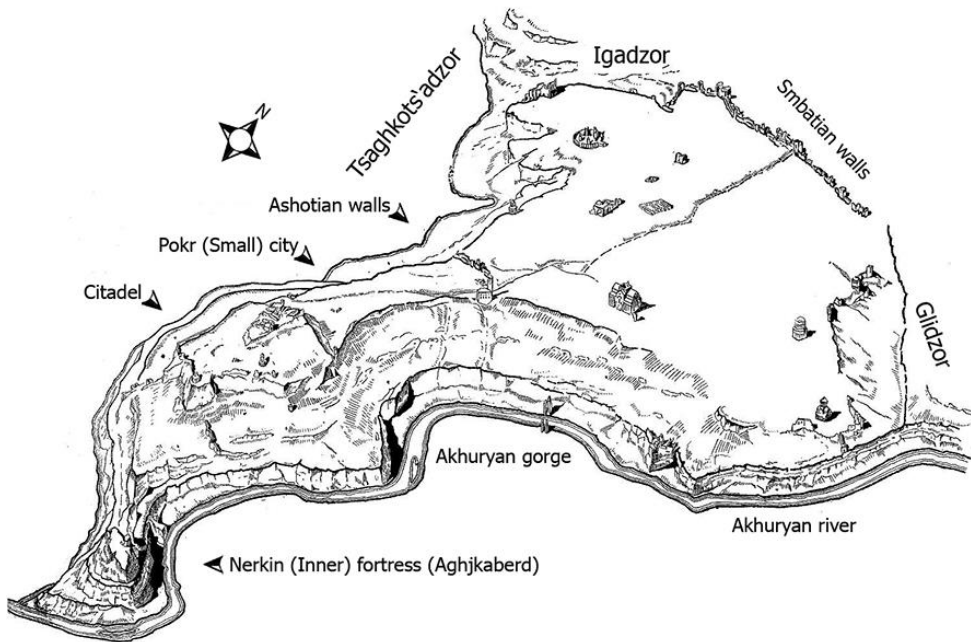
¹⁸⁴ In the central part of the mural is the composition of "Intercession," to which, in addition to the name of Tigran Honents', the name of amirspasalar Zak'aré is mentioned in the painted Armenian inscription attached to it. The latter died in 1212, therefore the mural was created before that year.

and new data, it is necessary to undertake a complex study of Ani's mural painting (including Horomos) in the near future.

Summarizing, we can say that since the rise of the Bagratid period, despite the subsequent political and economic ups and downs, Ani's cultural life has processed on the path of development, had various manifestations and left a huge legacy in the field of both material and spiritual culture. The relatively stable course of Ani's cultural path in the 11th-13th centuries was largely due to the establishment of the urban class and the flexibility of the latter to adapt to different situations and political conditions. Ani's cultural and artistic heritage occupies a unique place in the panorama of Armenian medieval culture.

THE CITY OF ANI AND ITS ENVIRONS

The city planning, structure and plan of Ani have been addressed by various researchers starting from the years of activity of the archaeological expedition led by Nikolai Marr (end of 19th c. – beginning of 20th c.), and these issues are mainly studied. Below, in addition to a brief presentation of general information, we will look at the ancient districts of Ani, as well as the spatial inclusion, which refers to the city suburbs and especially the nearby monasteries and fortresses.



*Fig. 14. Districts, fortifications, and surrounding gorges of Ani
(author: K. Matevosyan, based on a graphic representation from N. Marr's book "Ani")*

It is known that in accordance with the principles of medieval urban planning, Ani also had a three-part division: the citadel, the city itself or "*shahastan*," and suburbs. However, Ani also had its own peculiarities. The first is that due to the geographical location, the citadel was not in the centre of the city, but on the eastern side, on the elevated part of the promontory formed by the Akhuryan river and its gorge and the Ani river or Tsaghkots'adzor, and the Inner Fortress was located on the outskirts, which

is the continuation of the cape itself. From a strategic point of view, the citadel and the Inner Fortress were independent units with separate walls (Fig. 14).

In addition, the city itself also had two parts, although different in size. The first is the part that is located inside the walls built by Ashot III the Merciful in 961-964, and which Mkh'it'ar Anets'i calls "*Little City*." The walls built by Ashot (Ashotashen) are located in the section from the plain to the citadel, in the closest part of the Akhuryan gorge and Tsaghkots'adzor.



Fig. 15. From the summit of Ani, overlooking the northern side, the double-tiered walls of Smbatashen.

Inside them there is the ancient district of the city, which, according to its location, is followed by the citadel and the Inner Fortress in the south. And in the vast area lying to the north and east of the walls of Ashot the Merciful, the city expanded so quickly that the king's son and successor, Smbat II (977-989), built a new powerful wall (the area between the two walls is about 42 hectares).¹⁸⁵ It is often called Smbatian or Smbatashen after its builder (Fig. 15).

The contemporary historian Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik writes about this initiative of Smbat that he built strong walls from the Akhuryan

¹⁸⁵ M. Hasratyan, *Architecture of Ani*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 2011, N 3, p. 5.

river to Tsaghkots'adzor, with high towers, greatly increasing the area of the city.¹⁸⁶

The Smbatashen walls (which were often reinforced with new walls and ramparts in the later period) stretched from Tsaghkots'adzor to the Akhuryan gorge, along the banks of small ravines called Igadzor in the north and Glidzor in the south, which thus played a certain role in defense.¹⁸⁷ The part between the ravines is plain, so it was fortified with two rows of defensive walls, outside it also had a moat filled with water. On the plateau outside the Smbatian walls, also on the side of Tsaghkots'adzor, there were the suburbs of the city. Suburbs were also the fairly large rock-cut sections of the adjacent gorges outside the walls of Ani.¹⁸⁸

The question of the complete spatial inclusion of Ani interested the researchers who worked on the site during the excavations of the city. Among them, T'oros T'oramanian published an article dedicated to that question in the 1912 *"Journal of Ethnology"* (issue 22), the first sentence of which is *"Ani city or a castle?"* and where, on the one hand, presenting the development of the walled part of the city, noting the presence of nobles' residences, numerous churches (with small cemeteries attached), public structures (guesthouses, taverns, baths, stalls, etc.), the presence of an undeveloped strip of land inside the Smbatian wall for military purposes,

¹⁸⁶ Asoghik, p. 187. Here, the historian writes about Tsaghkots'adzor: *"From the Akhuryan river to the gorge of flowers (gardens)"*, and the second time, regarding the construction of St. Gregory Church (Gagkashen), he writes: *"Founded next to the Tsaghkots'adzor gorge"* (Ibid., p. 282), that is, Tsaghkots'adzor is mentioned as a toponym.

¹⁸⁷ Let us add about these ravines that the name of Igadzor, attested in the primary sources, probably originates from *"egi"* (garden), a word specific to Middle Armenian, and it can also be called *"Aygedzor"* in another way. The etymology of the name is given by linguist, Dr. Hrach Martirosyan (transmitted to us verbally), which we consider convincing. Glidzor (sometimes called *"Gailidzor"* in the literature) is probably associated with the sound of water flowing downhill – *"glglots"* (Glgli dzor – Glidzor). It is noteworthy that according to the epigraphs, numerous mills operated in this relatively small gorge in the Middle Ages.

¹⁸⁸ In 1915, David Kipshidze was engaged in the study of the rock-cut sections and caves of Ani on the instructions of N. Marr. In 1916, this work was unfortunately interrupted, but N. Tokarsky, one of the participants of the expedition, still did some work. In 1972 N. Tokarsky published the book *"Caves of Ani"* (in Russian) with the authorship of D. Kipshidze and his editorship and notes (D. Kipshidze, *Caves of Ani*, Yerevan, 1972). The book contains a comprehensive list of all types of caves, including about 30 rock-hewn churches and chapels. In recent years, Turkish specialists have made a thorough study of the underground parts and caves of Ani (see Sezai Yazıcı, *Ani Sirlari. Secrets of Ani*, Ankara, 2017).

and other circumstances, on the other hand, referring to the numerous data indicating the wide spread of urban suburbs, in particular the facts of the presence of numerous buildings, churches, and cemeteries outside the walls, concludes at the end of the article: *“It may be considered to be clear from these brief explanations that the city of Ani itself was outside the walls we saw now, and the wall was the city’s fortress.”*¹⁸⁹ Here, of course, there is some exaggeration, which is still mentioned by H. Manandyan,¹⁹⁰ because the walled part is the *“shahastan,”* which, like other medieval cities, is the city itself. It is a different matter that the suburbs scattered around the city probably covered a larger area.

It is noteworthy that the 11th century historian Aristakes Lastiverts‘i presents the city of Ani together with the surrounding suburbs and settlements. Speaking about the siege and capture of Ani by the Seljuks (1064), and considering it a divine punishment due to sins and arrogance, he writes that God’s anger was provoked by *“the fortified Ani and its daughters around,”*¹⁹¹ i.e., the castle of Ani – the walled Ani, and its daughters around – the separate parts of the city, the suburbs and the adjacent settlements.¹⁹²

Naturally, during enemy attacks and sieges, the population of the suburbs also took refuge inside the walls. In this regard, the testimony of the historian Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i regarding the above-mentioned incident is interesting, that seeing the enemy’s army, the numerous people gathered in Ani thought that most of the Armenian land was there: *“...Ani was crowded, the city was filled with thousands of men and women, old people and children, which surprised the onlookers and when the (Seljuk) troops saw this, they thought that most of the Armenian land was there.”*¹⁹³ The following observation should be made regarding this information about the sighting of the thousands of people gathered in Ani by the enemy’s army; the thing is that the left bank of the Akhuryan river gorge is higher than the right bank promontory on which the city is spread, and even nowadays, those who want to see Ani, visit that high place on the left bank in the territory of RA, from where the city can be seen in full view. It is likely that the Seljuk army approaching Ani from the south saw the city filled with thousands of people from that part, which caused its surprise.

¹⁸⁹ T‘. T‘oramanian, 1942, pp. 323-328.

¹⁹⁰ H. Manandian, *Works*, v. VI, Yerevan, 1985, pp. 325-328.

¹⁹¹ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, pp. 134-135.

¹⁹² K. Matevosyan, *Who are the Daughters of Ani City ?*, “Garun”, 1986, N 12, pp. 50-55.

¹⁹³ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, 1991, pp. 160-161.

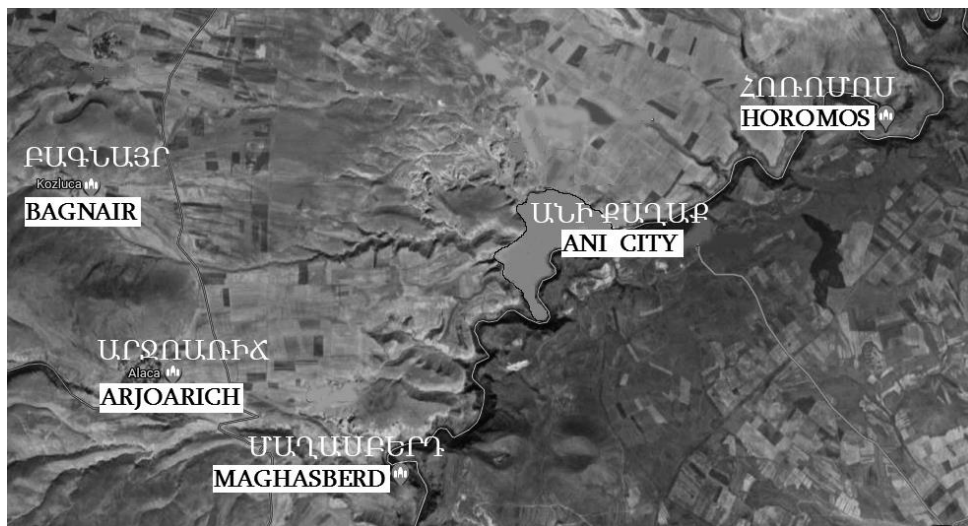


Fig. 16. Ani and its nearby monasteries

A detailed historical and archaeological study of the suburbs of Ani has not yet been done, so we will not delve into that issue. But let us look at the large monasteries near the city: Horomos, Bagnair, Arjoarich, and the fortresses: Tignis and Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd, showing their close connection with the city (Fig. 16). We should add that Bagnair and Arjoarich are higher than Ani and the territory of those monasteries, the view of the city can be seen in the distance.

From the point of view of the interactions between Ani and nearby monasteries, the circulation of manuscripts in the Ani region presents an interesting picture. Although these manuscripts are small in number (there were large losses of Ani's manuscripts as a result of numerous destructions and robberies of the city and surrounding monasteries), the places of their creation and donation are in a single circle. Thus, the Gospel written by the Ani citizen priest Sahak in Haghbat in 1211 (*"The Haghbat Gospel,"* Matenadaran, Ms. 6288) was illustrated in the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani, compiled in the Horomos Monastery and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. Another famous manuscript (*"Bagnair Gospel,"* Matenadaran, Ms. 1519) was written in Horomos in 1232, donated to the Bagnair Monastery, another Gospel from the scriptorium of Horomos, in 1236 to the Khts'konk' Monastery (Nor Jugha, Ms. 36). By order of the Ani citizen priest Hakob, the Gospel written in the Inner Fortress of Ani in 1298

(St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Ms. B 44) was donated to the Arjoarich Monastery.

Judging by some data, in the Middle Ages these monasteries were considered a part of Ani. For example, it is known that King Hovhannes Smbat built a large church in Horomos, which is the royal burial place of the Bagratids, along with a shrine, and it is beyond doubt that he was buried there after his death. Matt'eos Urhayets'i writes: "*They buried him in the city of Ani, in the cemetery of the first Armenian kings,*" that is, Horomos is considered a place located in Ani.¹⁹⁴ About Arjoarich, which is about 4-5 kilometers away from the city, it is said in an inscription that it was located at the door of Ani: "*...at the congregation of Arjoarich, that is at the door of capital Ani...*"¹⁹⁵ Tsarak'ar -Maghasberd, which is about 6-7 km away from the city, is also mentioned with a similar wording: "*There is a castle on the side of the town of Ani and the name of the castle is Maghasberd.*"¹⁹⁶ A little later, we will take a closer look at the relations between the mentioned settlements and Ani. Now let us get acquainted with the ancient districts of Ani, according to the topography and the testimonies in the primary sources.

¹⁹⁴ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 92.

¹⁹⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 197.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICTS OF ANI

Until now, no separate study has been done about the names of the districts of Ani, which are attested in the medieval sources. Here we will look at that very question, specifically the ancient districts of Ani, which are the Inner Fortress, the citadel, where the royal palace was located, and the area walled by Ashot II the Merciful in 964, which researchers sometimes call the Old City, but in the only evidence in the primary sources it is called “*Small town.*”

Inner Fortress

The Inner Fortress of Ani is mostly called Aghjkaberd (Gyz-gala) in the non-scientific literature, which is the birth of folk tradition of the late period.¹⁹⁷ It is the ancient part of the city, built south of the citadel, on a rocky promontory that almost bypasses the Akhuryan river on three sides (Fig. 17, col. figs. 4-5).

Karen Yuzbashyan clarified the name of this part of the city in an article published in 1971, which is dedicated to a Gospel copied here in 1298 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of St. Petersburg, B-44).¹⁹⁸ It is said about the place of writing in the colophon of the manuscript: “*This was written in the city of Ani, in the fortress called Nerkin (Inner), by the hand of hieromonk Eghbayrik, under the patronage of St. Hovhannes (John).*”¹⁹⁹ K. Yuzbashyan has shown with a convincing analysis of bibliographic

¹⁹⁷ V. Harutyunyan, Ani city, Yerevan, 1964, p. 39, T. Kh. Hakobyan, St. T. Melik-Bakhshyan, H. Kh. Barsegyan, Dictionary of toponymy of Armenia and adjacent territories, v. 1, Yerevan, 1986, p. 191 et al. The folk tale narrates that the daughter of the prince of the fortress falls in love with a shepherd, the latter sings at night for his lover, who listens to him from the window. Once the father overhears their conversation and scolds the girl severely, forbids their contact. Realizing that the end of her love has come, the girl throws herself into the Akhuryan river from the fortress window. Seeing that, the shepherd also follows her, throws himself into the river and dies. Since that day, the fortress has been called Aghjkaberd (Kiz-gala), (see A. Ghanalanyan, *Avandapatum*, Yerevan, 1969, pp. 208-209). Based on such folk tales, there are several fortresses named “*Aghjkaberd*” in different parts of Armenia.

¹⁹⁸ K. Yuzbashyan, *The 1298 Ani Manuscript*, “Bulletin of Yerevan University,” 1971, N2, pp. 88-93, about the manuscript see also K. Matevosyan, *The Gospel of the Inner Fortress of Ani City*, “Etchmiadzin,” 1984, XI-XII, pp. 110-115.

¹⁹⁹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 817.



Fig. 17. Inner (Nerkin) Fortress of Ani (Aghjkaberd)

materials that Ani's Nerki or Nerkin (Inner) fortress, mentioned in a number of sources, is the part of the city called Aghjkaberd in modern times.²⁰⁰

The early history of the Inner Fortress is reported by Vardan Arevelts'i (13th century), in whose *"Universal History"* the sections relating to Ani are mainly taken from the now lost *"History"* of Mkh'it'ar Anets'i (12th century), so it is possible that this information is the same taken from the source. Narrating that Smbat I Bagratuni (890-914) was crowned in Yerazgavors and built the church of St. Saviour there, Vardan Arevelts'i adds: *"Until the city of Ani, which is called Care,²⁰¹ was built extensively, but the Inner Fortress was called with that name and was built in ancient times."*²⁰² In other words, the Inner Fortress, which existed since ancient times, was already named Ani, before the expansion of the city. Continuing, the historian refers to an incident related to this fortress, during the period of the spread of Christianity in Armenia, in the 4th century AD, noting that

²⁰⁰ K. Yuzbashyan, *The 1298 Ani Manuscript*, pp. 88-93.

²⁰¹ According to Dr. Paruyr Muradyan, the Arabic word with the pronunciation *"i'ana(t)"* (which means support, help, benefit) could have served as a basis for the interpretation of the name Ani as *"Care"* (P. Muradyan, *"Ani" Toponym*, "Ani", 1992, N 1, p. 18). As for the etymology of the name *"Ani"* itself, it undoubtedly has a very ancient origin. We have not studied this question, but we consider it probable that the name of Ani of Shirak originates from the name of one of the most famous ancient sanctuaries of Armenia – Ani-Kamakh of Daranaghyats' canton. It is noteworthy that both are located on a rocky promontory.

²⁰² Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 92.

Gregory the Illuminator ingeniously converted and baptized the stubborn and paralyzed prince of the same place. He writes about his location: “*He was entrenched in the Inner Fortress...*”²⁰³ This story related to the name of St. Gregory the Illuminator was undoubtedly popular in Ani, and here it was believed that the first patriarch of the Armenian Church also founded a church in the Inner Fortress (Fig. 18).



*Fig. 18. Zakaré's church in the Nerkin (Inner) Fortress
(photograph by Hayk Kyureghyan, 2014)*

As we have already mentioned above, this is evidenced by the inscription of the church built in the Inner Fortress by amirspasalar Zak'aré at the beginning of the 13th century, according to which he founded it: “*Close to the church built by our Illuminator Saint Gregory...*”²⁰⁴ Another historian who mentions the Inner Fortress is Aristakes Lastiverts'i (11th century). Writing the history of the coronation of the last king who reigned in Ani – Gagik II, he notes that after the death of Hovhannes Smbat, the power in the city was actually seized by Vest Sargis. The Pahlavunis, who did not agree with this, secretly brought the dead king's nephew, Gagik, to

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ CAI, I, p. 58.

the city, “*bringing him into the city with ingenuity*” and organizing his coronation.²⁰⁵ The historian continues: “*And Sargis, when he saw what had happened, took the treasures of the kingdom and entered the Inner Fortress of the impregnable Ani.*”²⁰⁶ In fact, Vest Sargis, who was in the Bagratuni palace of the citadel, upon hearing the news of Gagik’s coronation, took the royal treasury and fortified himself in the Inner fortress, which had a more inaccessible position.

The description of subsequent events is also interesting, where it is said that Gagik boldly, alone, “*descends*” to Sargis (the Inner Fortress was lower than the citadel) and convinces him to surrender, but the latter, leaving the fortress, leaves for Surmari (St. Mary, Surmalu), at the same time, the Inner Fortress does not surrender to Gagik.²⁰⁷ This also proves that the Inner Fortress, while being a part of the city of Ani, was an impregnable fortress on its own, and that it was possible to leave it without going through the city²⁰⁸ (later, Gagik managed to subdue Sargis by negotiating and giving him a high position in the court).

The second time Aristakes Lastiverts‘i mentions the Inner Fortress in connection with the Seljuk siege and capture of Ani, noting that when the enemy rushes inside the walls due to disunity among the defenders of the city, many of the inhabitants turn to the “*palace of kings,*” i.e. the citadel, and the castle called Inner Fortress in the hope of being saved: “*And the multitude of men and women, hoping to save their lives, went to the royal palace, and others fled to the castle called the Inner Fortress.*”²⁰⁹

In connection with the same incident, the historian Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i (12th century) also mentions the citadel and the Inner Fortress. Writing that the Byzantine garrison left the defense of the city walls, the historian continues that they fled and fortified themselves in the “*Upper Fortress and the Inner.*”²¹⁰ Based on the above-mentioned testimony of

²⁰⁵ It took place in the Cathedral, which Samvel Anets‘i mentions (Samuel Anets‘i and Continuator, p. 186).

²⁰⁶ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 58.

²⁰⁷ “*But Gagik, with a manly courage, went down to him alone (Inner Fortress) and convinced him with soft words, and he left the fortress and went to the fortified town called Surmar, but he did not give that fortress (Inner Fortress) to Gagik.*” (Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 58).

²⁰⁸ Below the inner fort, in the gorge, there was an ancient bridge built over the Akhuryan, the remains of which are mentioned by J. Orbeli (J. Orbeli, *A Short Guide to the Settlement of Ani*, St. Petersburg, 1910, p. 18).

²⁰⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 135.

²¹⁰ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, p. 160.

Lastiverts‘i, it is quite clear that when Urhayets‘i says “*upper fortress*” and “*inner*” he respectively means the elevated citadel and the Inner Fortress which is located in a lower position (Col. fig. 5).

Thus, bibliographic information indicates that in the Middle Ages, the fortress on the rocky promontory at the southern end of Ani was called the Inner Fortress, a name that arose due to its lower position compared to the higher citadel. It is noteworthy that the citadel in the work of Urhayets‘i is called the Upper Fortress. Nevertheless, the fact is that in previous publications, encyclopedias and other places related to Ani (except K. Yuzbashyan’s article and several of our publications), this ancient city district is mentioned only by the late name of Aghjkaberd, which we think needs to be revised, at least applying the formulation “*Inner Fortress (Aghjkaberd)*.”

Citadel

The citadel of Ani is one of the most well-studied parts of the city, due to the fact that the court and palace of the Bagratids were located there (Fig.



Fig. 19. Citadel of Ani from the Tsaghkots‘adzor side

19, col. fig. 4). The area was excavated by the archaeological expedition led by N. Marr in 1908-1909, clarifying the structure and plan of the palace complex, unearthing the remains of once spacious, glorious buildings and halls. At the same time, in the territory of the Citadel there are some of the ancient churches of the city, among which the so-called “*Palatial*” church

(a single-nave basilica) was built during the reign of the Kamsarakans, in the early Middle Ages, when the settlement belonged to that princely house (Fig. 20, col. fig. 6). There were also stones with so-called “swallow-tail” joints in the walls of the Kamsarakan’s period of the fortress, such as those found in the masonry of the antique walls of Garni and Tigranakert of Arts‘akh, only here they are remasoned (“swallow-tails” are not facing each other).²¹¹



Fig. 20. Palace Church of the Citadel
(photograph from the early 20th c.)

However, these stones testify to the existence of much older defensive structures on the site. The fortress was thoroughly strengthened by the efforts of the Bagratids, probably first by King Abbas, then by his son Ashot the Merciful, who turned Ani into a royal city. It is interesting that later, during their short-term rule in Ani (1045-1064), the Byzantines also strengthened the citadel, as evidenced by a Greek inscription of 1059 discovered there.²¹²

The citadel of Ani is not mentioned in the early sources under the very name “citadel.” As we saw above, Aristakes Lastiverts‘i mentions it with the wording “the palace of kings” and Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i mentions it as “Upper Fortress.”

However, it is mentioned in the very first sentence of the compilation “History of the city of Ani”²¹³ composed probably in the 17th century: “It

²¹¹ N. Marr, *Ani*, Book history of the city and excavations at the site of the settlement, Yerevan, 2011, p. 49.

²¹² J. Orbeli, *The Ruins of Ani* (translated from Russian by Archbishop Husik), Vagharshapat, 1911, p. 17. The action of the Byzantines can also be explained by the fact that they felt the danger of citizens’ rebellion.

²¹³ According to G. Ter-Vardanyan’s assumption, the work “The History of the City of Ani” which presented a compilation, was created by Minas Hamtets‘i (1630-1704) in Constantinople in 1698 (G. Ter-Vardanyan (signed Yu. Vardanyan), The author of the compilation “The History of the City of Ani” and on the issue of time, “Historical-

should be known about Ani that the Miji (Middle) Fortress previously used to belong to the Armenian princes."²¹⁴ The Miji Fortress or a citadel is essentially the same. No other primary source mentioning the citadel by that name is known.

Small Town

It is known that Ani was a prosperous borough before it became the capital. It is a remarkable fact that Prince Supan of Syunik⁴ mentions in the



*Fig. 21. Section of the Ashotian walls of Ani, with the Citadel in the distance
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)*

inscription written at the end of the 9th century of the Mak⁴enyats⁴ Monastery that he donated five stalls located in Ani to the monastery.²¹⁵ The fact that Ani was a flourishing settlement in the first half of the 10th century is also confirmed by the archaeological materials discovered during the excavations of N. Marr.

After Ani was made a royal residence (961), researchers called the section walled by Ashot the Merciful in 964, which covers an area of about

Philological Journal," 1985, N 2, pp. 221-225). The book was published by H. Margaryan with the preserved first part of Mkh⁴it⁴ar Anets⁴i's "*History*" as an appendix.

²¹⁴ Mkh⁴it⁴ar Anets⁴i, appendix, p. 107.

²¹⁵ CAI, IV, *Gegharqunik*⁴, compiled by S. Barkhudarian, Yerevan, 1973, p. 290.

7 hectares²¹⁶ (Fig. 21), “*Old City*”²¹⁷ or, misunderstandingly, “*Inner Fortress*.”²¹⁸ However, judging by the evidence of the historian Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, the sacristan of the Cathedral of Ani in the second half of the 12th century, this district had a special name in the Middle Ages and was called “*Little City*.” The historian writes: “*Ashot the Merciful son of Abbas, reigned 25 years in Ani and built the Small City*.”²¹⁹

No other medieval mention of the name of this district has been preserved. However, it is interesting that Vardan Arevelts‘i mentions about Ashot and the walls he built: “*In 946 he built the small wall of the city of Ani and concocted churches in all the ramparts*.”²²⁰ And according to an addition made by the scribe Yohan in the oldest manuscript of the “*History*” by Asoghik, Abbas Bagratuni built a church in the city, which he calls Small Kat‘oghiké: “*He built Small Kat‘oghiké of Ani...*”²²¹ Thanks to these data, certain toponymic commonalities of the oldest part of the city appear: Small Wall, Small Kat‘oghiké, Small City, which allows us to be more sure that the name mentioned by Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i for the walled district of Ashot the Merciful was applicable in medieval Ani, and indeed, it was called Small City.²²²

Regarding the Ashotian walls, it should be added that Vardan Arevelts‘i’s statement that Ashot built churches in the pyramids of his wall was confirmed during the excavations of the city, because at least there were chapels in the edge ramparts.²²³ At the same time, it should be noted that after the construction of the Smbatashen walls, the Ashotian wall lost its military significance, and as it was found out during the excavations, houses and other structures were added to it. As for the Small Kat‘oghiké located in the Small City, it is most likely the church excavated in 1912, with architectural details specific to the 10th century, which was tentatively named “*K‘arimadin Church*” (Fig. 22). An inscription preserved from the second half of the 13th century testifies that Uk‘an K‘arimadin, Papk‘an

²¹⁶ M. Hasratyan, 2011, p. 4.

²¹⁷ J. Orbeli, 1910, p. 4, V. Harutyunyan, 1964, p. 40, T. Hakobyan, 1980, pp. 186, 190.

²¹⁸ T. Hakobyan, 1980, p. 186.

²¹⁹ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, p. 67.

²²⁰ Vardan Arevelts‘i, p. 95. The same in a shortened form, in the work “*History of the City of Ani*” (Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, appendix, p. 122).

²²¹ Asoghik, p. 172.

²²² It is interesting that even nowadays the name “*Small Centre*” is used for the central parts of big cities.

²²³ J. Orbeli, 1910, p. 4.

Vakhradin and Dapta Khat'un built a bell tower here and made donations.²²⁴ This means that the church received special attention in that period as well. By the way, the Cathedral built in Ani during the reign of Gagik I in 1001 is often called "*Big Kat'oghiké*" in the sources.²²⁵



*Fig. 22. Small Cathedral church (K'arimadin's Church)
in the walled town of Ashot (Small City).*

In our opinion, the coronation of his son Ashot the Merciful took place in Small Kat'oghiké built by Abbas in 961, and that is the reason why this king with a pronounced pious profile, who even founded chapels in the ramparts, did not build a new big church in Ani.²²⁶ He probably built a church in the Horomos Monastery, which he turned into a royal burial ground (about it below, in the "*Horomos*" section).

²²⁴ CAI, I, p. 65.

²²⁵ See Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 282, Small chronicles, 1951, p. 384, Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, p. 56, Step'anos Orbelian, 1910, p. 300, Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i, p. 56, Smbat Sparapet, p. 158 and others.

²²⁶ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 155-158.

THE STREETS OF THE CITY OF ANI

Compared to other medieval cities of Armenia, the information about Ani that has come down to us is remarkably extensive. Among them are the toponymic designations of the city, which pertain to various districts, structures (churches, city gates, guest houses, etc.), different types of real estate (houses, barns, creameries, mills, gardens, streets), etc.

Evidence on the streets of Ani has been preserved both in the city itself and in the nearby monasteries of Horomos, Bagnair, Arjoarich, Khats'konk', primarily in donation inscriptions of the 13th century. The streets of Ani, or some of them, were addressed by Ghevond Alishan,²²⁷ Babken Arakelyan,²²⁸ Gagik Sargsyan,²²⁹ Suren Avagyan,²³⁰ Tadevos Hakobyan,²³¹ and Gnel Grigoryan;²³² however, not all the information preserved in the primary sources has been fully examined, as presented below.

In epigraphs, the term "street" is more frequently applied, with less common usage of "zusak" (in Arabic "*street*"), denoting narrow streets or alleys. Interestingly, the historian Aristakes Lastiverts'i mentions these two types of streets in the city of Artsn, distinguishing between the "*trading and narrow streets*."²³³ Judging by an inscription dated the 70's of the 13th c. of the bishopric see St. Arak'elots' Church, on Sundays, the broad streets of Ani transformed into bustling marketplaces. In accordance with this epigraphic decree, Bishop Mkh'it'ar Tegherts'i temporarily prohibited Sunday sales on the streets due to the risk of an earthquake: "*I, Bishop Mkh'it'ar, forbid Sunday trading on the streets owing to the peril of an earthquake.*"²³⁴

It should be noted that several streets are still visible in Ani, particularly the main thoroughfare itself called Boun (in Armenian: main, primary), as mentioned in one of the epigraphs. However, a comprehensive

²²⁷ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 45.

²²⁸ B. V. Arakelyan, *Cities and Crafts in Armenia of the IX-XIII Centuries*, volume II, Yerevan, 1964, pp. 181-182.

²²⁹ G. Sargsyan, *Medieval Stalls and Their Donations in the IX-XIV Centuries*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 1977, No. 3, pp. 274-276.

²³⁰ S. Avagyan, *Lexical Study of Epigraphic Inscriptions*, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 84-86, 315.

²³¹ T. Hakobyan, 1980, p. 92.

²³² G. Grigoryan, *Donations to Churches and Monasteries of Ani (X-XIV cc.)*, Holy Etchmiadzin, 2002, pp. 22-30.

²³³ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 78. The narrow street is also mentioned in Sis: "*to the narrow streets of the city of Sis*" (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 434).

²³⁴ CAI, I, p. 24.

understanding of the plan of their complete network will only emerge after extensive excavations and archaeological research to be conducted in the city.

The streets mentioned in the epigraphs can, in some instances, be tentatively localized. Some of the names of these streets often reflect their function, location, or form; for instance, the Boun Street (the main or primary thoroughfare), the Veri (Upper) Street (located in the elevated section of the city), the Ts‘razukak Street (featuring a curved or zigzagging path), and the St. Arak‘elots‘ “*zukak*” (adjacent to the homonymous church). However, the majority of them are named after the artisanal and commercial rows that prevail in there.

Boun (Main) Street (Բուն փողոց)

The mention on this street has been preserved in a 13th century epigraph of the Horomos Monastery, where it is mentioned that Astvatsatur’s son Aryuts donated the stall he purchased and built on the



Fig. 23. From the summit of Ani, the road leading from the Avag Gate (1) to the centre of the city is the Boun (Main) Street, and from the same gate to the south, running parallel to the walls, is the Veri (Upper) Street



АНИ. «Улица Марра» съ водопроводомъ.

ԱՆԻ. «Փողոց Մարրի» ջրաղիով.

Fig. 24. Section of Boun Street in Ani
(referred to as “Marr’s Street” during excavations), postcard, 1909

Boun Street of Ani:²³⁵ *“I donated the stall I bought on the Boun Street of Ani, which I reconstructed: the inner side borders the stall of Avetyants ‘.”*²³⁶

Regrettably, there is no evidence preserved on the Boun Street, however, judging by its name, it likely served as the principal thoroughfare of the city, possibly originating from the Avag Gate and extending inward towards the mosque of Manuch‘é (located on the brink of the Akhurian gorge), then onward to the citadel, which remains are clearly visible (Figs. 23, 24, col. fig. 19). It should also be noted that the segment of the street stretching from the mosque of Manuch‘é to the citadel in the 1890s during the excavations led by Nikolai Marr in Ani, the members of the archaeological expedition conventionally called it “*Marr Street*” and a postcard was even printed with its photo (Fig. 24).

²³⁵ The “*kughpaks*” (stalls), were primarily small shops-workshops. According to G. Sargsyan, “*by their nature, stalls were of two types. Kughpak referred to both establishments where handicrafts were practiced and where artisans sold their products on regular days, and those kughpak-stalls-shops where only trade was conducted*” (G. Sargsyan, 1977, p. 274).

²³⁶ Horomos Monastery, p. 453.

Veri (Upper) Street (Վերի փողոց)

The mention of this street in Ani is preserved in a 1218 inscription of Horomos of Vardachizh Vardeants', according to which he made a donation to the monastery from his treasury property of the city: "*I, Vardachizh Vardeants', gave the stall I bought and the cellar below, in Ani, on Veri Street (to the monastery), which borders Tigran.*"²³⁷ It can be seen from epigraph that Vardachizh donated the stall he bought on Veri Street, under which there were "*barrels,*" that is, a pantry or a wine cellar, and it is also mentioned that it was bordered by Tigran's property (probably a stall again). It is known that one of the districts of the city was called "*Tigranants*" after the famous affluent Tigran Honents' of the 13th century; it is possible that this district is mentioned in this inscription. The name Veri Street suggests that it was located in the upper, relatively elevated part of the city, which is on the side of the Smbatashen walls. In that part, the street entering the city through the Avag Gate and running parallel to the walls to the south in the direction of Gailidzor (Fig. 23).

Darbno (Blacksmith's) Street (Դարբն փողոց)

This street is mentioned in a remarkable epigraph of Horomos 13th century that begins as follows: "*The properties of the Horomos Monastery, which is in the city, are...*", then the monastic property in the city is listed. Among them, a certain Vahram donated a stall in Ani: "*Vahram gave a stall on Darbno street, near Saint Grigor (church), 2 liturgies are served in his name.*"²³⁸

Actually, Darbno Street was near St. Grigor Church. There were several churches named St. Grigor in Ani, the largest of which, Gagkashen St. Grigor, built at the beginning of the 11th c., probably had already collapsed due to an earthquake in the middle of the same century, so it could not be mentioned in this inscription. The other one was St. Grigor of the Pahlavuni family, built at the end of the 10th c., which is currently standing not far from the bank of Tsaghkots'adzor. It is interesting that considering the number of churches named after St. Grigor, a 13th c. donor of the Bagnair Monastery states that the house he bought in Ani and gave to the monastery

²³⁷ Horomos Monastery, p. 443.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 457.

was right next to St. Grigor of Abulamrenc'.²³⁹ The third of the famous churches was built in 1215. It was the St. Grigor Lusavorich Church and monastery founded by Tigran Honents', which is on the side of the Akhuryan gorge and is slightly separated from the city itself. St. Grigor was also the name of the church located on the northern side of the city, not far from the walls, and often referred to by the name of "*Bakhtaghek*" in the literature, whose ruins were unearthed thanks to the excavations carried out by N. Marr.²⁴⁰

Based on the topography, we consider it more likely that the inscription mentioning Darbno Street mentions St. Grigor of Abulamrenc', so it can be assumed that this street of blacksmiths or metalworkers was located on the northeast side of Ani, in the area somewhat inland from the bank of Tsaghkots'adzor.

Baz Street or Bazznots

(Բազ փողոց կամ բազզնոց)

Mentions of this street have been preserved in the 13th c. inscriptions, the first in Ani, in the inscription left by Zak'aré Hakim, where it is stated: "*I, Zak'aré Hakim, son of Bl Hasan... gave my house with kughpak on the Baz Street...*"²⁴¹ The second evidence was left by Khacheres's daughter Mamkhatun in the Bagnair Monastery in 1209: "*I, Mamkhatun, daughter of Khacheres, gave my stall on Bazznots, which is on the street with roofed stalls, and the balcony.*"²⁴² The third mention belongs to the merchant Alex,

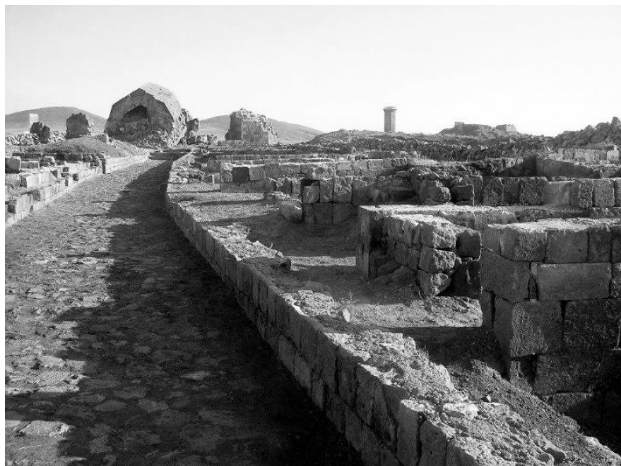


Fig. 25. Section of Baz Street (Bazznots') in Ani near the Abul Muamran Mosque

²³⁹ S. Karapetyan, *Inscriptions of the Bagnair Monastery*, "Vardzk'," 2013, No. 9, p. 23.

²⁴⁰ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 161-167.

²⁴¹ CAI, I, p. 68. The stone of the inscription was found in the Akhuryan gorge, it probably fell from the wall of a church located on the ravine.

²⁴² S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 21. According to G. Grigoryan, "*sagon*" is used in the sense of a roof (G. Grigoryan, 2002, p. 27).

who in 1271 donated a plot of land on Bazaz Street in Ani to the Bagnair Monastery: *“I, merchant Alex, son of Ghazar... gave a stall on the Bazaz Street as a present...”*²⁴³

The name proves that Bazznots was a street and district of *“bazaz”* (bazz-Arabic: canvas), cloth, fabric, sericulturists and weavers. From the second evidence given above, it can be seen that it also had a section with two-storey stalls, which is characterized by the name *“poghots’kter”* (a street passing through the roofs). We will refer to this name a little later.

Although we have three pieces of evidence in Armenian about Baz Street or Bazznots, they do not contain any clues for the location. A Persian inscription left on the Abul Muamran Mosque by the last Shaddad Emir Sultan of Ani at the end of the 12th century, in which he defines the area where cotton and cotton fabrics were sold in the city, may help to clarify the issue: *“We allowed the sale of cotton and cotton fabric from here, where the Abul Muamran mosque is located, to the stall of Sebil Street. We ordered to organize trade here.”*²⁴⁴ This information allows us to assume that Baz street passed by the Abul Muamran mosque in the central part of the city, a part of which (up to the street called *“Sebil”*), by the above-mentioned order of the amira, was allocated to the sale of cotton goods (Fig. 25). But the problem is that the Boun Street, which starts from the Avag Gate of Ani and extends to the citadel, passes by the Abul Muamran mosque. Therefore, it is possible that it is a part of that street that, due to its commercial importance, was also called Baz Street or Bazznots, or the latter was that other street in those parts.

Sebil street (Սեբիլ փողոց)

As we have seen above, the name *“Sebil Street”* is preserved in the Persian inscription left by Emir Sultan of Ani on the Abul Muamran Mosque at the end of the 12th century, where, according to the publication of L. Gyozyalyan, it is stated that cotton traders should do so in the segment lying from the mosque to stall of the Sebil street. However, it is worth noting that H. Papazyan suggested a different reading of that part of the inscription,

²⁴³ K. Basmajian, *Armenian Epigraphs on Ani, Bagnair and Marmashen*, Paris, 1931, pp. 179-180.

²⁴⁴ L. T. Gyuzalyan, *Persian Inscription of Kay-Sultan Shaddadi in Ani*, Collection dedicated to academician N. Ya. Marr, M.-L., 1935, p. 633/ Л. Т. Гюзальян, Персидская надпись Кей-Султана Шеддади в Ани, Сборник академику Н. Я. Марру, М.-Л., 1935, с. 633.

instead of “*stall of the Sebil street,*” “*Kostandin’s shop.*”²⁴⁵ It is difficult for us to say which of the Iranologists reading is accurate. However, if we accept that “*Sebil Street*” is mentioned, then there is no such word in Armenian, and it can be thought that it is a translation of some Armenian name, and in that case, one of the meanings of the word is “*begh (mustache),*”²⁴⁶ literally “*Begh (Moustache) Street.*” Such a name seems strange at first glance, but if we remember that one of the famous clans in Ani from the end of the 11th century and in the 12th century, whose founder was a brave man named Bekh, bore the name Bekhents’,²⁴⁷ which, by the way, was preserved also in some toponyms mentioned in the epigraphs of Ani, such as the Bekhents’ Monastery, Bekhents’ Great Cornfield,²⁴⁸ then it should not be strange if there was also a Bekhents’ Street named after that dynasty in the city, a name which, if translated from Armenian, could become “*Sebil Street.*” If there really was such a street in Ani (we mean the reliability of L. Gyozyan’s reading of the inscription), then it intersected with Boun Street passing near the Abul Muamran mosque of the city.

Poghots’kter (Փողոցներ)

This name is mentioned twice; in the abovementioned inscription left by Mamkhat’un in the Bagnair Monastery in 1209: “... *gave my stall, which is on the Bazznots’ in Poghots’kter...*”²⁴⁹ The second is preserved in the 1233 inscription of Vahram Ch’ech’kants’ in the same monastery, where is mentioned: “*I gave my precious stall in Poghots’kter, which is above Toros’s family stall as well as a house neighboring Sevket family house and above which I have built a stall.*”²⁵⁰ Referring to this name, G. Grigoryan considers that “*Poghots’kter was not a separate street in Ani. In various districts of the city, clusters of flat-roofed houses, upon which additional structures were built on roofs, might be designated by this term.*”²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ H. Papazyan, *Gardens and Garden Sites according to the Deeds of Purchase in Armenian and Persian*, “Herald of Social Sciences,” 1982, N 1, pp. 78-79.

²⁴⁶ سبيل [sabil] “way, road” is a word of Arabic origin, also found in Persian. With the same writing, but the word with pronunciation “sibil” means “mustache,” “Bekh street” (explanation by Iranologist, Dr. Vardan Voskanyan, to whom express our gratitude – K. M.).

²⁴⁷ K. Matevosyan, *Citizens of Ani (urban clans)*, “Echmiadzin,” 2020, VI, pp. 53-55.

²⁴⁸ CAI, I, pp. 47, 63.

²⁴⁹ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 21.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵¹ G. Grigoryan, 2002, p. 27.

There is no doubt that “*Poghots’kter*” means a number of stalls located on roofs. However, it is not necessarily the case that any two-storey house with a stall within any area of the city should be referred to as a “*poghots’kter*.”²⁵² The component of the name “*poghots*” (street) already suggests a specific location within the city, possibly a section of Baz Street, where rows of stalls on the second floor held prominence, hence it was called in a proper name Poghots’kter.

Saraj Street (Սարայի փողոց)

In the epigraphs of Bagnair and Arjoarich we find two pieces of evidence regarding Ani’s street of the craftsmen of saddles for donkeys or horses. The first is the 1234 donation inscription made by Sharapshah’s wife, T’aguhi, wherein it is stated: “*I presented a precious cross and a Gospel, a stall on the Saraj Street in the upper part, a meadow in Shirakvan, which is called Tchlut.*”²⁵³ It is noteworthy that the location of the donated stall is specified not only by mentioning the name of the street, but also by indicating its position in the upper part of the street. The second inscription belongs to a certain Shnorhaworik and Gēorg, who in the 13th century donated their “*stall on the Saraj Street*” of Ani to the Arjoarich Monastery.²⁵⁴

Nalbndnots’/Farriers’ (Street)

(Նալբանդանի փողոց)

The evidence on the Farriers’ street of Ani has been preserved in an epigraph dated to the 1230s which was found in Bagnair where Sharap’shah’s daughter, T’aik T’aguhi, informs about her donation of two stalls from her rows of stalls on this street to the Bagnair Monastery: “*I, T’aik T’aguhi, daughter of Sharap’shah, gave two stalls from my rows of stalls on the Nalbndnots’ (Farriers).*”²⁵⁵ Considering that horseshoeing and related activities are typically associated with going out on the road, it is

²⁵² Two-storey houses and stalls are mentioned in numerous epigraphs in Ani, however they are not referred to Poghots’kter. For instance, in one of the inscriptions in Bagnair it is said: “*I, Khach’eres, son of Abraham Lorets’i, gave 7 stalls in a row that I bought: 6 above and 1 below, in front of the mosque, and three houses below.*” (S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 21).

²⁵³ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 30.

²⁵⁴ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 191-192.

²⁵⁵ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 30.

reasonable to infer that Ani's Farriers was situated near one of the primary entrances to the city.

Koshkakarots'/Shoemakers' (Street) **(Կոշկաւաւոց)**

The mention on Ani's street of shoemakers is preserved in one of the inscriptions of the affluent citizen Aryuts Hogevoeants'. In 1251, he restored the water pipeline of the Horomos Monastery, which had been disrupted because of the Mongol ravages, and donated to it his own (patrimonial) stall on the Shoemakers' street and a garden: *"I, Aryuts Hogevoeants', donated my own stall located on the Shoemakers', the upper part of which borders on Tigran's."*²⁵⁶

It is mentioned here that the stall on the upper side is contiguous to Tigran's property, most likely his own stall. It is probable that Tigran Honents' is meant here, who might have possessed properties across various sectors of the city, however, based on available evidence, it appears that the territory under his influence encompassed the vicinity adjacent to the St. Grigor Lusavorich Monastery, established by him in 1215 (on the eastern corner of the city), referred to as *"Tigranants'"* in epigraphs. It is plausible that the Shoemakers' district used to be located in this area of the city.

Gdakkarots'/Hatters (Street) **(Գդակաւոց)**

An evidence of the Hatters' quarter in Ani is preserved in epigraphy by Shapadin Anets'i in 1348. He announces, that he returned Surb Step'anos Church of the city to the episcopal see Holy Apostles Church of Ani, which had been taken from it and given to the Marmashen Monastery. Shapadin paid 700 *spitak* (silver coins) to do that, and at the same time he made donations to the Holy Apostles Church, including a stall bought from Amir Hasan: *"One stall, which I bought from Amir Hasan is on the Hatters', in front of the door of khanapar."*²⁵⁷ The *khanapars* were big inns. From this evidence, it can be assumed that the stall bought by Shapadin from Amir Hasan was located in front of the door of khanapar on the Hatters' street.

²⁵⁶ Horomos Monastery, pp. 461-462.

²⁵⁷ CAI, I, p. 29.

Kattnots‘/Tailors’ (Street)

(Կառնոտնոց)

In 1213, Tigran Honents‘, in the inscription detailing the partial renovation of the Cathedral of Ani, also mentions gifts, with the foremost being a stall he acquired on the Tailors’ street: “*I donated my precious stall to Surb Kat‘oghiké, I had bought on the Tailors’*”²⁵⁸

Gh. Alishan remarks on the Tailors’: “*A tailors wide dress, which in Persia is called ‘kiutat’,*”²⁵⁹ indicating that it should be generally regarded as both a street and a quarter inhabited by tailors. As evidenced, there were streets (or quarters) within the city specifically dedicated to the crafting of shoes and hats, namely Shoemakers’ and Hatters’. Consequently, it stands to reason that there would have been a quarter designated for tailors engaged in clothing production. According to J-P. Mahé, the Tailors’ quarter comprised storeyed (multi-storeyed) houses.²⁶⁰

Polkararots‘ / Jewellers’ (Street)

(Փոկարարոց)

In the 13th century, a certain Bunik, together with Mkh‘it‘arich‘, donated a stall to Arjoarich in Ani and the house beneath it: “*The stall on the Polkararots‘ and the house below.*”²⁶¹ S. Avagyan elucidates “*Polkararots‘*” as “*a row of goldsmiths-silversmiths.*”²⁶² It should be said that in case of understanding the epigraphy literally, there is an impression that the nature of the stall is meant here, that it was a jewelry stall. However, it is worth noting that in the epigraphs of Ani and its environs the nature of any stall is not specified, at best the street (quarter) on which it was situated, which allows us to assume about its nature. Therefore, it is prudent to adopt a similar approach in this instance, regarding “*Polkararots‘*” as a street or rows of artisan workshops where the mentioned stall was positioned.

²⁵⁸ CAI, I, p. 34. Other gifts are manuscripts and silver chalices.

²⁵⁹ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 89.

²⁶⁰ J-P. Mahé, *Le testament de Tigran Honenc‘ : la fortune d'un marchand arménien d'Ani aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2001, 145-3, p. 1332.

²⁶¹ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 191-192.

²⁶² S. Avagyan, 1978, p. 86.

Tigranants‘ (Տիգրանանց)

Both from the donations made to other churches and those he constructed himself, it is evident that Tigran Honents‘ possessed considerable real estate holdings in Ani. There are indications in the epigraphs suggesting that a part of the city or a particular street was known as Tigranants‘. It was likely situated in the southeastern sector of the city, adjacent to the Gailidzor, where Honents‘ established a monastery in 1215. This is substantiated by Shekhents‘ Khach‘ot’s epigraph of Khts‘konk‘ from 1221, which mentions his donation of their patrimonial houses to the monastery, “*situated in the capital of Ani, near the Tigranants‘ and the (city) gates.*”²⁶³ We consider that this refers to the Dvin Gate (leading to Dvin).

As observed earlier, Vardeants‘ Vardachizh, who made a donation to the Horomos Monastery in 1218, announces that he gave the stall which he had bought, with a wine house below, in Ani, which is on the Upper (Veri) Street and borders the area belonging to Tigran.²⁶⁴ Additionally, the place of the stall on the Shoemakers’ Street donated by Aryuts Hogevoresants‘ to the Horomos Monastery in 1251, is also mentioned as bordering the property belonging to Tigran.²⁶⁵ From the first evidence, it can be assumed that the Veri Street reached Tigranants‘ quarter, which corresponds to our location of that street running parallel to the walls.

Ts‘razukak (Շրազուկակ)

The evidence of this small street has been preserved in the Khts‘konk‘ Monastery, as documented in the epigraphy of Khach‘ot’s from the kin of Shekhents‘. It states that he and his wife, Avagtikin, donated to the Khts‘konk‘ Monastery their patrimonial houses which were located in front of Gogonts‘ Surb Sargis Church in Ani and a stall on the street called Ts‘razukak: “*...and a stall on the Ts‘razukak.*”²⁶⁶

Alēk’s the merchant referenced this street once more in 1266 in the epigraph found in Horomos, which mentions the stall he bought and donated to the monastery: “*I, Ghazar’s son Alēk’s... bought a stall on the Ts‘razukak*

²⁶³ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 210.

²⁶⁴ Horomos Monastery, p. 443.

²⁶⁵ Horomos Monastery, pp. 461-462.

²⁶⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 210.

and donated it to the holy covenant.”²⁶⁷ Regrettably, the precise location cannot be ascertained presently, but the name of the street suggests that it was curved or inclined. These testimonies also suggest that the “*zūkaks*” were not mere narrow or secondary thoroughfares, as evidenced by the presence of stalls along them.

Zukak (Alley) of the Holy Apostles Church (Առաքելոց եկեղեցու զուկակ)

In 1201, in the epigraph of Bagnair, Dēwal’ son of Mkh‘it‘ar mentions that he donated to the monastery his possessions located on the alley of the Holy Apostles Church of Ani. Regrettably, the inscription remains incomplete, leaving uncertainty regarding the nature of the donation. However, it is specified that the donation was situated on “... *the alley (zūkak) of the Holy Apostles Church.*”²⁶⁸ To ascertain the precise location of this street, one must consider the prominent position occupied by both the Holy Apostles Church of Ani and its narthex, situated on the southern aspect within the urban landscape. Notably, the church, constructed in the 11th century, is centrally positioned within the city amidst a densely populated district. Consequently, its principal ingress does not align with the western facade, (as is customary for churches), but is confined solely to the northern and southern entrances. In the 12th century, a narthex was annexed to the church’s southern aspect, with a portico added to the eastern flank subsequently. This architectural configuration results in a distinctive spatial arrangement where the narthex’s portico, serving as the entry point to the church through the southern doorway, aligns with the church’s altar, both situated on the eastern perimeter. It is plausible that the alley (*zūkak*) of the Holy Apostles Church was contiguous to the structure’s wall, presumably extending toward the narthex’s portico.

Zukak (Alley) of Hatets‘onts‘ (Հատեցոնց զուկակ)

In the building inscription of St. Gregory the Illuminator Church built by Tigran Honents‘ in 1215 is mentioned numerous donations, including “...

²⁶⁷ Horomos Monastery, p. 467.

²⁶⁸ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 23.

all the houses in the Alley (Zukak) of Hatets'onts'."²⁶⁹ Here, "*Hatets'onts'*" is probably a patronymic, and the alley might have been called from the name of the dynasty residing there, although the connection with any craft with the meaning of "*secanting* (*"hatanogh"*/ «*huanuulin*»)" (cutting, chopping, grinding) should not be excluded either.

That is the whole available information regarding the streets of Ani that has been preserved solely through epigraphs.

To summarize, we can say that the known names of the streets of Ani are "*Boun Street*," which starts from the Avag Gate of the city and traversing the city's central area to reach the Manuch'é Mosque, and continues from there to the Citadel. The other, "*Upper Street*," was located in the elevated section of the city, running parallel to the walls. The following names highlight the craft or commercial rows that dominated the streets in question: in particular, "*Darbno Street*" – Blacksmiths' Street, "*Baz Street (Bazaznots')*" – street of textiles, fabrics, weavers, "*Saraj Street*" – Saddlers' Street, "*Nalbdnots'*" – Farriers' Street, "*Koshkakarots'*" – Shoemakers' Street, "*Gdakkarots'*" – Hatters' Street, "*Kattnots'*" – Tailors' Street, "*Polkararots'*" – Jewellers' Street. A part of the city and a local street were named "*Tigranants'*" in honor of the affluent Tigran Honents'. The mentioned small streets, or alleys are "*Ts'razukak*", the "*Alley (Zukak) of the Holy Apostles Church*" and the "*Alley (Zukak) of Hatets'onts'.*" It is clear that once the full picture of the streets and commercial rows of the mercantile Ani was much more extensive and rich, but what is known today is extremely important and significant, because we do not have so much information about any other medieval Armenian city.

²⁶⁹ CAI, I, p. 63.

HOROMOS MONASTERY

Horomos is one of the most significant and major monasteries in medieval Armenia near Ani.²⁷⁰ The monastery was founded before Ani was declared a capital, during the reign of Abas Bagratuni between the 30s and 40s of the 10th century, but its further history and development is tied to Ani. It might be stated that the subsequent vigorous flourishing of this small monastery during its establishment was largely influenced by Ani becoming the capital and also by the circumstance that Ashot the Merciful, the first king enthroned here, turned Horomos into royal cemetery. The inscribed tombstone of Ashot the Merciful is preserved near St. Gevorg Church of Horomos before the beginning of 20th century. His son Gagik I and grandchild Hovhannes Smbat built churches in the monastery. In 1036 Hovhannes Smbat wrote in the inscription of St. Gevorg Church that he had made a donation: *“For our kings’ mausoleum in the world famous monastery of Horomos.”*²⁷¹ Sargis I Sewants‘i, the first catholicos enthroned here (992-1019, passed away in 1021), was also buried in Horomos.

The Horomos Monastery that enjoyed patronage from royal and subsequently renowned princely dynasties and also from the bishops of Ani during the reign of the Bagratids made a significant spiritual and cultural contribution to the monastery. It is interesting, that in popular imagination, just as Ani was famous for his declaration of serving liturgy²⁷² in 1001 churches in a single day, similarly, Horomos gained renown for conducting 40 mass services in a day. Information about that was introduced into *“Ashkharhats‘oyts‘”* by Vardan Arevelts‘i (Horomos is mentioned with name Ghoshavank‘ (Գոշավանք) acquired during the Late Middle Ages) but probably has an ancient origin: *“Ghoshavank‘ – St. Hovhannes and St.*

²⁷⁰ The monastery is situated 5-6 kilometers to the northeast of Ani on the right bank of the Akhurian river, and currently, the Armenia-Turkey state border passes through that location. The Horomos Monastery is situated on the Turkish side, immediately adjacent to the border. At that, the river has a meander at that part, which allows Armenian side to have a view of it from three directions: from the south, west, and partially from the north. Due to being contiguous the monastery is closed to tourists and experts. We visited the place on September 30, 2013, as participants of the international workshop *“Ani in Context.”* The monastery buildings are on the brink of destruction now.

²⁷¹ Horomos Monastery, p. 401.

²⁷² K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 176-188.

Gevorg, an amazingly built and famous see, and there are numerous churches where there are 40 altars and 40 masses are held in a single day.”²⁷³

While studying the suburbs of Ani, T‘oros T‘oramanian drew conclusion that the city extended to the Horomos Monastery beyond its walls in the north-east during its flourishing.²⁷⁴ The mutual connection and generalities of Horomos and Ani were so obvious that even in the beginning of the 20th c. historian Leo who visited ruins of city, writes: “*I would advise those planning to go Ani to visit Horomos first. This is the threshold. Ani starts from here...,*” then adds: “*Here is not only a monastery, but a whole monastic world with various buildings, chapels. Beauty... here is the name of that world in one word.*”²⁷⁵

The first booklet devoted to Horomos’s history was published in 1870, whose author was the monk of Etchmiadzin Abel Mkh‘it‘ar yants‘.²⁷⁶ The epigraphs of monastery were published by the Mekhitarist congregant Nerses Sargisyan,²⁷⁷ and the historical materials of monastery was completed by Ghevond Alishan.²⁷⁸ Subsequently, a book dedicated to the Horomos Monastery was published by Jean-Michel Thierry.²⁷⁹ The last publication on the monastery, comprising of articles by various authors was implemented, in Paris in 2015.²⁸⁰

According to the historian Step‘anos Taronets‘i Asoghik, the Horomos Monastery was founded by Armenian monks who had returned from Byzantium. Fleeing the persecution that had arisen there for confessional reasons, they sought refuge in their homeland and established their

²⁷³ Matenadaran, Ms. 8100, p. 254a.

²⁷⁴ T‘. T‘oramanian, 1942, pp. 327-328.

²⁷⁵ Leo, 1963, pp. 104-105.

²⁷⁶ A. Mkhitarants‘, *The History of the Horomos Monastery of Shirak*, Vagharshapat, 1870.

²⁷⁷ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 145-168.

²⁷⁸ Gh. Alishan, 188, pp. 18-30.

²⁷⁹ J-M. Thierry, *Le couvent arménien d'Horomos*, Éd. Peeters, 1980. See also A. Baladian, and J-M. Thierry, *Le Couvent de Horomos d'après les archives de T‘. T‘oramanian*, Monuments Piot 81, 2002.

²⁸⁰ Horomos Monastery: Art and History (edited by E. Vardanyan), Paris, 2015. Articles included in the collection are: Karen Matevosyan, *History of the Monastery of Horomos (17-54)*, Armen Kazaryan, *The Architecture of Horomos Monastery (55-206)*, Edda Vardanyan, *The Žamatun of Horomos and the Žamatun/Gawit Structures in Armenian Architecture (207-236)*, Idem. *The Sculpted Dome of Horomos Monastery Žamatun: An Armenian Apocalypse (237-300)*, Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Croix et xač‘k‘ar de horomos (301-324)*, Karen Matevosyan and Sona Baloyan, *The Scriptorium of Horomos Monastery (325-360)*, Samvel Karapetyan and Jean-Pierre Mahé, *The Horomos Inscriptions (325-493)*.



Fig. 26. Horomos Monastery, the churches situated within the gorges, and the Church of St. Hovhannes at the summit (photographs by Ibrahim Süleymanoğlu, 2018).

monasteries.²⁸¹ He wrote about Hovhannes, the first abbot of the monastery, known for his mercy and compassion, and for the habit of hospitality towards strangers and travellers.²⁸² The 13th century historian Kirakos Gandzakets'i mentioned that the name of monastery originated because of the monks, who came from Byzantium, i.e., from "*The land of the Horoms (Romans)*".²⁸³

The monastic complex of Horomos situated on the right bank of the Akhuryan river consists of two main groups of constructions: the oldest one is located at the base of the extensive gorge, with the immense St. Hovhannes Church and narthex positioned atop the hill to the south of it (Fig. 26). The first structure comprises two churches arranged in sequence, along with a chapel. To the southwest of it, the tomb of Ashot III the Merciful was discovered (photographs have been preserved, but now is fully destroyed). The western entrances of churches opened to the river. The first is the still preserved ancient church of the monastery, presumably called St. Minas (we will refer to the name below), the second one is St. Gevorg

²⁸¹ Asoghik, p. 173.

²⁸² Asoghik, p. 174.

²⁸³ Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 85.

Church built by Gagik I, in whose inscription he seeks the intercession of St. George during the Second Coming of Jesus.

The grand St. Hovhannes Church, constructed in 1038 alongside a narthex, is located to the south of the churches in the gorge. Positioned at a relatively elevated site, it forms the second group of monastic structures (Fig. 27). Other narthexs and chapels are built in this section, and then later small village Horomos was formed around the monastery which became desolate after the First World War.

The road from Ani to the monastery passes through the northern plain of the complex, where a twin-towered arch is built in the direction towards the monastery, sometimes called “*triumphal arch*” and probably belfry.



Fig. 27. St. Hovhannes Church of Horomos and adjacent structures from the northeast
(photograph by Dmitri Yermakov, 1906)

Later it was called Ghosher (Khosher).²⁸⁴ This small structure can be regarded as a symbolic entrance to the Horomos Monastery (and the entrance to Ani held symbolic significance for those travelling from

²⁸⁴ “Ghosher” (Գոշեր) means “a pair” in Turkish: Ghosh = Kosh (in Turkish dialect) (they meant the twin towers).

Horomos to Ani),²⁸⁵ which perhaps also had a certain practical importance (Fig. 6). The folk tradition narrates that the monks of Horomos were alerted to the arrival of the royal retinue from Ani by the chime of the bells in these towers.²⁸⁶ Meanwhile, it served as a landmark, as the Horomos Monastery within the gorge was not easily seen from the vast plains on the right and left sides of the Akhuryan gorge. Its location can be determined by orienting



Fig. 28. St. Hovhannes Church of Horomos and the narthex, with the “Ghosher” tower visible on the hill in the distance (photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)

oneself through elevated towers (Fig. 28). Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the name Ghosher, originally attributed to this small construction, was later adopted by the whole monastery which in the sources of the 17th-19th centuries was sometimes also referred to as Ghoshavank‘ or Khoshavank‘, for the first time applied in 1678. There was a 1102 inscription on Ghosher, suggesting that its construction was built earlier, likely during the Bagratid dynasty.

Miniaturist Margaré who worked at the Bekhents‘ Monastery of Ani used Ghosher as a prototype of urban entrance in the only Lord’s miniature “*Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem*” of “*The Gospel of Haghbat*” illustrated in 1211.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ K. Matevosyan, *The Arch Located on the Road Horomos-Ani*, “Historical-Philological Journal,” 1982, N 1, pp. 143-149.

²⁸⁶ Leo, 1969, p. 133.

²⁸⁷ K. Matevosyan, *The Gospel of Haghbat*, Yerevan, 2012, pp. 19-24.

The Oldest Church of Horomos

In order to clarify the issue of the oldest church of the monastery, T'oros T'oramanian once authored an article entitled "*Which one is the real Horomos Monastery?*" and concluded through several facts and mainly architectural analysis that it is the small church west of St. Gevorg Church in the middle of the gorge.²⁸⁸ The first investigators of the monastery purportedly referred to it as St. Minas.²⁸⁹ Subsequently, this name became popular, but in fact there is no primary source that mentions a church named St. Minas of Horomos.

The supposed St. Minas Monastery is a small structure of a domed hall type made of polished stones where on its wall the 986 donation inscription of a certain Chutas (it is the oldest inscription of the monastery) is preserved. Anania, the abbot of Horomos, left an inscription in the church in 1013, where he mentions the donation made to the monastery by Gagik I. In these inscriptions, the name of the church or monastery is not mentioned. Anania left another undated inscription, on the inner wall of St. Gevorg Church, where he called himself the Bishop of Arsharunik', Tchakatk' and Ayrarat cantons. In the beginning of the inscription he writes: "*I, Ter Anania, constantly reflecting on the St. Hovhannes Monastery...*"²⁹⁰ That is, at that time, the monastery was named after St. Hovhannes.

This inscription was surely written before 1038, when king Hovhannes Smbat built the elevated grand St. Hovhannes Church, which at that time became the main church of the complex. Therefore, Horomos was known as St. Hovhannes until then. Another fact about the name of the monastery and its oldest church, although from the late period, is that it contains exhaustive information about both the name and the builder of the church. The hiermonk Grigor from Aknagyough mentions in the colophon of the 1782 manuscript written in Horomos that the builder was Ashot the Merciful, and the monastery was named after St. Karapet (known as St. Hovhannes Mkrtich').²⁹¹

The names of Ashot the Merciful and the St. Hovhannes Monastery are also mentioned together in an ancient document, specifically in the

²⁸⁸ T'. T'oramanian, 1942, pp. 299-305.

²⁸⁹ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 29, T'. T'oramanian, 1942, pp. 299-300.

²⁹⁰ Horomos Monastery, p. 407.

²⁹¹ Grand Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. James, compiled by Bp. Norayr Pogharian, v. VII, Jerusalem, 1974, p. 55.

testament written by the king's daughter Hripsime in 977 where she asks her father to leave an inscription about one of her donations in the St. Hovhannes Monastery, stating "...in our St. Hovhannes Monastery."²⁹² It is evident that when Princess Hripsime referred to "*our monastery*" while talking to her father, she likely indicated a place of special significance for them. And the monastery named St. Hovhannes could be royal cemetery of Horomos at first.

The next argument can be found in the copy made in Horomos at the end of the 12th century of Samvel Anets'i's "*Chronology*," where in 1038 the following addition was made: "*The upper St. Hovhannes of the Horomos Monastery was constructed by King Hovhannes.*"²⁹³ Here the date of construction of grand St. Hovhannes Church by Hovhannes Smbat is absolutely correct, therefore the author was a sophisticated person, and since the manuscript was written in Horomos, it is highly probable that the addition was made in situ. The topographical formulation "*Upper St. Hovhannes*" is particularly noteworthy here which hints the existence of inner (lower) St. Hovhannes in Horomos.²⁹⁴

It is evident that, according to the commandment of Ashot the Merciful, he was buried in the Horomos Monastery and it is logical that he might have built a church here, especially considering he did not build one in Ani proper. Historical and perhaps also architectural data suggest that it is the presumed St. Minas. Gagik I, the son of Ashot, constructed a church next to it, furthermore, as regal constructions, both St. Gevorg and the old St. Hovhannes (presumed to be St. Minas) exhibit clear similarities in their form, design, and architectural composition (domed hall) (Fig. 29).

Subsequently, Hovhannes Smbat, the grandson of Ashot, since he adopted the name Hovhannes, and accordingly Hovhannes Mkrtich' was the guardian saint of his, built the second grand St. Hovhannes church with a narthex located above the construction within the gorge. After that, perhaps the name of the old church gradually faded, but there were still people who knew about it, including the author of the chronology of Samvel Anets'i. He notes that "*Upper St. Hovhannes*" was built by Hovhannes Smbat (in contrast to the other St. Hovhannes).

²⁹² G. Hovsepian, 1951, p. 142.

²⁹³ Matenadaran, Ms. 3613, p. 60b.

²⁹⁴ In Armenian toponyms, the topographical identifiers of the "*Verin*" ("*Upper*") and "*Nerkin*" ("*Inner/Lower*") has been common not only in the past but also in the present. The name Nerkin Fortress of Ani originated based on that principle.



Fig. 29. Ancient churches of St. Hovhannes (St. Minas) and St. Gevorg within the gorges of Horomos (photograph by Armen Ghazaryan, 2013).

It is important to note that the names of the churches remained unchanged after the construction of each new church. After the regal construction of St. Gevorg in Horomos, the name of the congregation did not adopt the name of St. Gevorg. It is evident that the monastery founded in the middle of the 10th century did not adopt the name of St. Hovhannes after the construction of Hovhannes Smbat Church in 1038. It was called Hovhannes Smbat initially and the first evidence of it was the inscription of the Bishop Anania in the 1010s. We must also note that it is not uncommon in medieval Armenia to find two homonymous churches within the same monastic complex. There are such examples of two homonymous churches in Hovhannavank' (St. Karapet), in Ayrivank'-Geghardavank' (two churches named St. Astvatsatsin), in Nor Getik-Goshavank' (two churches named St. Gevorg), etc.

The Rise of Horomos during the Bagratuni Reign

There is no additional information about the founder of Horomos, Hovhannes abbot, in the record by Asoghik. After him the abbot Sargis I (969-980), his successor Soghomon (980-986), the bishop Anania in 1013,

then in an undated record Sargis II and Gevorg in 1036, and then Hovhannes II in 1038 are mentioned.



Fig. 30. Tombstone of Ashot III the Merciful in Horomos (now completely destroyed, photograph from 1903)

Horomos in 977. The inscribed tombstone, which may have also crafted from large stones, served as a sanctuary for future generations during that period (Fig. 30).

The abbot Sargis of Horomos had great opportunities, as he founded St. Grigor Church located near what is now Haykadzor village (in the territory of RA). The architect of St. Grigor was the monk²⁹⁷ Samehan.

The place mentioned above, Qegharagom, in a record by the monk Anania of Horomos, which was likely situated close to the monastery and held a strong position, was referred to become the ownership of Horomos. The task was done with the contribution of Gagik I.²⁹⁸ In the inscription of Qegharagom, where the significance of the Horomos Monastery was mentioned, it is noted: *"It is a safe place to stay during escape, and it is beneficial for wood and grass."*²⁹⁹

St. Gevorg Church of Horomos was likely built by Gagik I in the 1010s. In his extensive inscription, embellishing the eastern facade of the

Sargis I is mentioned among the participants²⁹⁵ of the first church council of Ani in 969. It is possible that the same Sargis is mentioned during the activity of Ashot the Merciful, in relation to the 974

Armenian-Byzantine negotiations.²⁹⁶ The funeral of Ashot the Merciful likely occurred in

²⁹⁵ Asoghik, p. 181.

²⁹⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 22-23, Smbat Sparapet, p. 9.

²⁹⁷ CAI, X, p.22.

²⁹⁸ Horomos Monastery, pp. 396-397.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

church, was stated in a beautiful style that the king sought the intercession of Saint George at the Second Coming of Jesus.³⁰⁰ Although there are no direct testimonies, it is widely believed that after his death, Gagik I was buried in Horomos, near the church he built.

The significance of the Horomos Monastery greatly increased, especially during the reign of Hovhannes Smbat, when he established the



Fig. 31. St. Hovhannes Church and narthex in Horomos, viewed from above (photographs by İbrahim Süleymanoğlu)

immense church of St. Hovhannes and a narthex in 1038 to the south of the ancient churches within the canyon in a high position. The king mentions this in the inscription left on the western facade of the main entrance of the church, alongside the information about the donations allocated to the church.³⁰¹ The immense church of St. Hovhannes and the narthex are valuable with their architecture and design. The reliefs within the interior of the dome are particularly remarkable and unique (Col. figs. 24-25).³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Horomos Monastery, p. 399.

³⁰¹ Horomos Monastery, p. 417.

³⁰² Edda Vardanyan conducted an exhaustive research about this (Horomos Monastery, pp. 237-300).

That narthex is intended to serve as a royal mausoleum, and Hovhannes Smbat must be buried there after his death. With the brilliant idea of the architect, the roof of the building forms the shape of a massive cross when viewed from above (Fig. 31).

The historian Matt'eos Urhayets'i wrote about the death of Hovhannes Smbat in 1041: "...*Armenian king Hovhannes passed away... and he was buried in Ani city in the first Armenian royal cemetery.*"³⁰³ As mentioned earlier, this information is noteworthy because although Horomos was believed to be "*the first Armenian kings' cemetery,*" it is actually considered to be in Ani (Fig. 32).



Fig. 32. St. Hovhannes Church of Horomos from the east, with Ani visible in the distance.

When the Byzantines blocked Gagik II (1042-1045) in Constantinople who ruled for a short period after the death of Hovhannes Smbat, and when it became evident to the citizens of Ani that the Bagratuni kingdom was coming to an end, they organized a general mourning at the tombs of the kings, as evidenced by Matthew Urhayets'i: "*When the Armenian troops learned that the Armenian king would not travel to the East, the entire city gathered at the site of the first kings' tombs and they wept for the Armenian*

³⁰³ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 92.

nation's being lordless, as well as for their royal throne."³⁰⁴ It is evident, that this dramatic event took place in the Horomos Monastery.

Horomos Monastery in the 12th-13th Centuries

During the rule of the Shaddadids in Ani, Barsegh II Anets'i (1160-1199), the bishop of the city, is often mentioned also in the inscriptions and records of the Horomos Monastery. At that time, the monastery lived a normal life, and at the end of the 12th century, it experienced a significant rise, particularly, in the records of that period, information about the monastery school was preserved.

Besides the bishop Barsegh II and the leader of the monastery Khach'atur, the name of the spiritual overseer Karapet is also mentioned in the colophon of the scribe Hovhannes, written in Horomos in 1181.³⁰⁵ Scribe Hovhannes calls his elder brother Vardan, a congregant of Horomos, a teacher. In the same period, Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, who copied manuscripts in the monastery, also called himself a student of the monastery.³⁰⁶ This is evidence of the existence of the Horomos monastic school.

It should be noted that the end of the 12th century and the first decades of the 13th century are the period of intense flourishing of the writing centre of Horomos. In general, the largest number of manuscripts from the period of Ani have been preserved from the Horomos Monastery and from that region. Besides scribe Hovhannes, Ignatius was especially famous, who was a scribe-miniaturist and brilliantly mastered his art (Col. figs. 46-48). He was as talented as a painter as he was gifted as a scribe. Ignatius's clear, well-proportioned and elegant yerkatagir script immediately stands out from the manuscripts of many other scribes of the time. Among his illustrated manuscripts particularly notable are the 1232 "*The Gospel of Bagnair*" (Matenadaran, Ms. 1519), and the 1236 "*The Gospel of Khits'konk*" (New Julfa, Ms. 36).³⁰⁷ In the latter, Ignatius portrayed the recipient couple in their typical Anian costume (Col. fig. 47).

³⁰⁴ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 106.

³⁰⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 233.

³⁰⁶ Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, who copied Samvel Anets'i's chronology in Horomos, is probably the homonymous historian (See Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, pp. 57-58.)

³⁰⁷ About Ignatius and the mentioned manuscripts see K. Matevosyan, *The Scribe and Miniaturist Ignatius Horomosts'i*, "Herald of Yerevan University," 1982, N 1, pp. 121-123, K. Matevosyan, *Four Tabernacles of "The Gospel of Bagnair"*, AS ASSR "Herald of Social Sciences," 1985, N 10, pp. 93-97.

The epigraphs of the late 12th century and 13th century are very rich, most of which have donation content. From 1174, the donation inscription of friar Petros has been preserved, by which he donated his garden in Parp'i (Aragatsotn canton) to the monastery and in return received four days of annual liturgy from abbot Khach'atur.³⁰⁸ Until the beginning of the 20th century, the tombstone of the parish steward of the monastery named Hovhannes (an official dealing with economic issues) was preserved (1180) on the western side of the St. Hovhannes Church.³⁰⁹

In 1195, the inscription of abbot Petros refers to the number of masses offered for the monastery's deceased congregants, according to their rank. There are also similar inscriptions in other monasteries near Ani, in Bagnair (1215) and in Arjoarich (beginning of the 13th century),³¹⁰ but there are some differences in them. The abbot of Horomos sets the following order: *"If one of the members of the brotherhood is transferred to Christ (deceased – K. M.) a mass will be offered: 4 40th-day memorial for the abbot, 3 for the pastor, 3 for the hiermonk."*³¹¹

The inscription also shows that at that time the monastery was under the "power" of Grigor, Smbat and their brothers. In 1198 abbot Mkh'it'ar notes in the inscription that with the help of cleric Sargis and other congregants of the monastery, he brought "Akants' water" to the monastery with great expense and work, which the kings tried to do before, but did not manage to succeed.³¹²

The 1228 extensive inscription of the patrons of the monastery Grigor Hejub and Ishkhan (secular patrons) states in a strict tone that if any of the patrons of the monastery (male or female) later appoints an abbot with a bribe, or if the abbot and "other officials" pay known or hidden bribes, if the abbot sells or conceals the income of the monastery, such abbots should be excommunicated.³¹³

The 13th century inscriptions of Horomos can be divided into two parts: those written at the beginning of the century, during the second great flourishing of Ani and the reign of the Zak'arians, and those written in 1236 after the conquest of Ani by the Mongols. The abbots mentioned in the

³⁰⁸ Horomos Monastery, p. 429.

³⁰⁹ Horomos Monastery, p. 411.

³¹⁰ N. Sargisian, 1964, pp. 186, 191.

³¹¹ Horomos Monastery, p. 436-437.

³¹² Horomos Monastery, pp. 430-431.

³¹³ Horomos Monastery, p. 444.

Horomos sources of this period are Mkh'it'ar, mentioned in 1198-1211, Andreas in 1215, Grigor (Grigoris) in 1218, bishop Barsegh, son of Amir Yerkat in 1229-1253 and Joseph in 1269.

One of the inscriptions from the beginning of the century was written in 1206 on behalf of the owner of Ani, amirspasalar Zak'aria, where it is said that he demolished a mill illegally built on the water belonging to the Horomos Monastery and returned the water (use of water) to the monastery.³¹⁴

In 1201, Tigran Honents', the famous rich man of Ani, noting that the owner of the land, Zak'aria, is his lord, he donated to Horomos the mill he had built in Gailidzor (Glidzor) adjacent to the walls of Ani.³¹⁵ Such inscriptions are numerous.

In 1246, after Mongol destructive invasion in 1236, Ashot Dseghets'i, as he writes, "*in a difficult and evil time, after the destruction of Tartar, while my monastery was in trouble,*" donated a Gospel and domestic animals (4 oxen, 3 cows, 4 donkeys, 2 horses), in return for which Archbishop Barsegh and archimandrite Sargis write that they considered Ashot as one of the patrons (ktetors) of the monastery.³¹⁶

In the inscription of Aryuts Hogevoeants' we find another testimony of the damage suffered by the Mongols to the Horomos Monastery in 1251. Here it is said that they restored the water coming to the monastery "*which was interrupted by the Tatars,*" and also donated a stall to Ani.³¹⁷ In the same year, Hovhannes, nicknamed Tschik, states in his inscription: "*After the destruction of the Tatars, the mills of the monastery were destroyed and under pledge...*", then he notes that he freed the mill from the pledge for 40 dahekan and also donated a manuscript ordered by him to the monastery.³¹⁸

These few epigraphs give an idea of the extent of the destruction caused by the Mongols. In general, the cruelty of the Mongols towards people of all ages and sexes is well-known, but with the example of this one monastery, one can get an idea of the destruction of economic structures and the general decline of living conditions due to their invasion.

The 13th century was also a period of construction in Horomos. Particularly, a whole complex was formed on the southern side of the great St. Hovhannes Church and the courtyard, adjacent to the church, Khut'lu

³¹⁴ Horomos Monastery, p. 432.

³¹⁵ Horomos Monastery, p. 440.

³¹⁶ Horomos Monastery, p. 450.

³¹⁷ Horomos Monastery, pp. 461-462.

³¹⁸ Horomos Monastery, p. 463.

Khat'un built a mausoleum for his mother Ruzuk'an, on the second floor of which there are three chapels next to each other. From the south, the chapel built by Vahram Hejub's daughter Khat'un (all dated the 10s-20s of the 13th century) is adjacent to them. In 1229, prince Vach'  Vachutyan and his wife Mamakhat'un built a large building with a square layout to the west of these chapels, which at the beginning of the inscription is called a reliquary, and in the continuation, a scriptorium. In 1277, Aryuts Hogevoants' and his wife Seda built another reliquary with an attached narthex. The name of the architect or master builder is mentioned in the inscription of the latter: "...master Frer, from the city of Karin"³¹⁹ (Fig. 33).



Fig. 33. Epigraph commemorating master Frer at Horomos
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)

Horomos in the 14th-20th Centuries

As we have seen, the Horomos Monastery was closely connected with Ani, but it is interesting that the monastery functioned even after the desolation of Ani, until the end of the 19th century. It is known that the city maintained its vitality until the middle of the 14th century, as it is testified by several inscriptions and colophons. In that period, materials about the Horomos Monastery are scarce. The main one was the 1336 inscription of Zak'arian Vahram At'abek (grandson of Shahنشah I), written during the abbotship of Step'anos, by which he reaffirms the donations given to the monastery by his ancestors and adds new ones.³²⁰ This testifies to the relatively stable economic condition of Horomos in that period. The name

³¹⁹ Horomos Monastery, p. 478.

³²⁰ Horomos Monastery, p. 415.

of abbot Step'anos was also preserved in a silver cover of a 1347 manuscript's inscription donated to Horomos³²¹ (Fig. 34).

The period from the 30s of the 14th century to 1685, previous scholars of Horomos have generally considered as an unknown period in the monastery's history. As Leo writes: *"Inscriptions representing the life of Horomos are interrupted in 1336... then a black obscurity comes over the famous monastery..."*³²² T'. T'oramanyan also notes: *"For 349 years after 1336, the condition of the monastery is uncertain, if it was not completely deserted, at least it was in a state of neglect until 1685, when archimandrite Daniel renovated and rebuilt it."*³²³ J-M. Thierry also considers the mentioned three and a half centuries as a period of obscurity for the monastery.³²⁴

However, the supposed *"obscurity"* of the mentioned period is largely filled by the manuscripts written in Horomos or dedicated to the monastery (stored here) and several other materials. They mention the names of abbots, other facts important for the history of the monastery.

As in other medieval Armenian monasteries, there are cross sculptures of pilgrims on the walls of churches in Horomos, and sometimes there are also small epigraphs near them. The year 1447 is marked next to such a cross sculpture in Horomos.³²⁵

In 1459 Bishop Astvatsatur donated Horomos a manuscript (Chashots') and wrote a colophon about it.³²⁶ It is interesting that here for



Fig. 34. Silver cover of the 1347 manuscript, crafted by goldsmith-binder Grigor (The Hermitage, Orient - 834).

³²¹ In addition to the abbot of Horomos, the binder, probably the goldsmith Grigor Anets'i, is also remembered in the inscription.

³²² Leo, 1963, p. 122.

³²³ T'. T'oramanyan, 1942, p. 302

³²⁴ J-M. Thierry, 1980, p. 5.

³²⁵ Horomos Monastery, p. 483.

³²⁶ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the 15th century (compiled by L. Khachikyan), part II, Yerevan, 1958, p. 122). The original manuscript was written in Ayrvank' (M 6272).

the first time in the Horomos Monastery a church is named St. Astvatsatsin. It is probably the name of one of the chapels on the southern side of the St. Hovhannes main church. In the same manuscript in 1485 Armenian Catholicos Sargis III (1484-1515) who visited Horomos wrote a memoir, where he also mentions the abbot Grigor of that time.³²⁷

In 1585 bishop Hovhannes copied a handwritten Gospel in Horomos.³²⁸ The scribe reports a number of interesting information about himself and his relatives, counting the names of 34 people. One of them was the bishop's nephew, an archimandrite named Hovhannes.

Thus, the testimonies of the records of the 15th-16th centuries mentioned above, show that, although the monastery was in difficult situation during that period, it survived and had leaders with the rank of bishop. It should also be noted that Ani was already empty of population at that time, because of which Horomos, in fact, was deprived of the main income.

However, the monastery was abandoned for some time, probably during the tragic events in 1604, when Persian Shah Abbas the Great warring against the Turks, displaced the entire population from Shirak to Jugha (Nakhijevan) and forced them to migrate to the depths of Persia in order to devastate the path of the enemy marching against him. In 1685 archimandrite Daniel, who came to Horomos and undertook the restoration of the monastery, regretfully recorded the place being "dilapidated".³²⁹ Spiritual life was re-established in the renovated monastery with the diligent work of Daniel Tigranakerts'i, which then continued without interruption for about two and a half centuries.

In 1687, shortly after this reconstruction of the monastery, two small inscriptions testify to the establishment of a new congregation here.³³⁰ A curtain donated to the Horomos Monastery at the end of the 17th century, in 1699 by Mahtes Dahmazi Ahmits'i, which is now kept in the National Gallery of Armenia (Orient-225/1010) has reached to the present time.

In a colophon written in Kars in 1714, scribe Yeremia mentions the new abbot of Horomos, archimandrite Khachatur, who once was also the

³²⁷ See *ibid.*, part III, Yerevan, 1967, p. 70.

³²⁸ S. Der-Avetisian, *Main List of the Armenian Manuscript of the Amenaprkich Monastery of New Jugha*, N 10, Vienna, 1970, p. 134.

³²⁹ Horomos Monastery, p. 484.

³³⁰ Horomos Monastery, pp. 484-485.

leader of Kars.³³¹ In this period, Sahak Erzurmts'i dedicated a verse composition (tagh) to the monastery.³³²

In the middle of the 18th century, two abbots are remembered in Horomos: in 1751, in an inscription bishop Avetik' is mentioned,³³³ and in other sources in 1751-1755, the archimandrite Yeghia Alashkertts'i.³³⁴ According to one of the inscriptions of the monastery, in 1788 the archimandrite Hovhannes Shambets'i repaired the belfry of St. Hovhannes Church, the wall of the monastery, etc.³³⁵ In this period, the cultural traditions of the monastery were gradually restored. In 1782 in Horomos, hieromonk Grigor Aknagyughets'i imitates the work of Arak'el Syunets'i "*Exegesis of David*" (Jerusalem, Ms. 2023).



Fig. 35. Horomos Monastery at the end of the 19th century

The ancient monastery of Horomos was in good condition even during the 19th century (Fig. 35). During this period, it was subordinated to the

³³¹ M 4608, pp. 114-115.

³³² List for the Armenian manuscript of the Matenadaran by Mekhitarist in Vienna, part I, compiled by Hakob Tashian, Vienna, 1895, p. 863.

³³³ J-M. Thierry, 1980, p. 85.

³³⁴ S. Eprikian, *Dictionary of the Nature*, part II, Vienna, 1907, pp. 224-225.

³³⁵ A. Mkhitarants', 1870, p. 49.

Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople and included in the Diocese of Kars. It is remarkable that during the Russo-Persian war in 1804-1807, the congregants of the Etchmiadzin Monastery took refuge in Horomos.³³⁶ In 1824 an ecclesiastical cover received as a donation from the monastery is now kept in the History Museum of Armenia (N 1746).

During those years Horomos hosted many travellers and scientists who visited the ruins of Ani, as it was the closest settlement to the city. In 1817 English art critic Robert Ker Porter, who spent one night in the monastery on his way to Ani, warmly speaks about the hospitable monks of Horomos in his memoirs.³³⁷ The sources mention the abbots of the mentioned period: bishop Step'anos Chakhalyan (1825), archimandrite Petros (1851), archimandrite Grigoris (1868-1871), who carried out renovation works.

In 1851-1853 Vardan Odznet'i, leader of Kars Diocese, did some construction works in Horomos, about what he writes in his inscription of 1853.³³⁸ In the first volume of "*Azgapatum*" published in 1912, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Malachia Ormanian writes that the Horomos Monastery is "*still one of the standing buildings*" in this area.³³⁹

Until the 1920s, the churches of the Horomos Monastery were in a fairly good condition, and in the following decades they were largely destroyed as a result of the intentional and widespread displacement of the rock-hewn stones of their foundations and walls. Now the buildings of the monastery are in a disastrous state, on the verge of destruction, and their endangered fate should concern not only the Armenian society, but also be considered from the point of view of the preservation of the world cultural heritage (Figs. 28, 32, col. fig. 24). At last, since Ani is included in the UNESCO list, we believe that Ani's monastery, Horomos, should also receive such a status.

³³⁶ A. Mkhitarants', 1870, pp. 18-19.

³³⁷ H. Hakobyan, 1934, pp. 748-750.

³³⁸ Horomos Monastery, p. 411.

³³⁹ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, p. 1285.

BAGNAIR MONASTERY

About 7-8 km west of Ani, situated at the base of Arjoarich mountain (Alaja), lies the ancient settlement of Bagnair (Bgner), presently known as Ghozlichia. Its name, akin to toponyms such as Bagaran and Bagavan, derives from the term “*bagin*,”³⁴⁰ indicating its historical status as a significant worship centre among Armenians even in pre-Christian eras.³⁴¹ However, Bagnair garners greater recognition for its medieval monastery, reportedly erected in 1010 by the esteemed military leader of the Bagratid kingdom, Smbat Magistros, as documented by historian Samvel Anets‘i (for further elucidation on this matter, readers are directed to the subsequent section titled “*Smbat Magistros and His Clan*”).

Situated in close proximity to Ani, Bagnair maintained close spiritual, ecclesiastical, and administrative ties with the city. The most ancient and main church within the monastery, commissioned by Smbat Magistros, is dedicated to St. Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God). Referred to interchangeably as St. Astvatsatsin of Bagnair, the monastery also bears the epithet “*Mother Luso*” (“*Mother of Light*”) in 13th-century epigraphs. Architecturally, the church conforms to the prevalent Armenian style of the 7th century, characterized by a “*domed hall*” structure, featuring two entrances from the west and south, and a lofty dome supported by a cylindrical drum (Fig. 36).

T‘oros T‘oramanian, who visited Bagnair in July 1909, documented his observations in which he described the now-ruined church: “*All the distinctive features of Armenian architecture from the 11th century are embodied in the proper Cathedral dedicated to St. Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God).*”³⁴² He then shifts his focus to a particular aspect of the monastery’s structures, noting: “*Here, a common trait is evident not only in the Cathedral of St. Astvatsatsin, but also in the narthexes of all three churches: the absence of windows on the northern side, and although present on the southern side, they have noticeably narrow openings from the exterior (the exception lies with the dome of the Cathedral of St. Astvatsatsin, which features relatively wider openings from the outside), the*

³⁴⁰ A building or idol dedicated to the gods in pagan Armenia.

³⁴¹ The settlement is now called Ghozlichia or Gozlucha by the Turks.

³⁴² T‘. T‘oramanian, 1948, p. 195.



Fig. 36. Bagnair Monastery from the northeast
(photograph by T'oros T'oramanian, early 20th c.)

reason for this may be the severity of winters. The windows of the vast western narthex, measure a mere 13-15 centimeters in width.”³⁴³

Regarding the main church, T'. T'oramanian recounts: “*The eastern altar of the temple is entirely dilapidated, and as locals say, purportedly destroyed by cannon fire during the last Russo-Turkish war (1878) for the Turkish forces having sought refuge within its walls.*”³⁴⁴

There is a lack of historical data regarding the construction of the narthex with a square layout (measuring 18x18 meters) situated adjacent to the western side of the church. However, the presence of the oldest donative epigraph, dating back to 1201,³⁴⁵ suggests the establishment of the narthex predates this (Fig. 37). The architectural and decorative elements of this structure elicited admiration from T'. T'oramanian. He remarked: “*In this segment of the Bagnair complex, the western courtyard of the Cathedral of St. Astvatsatsin occupies a prominent position in terms of both size and grandeur. The layout is nearly square, featuring a dome crafted from stalactite material supported by four moderately large columns, while other sections boast ceilings of various intricate designs. Particularly noteworthy is the masterful craftsmanship evident in the ceiling above the temple's*

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., On another occasion T'. T'oramanian writes that the Bagnair temple “*was once plastered and painted together with the dome, there are still traces of paintings on the northern wall.*” (T'. T'oramanian, 1948, p. 200).

³⁴⁵ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 180.



Fig. 37. Bagnair Monastery from the west, view from the narthex
(photograph by T'oros T'oramanian, early 20th c.)

eastern entrance within the narthex. One could scarcely believe their eyes witnessing the formation of minor arches from stones of diverse colors, some with widths as narrow as 5-10 centimeters. These stones are meticulously layered and seamlessly interconnected, with only their hues revealing their distinct origins.”³⁴⁶ Additionally, other sections of the ceiling are adorned with similarly vibrant stones. The central part of the tripartite narthex is wider, measuring 5.6 meters, while the side segments measure 3.6 meters each.³⁴⁷ It is lamentable, however, that the once-magnificent cladding of this structure now lies in ruin and is destroyed.

To the south from the southeastern corner of St. Astvatsatsin, two small chapel-churches with central domes were situated to the south. A colonnade was erected in front of their entrances, extending along the southern wall of the St. Astvatsatsin Church (Fig. 38). This colonnade served as a narthex for the small churches. The name of the first chapel-church and its builder remains unknown; however, it, likely, dates to the period between

³⁴⁶ T'. T'oramanian, 1948, p. 196.

³⁴⁷ Y. Marzpanian, *A Comparative Overview of Religious Architecture and the Place of Armenian Architecture in It*, Istanbul, 1970, p. 152.



Fig. 38. Colonnade of the Bagnair Monastery

1010 and 1021, as evidenced by an inscription from Princess Seda Pahlavuni found on its wall from that era.

The second small church, known as St. Grigor, was constructed by a woman named Aziz in memory of her son Grigor, as indicated by an inscription dating back to 1145.³⁴⁸ This inscription stands as the earliest known dated church building inscription from the period of the Shaddadid emirs' reign in Ani-Shirak.³⁴⁹ A small altar was erected between the two chapels.

Approximately 200 meters northeast of the original monastic group of monuments, two additional small churches have been erected. One of these, named the Holy Trinity, features a hexagonal, circular structure with a central dome, distinguished by triangular niches on its exterior, which have

³⁴⁸ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 188.

³⁴⁹ The earliest building inscription of this period in Ani refers to the renovation of St. Sargis Church (CAI, I, p. 56).

endured to the present day (Col. fig. 26).³⁵⁰ The 1223 dated inscription adorns the entry lintel.³⁵¹

Bagnair stands out among the monasteries of medieval Armenia for its abundance of epigraphic inscriptions. These inscriptions which had three publications were meticulously documented by Nerses Sargisian and Karapet Basmadjian through on-site readings,³⁵² and by Samvel Karapetyan supplemented this documentation with preserved samples, photographs, and drawings.³⁵³

Pages of the Monastery's History

Information regarding the history of the Bagnair Monastery in the works of Armenian chroniclers is notably scant. In early 1046, amidst the entourage accompanying Catholicos Petros I Getadardz (1019-1054), who departed from Ani under Byzantine coercion, was Mkh'it'ar Bagnairets'i,³⁵⁴ presumed to be either the abbot or one of the esteemed monks of the monastery.

The pages of the history of the Bagnair Monastery can be found, bearing in mind its rich epigraphic heritage, as well as the colophons of several manuscripts. Most of the inscriptions are dated, and select details derived from them are presented below. It is noteworthy that the epitaphs of Bagnair and Arjoarich lack epitaph inscriptions. This implies that by the mid-19th century, when the Mkh'it'arist monk Nerses Sargisian was in the place and copied monasteries' wall inscriptions, the tombstones had already succumbed to soil accumulation. The unearthing of tombstones bearing inscriptions holds promise for significantly augmenting the history of these monasteries in the future.

The majority of epigraphs found in the Bagnair Monastery pertain to donations. Among the donators are not few the citizens of Ani, including nobles, officials, and individuals associated with shops and other real estate properties within the city. In reciprocation, the donors received a designated number of masses to be performed for themselves and their family members, ensuring their commemoration during religious ceremonies.

³⁵⁰ The diameter of the structure is 6 m, the size of each of the altars is 1.6 m, the diameter of the dome is 3.3 m, it has a three-level plinth (Y. Marzpanian, 1970, pp. 154-155).

³⁵¹ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 154, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 189.

³⁵² N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 178-189, K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 136-191.

³⁵³ S. Karapetyan, 2013, pp. 16-37.

³⁵⁴ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 114.

The earliest extant epigraph in Bagnair dates back to 1021, attributed to Seda, daughter of Prince Vasak Pahlavuni, with which, in memory of her father, who martyred in warfare, Seda donated the tithe of Gaghta village to the Bagnair Monastery.³⁵⁵ Following this, a donation inscription from 1042, attributed to Grigor, known as Tsaghkan, records the endowment of his shops (*“kughpakani”*) situated near *“Vasil’s inn”* in Ani, both on his own behalf and that of his sons, to the monastery.³⁵⁶

The 13th century emerges as a particularly prolific period for such inscriptions. Notable examples include a donation made in 1201 by the son of Dēwal Mkh‘it‘ar, who allocated his real estate (its name is not preserved) situated along the alley (zusak) of the Holy Apostles Church in Ani to Bagnair, in return for three masses annually, two for himself and one for his wife.³⁵⁷ Similarly, in 1209, the son of Abraham Khach‘eres Lorets‘i contributed eight shops, three houses, and a garden in Marmet (Ervandashat) to the Bagnair Monastery, receiving twenty days of masses for himself and his relatives from monk Simeon and the holy congregation.³⁵⁸ This inscription is supplemented by Mamkhat‘un, Khach‘eres’s daughter, who donated her shop on *“Bazaznots‘ Street”* in Ani to Bagnair.³⁵⁹ Interestingly, according to Mamkhat‘un’s will, who died in 1219, one of the wall towers of Ani must be built with her means and in memory for her.³⁶⁰ Another notable mention is found in an inscription from 1233, where Vahram (Varham) of the Ch‘ēch‘kants‘ family, along with his wife P‘arants‘, donated their shop in Ani to the Bagnair Monastery.³⁶¹

Some village chiefs also contributed to the Bagnair Monastery’s endowment. In 1210, Parsimo, son of Hasan and elder of Oshakan village, donated his personal garden, receiving fourteen days of masses for himself and his kin as a reward.³⁶² A year later, another elder of Oshakan named Artashir donated his garden known as *“Ashotonts‘,”* in exchange for eight days of masses.³⁶³

³⁵⁵ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 21, K. Matevosyan, 2015, pp. 110-111.

³⁵⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 178.

³⁵⁷ K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 141-142, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 180.

³⁵⁸ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 144.

³⁵⁹ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 145.

³⁶⁰ CAI, I, p. 3.

³⁶¹ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 184, K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 158.

³⁶² K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 146.

³⁶³ K. Basmadjian 1931, p. 148.

In 1215 son of Abulamr, Grigor left a statutory inscription indicating the number of masses to be offered for deceased members of the congregation in Bagnair: 4 forty for the abbot, 3 forty for the priest and monk, 2 forty for the secular monk.³⁶⁴ At the end of the inscription is the name of the scribe, Margaré.

In 1229, an inscription attributed to Khut'lu Khat'un, the first wife of Khoras, uncle of the actual lords of the country Zak'aré and Ivané Zak'arians, records her donation of a portion of Moguats' village to the Bagnair Monastery in memory of her youngest son, Sasnay. Additionally, she commissioned the construction of the St. Sion mortuary chapel and received forty masses annually: twenty for herself, and ten each for Khoras and Sasnay.³⁶⁵

Khoras, a noble figure, commissioned the renowned scribe Ignatios in 1232 to prepare a splendid Gospel in Horomos (Matenadaran, MS 1519), known in Armenology as the "*Gospel of Bagnair*," which he subsequently donated to the monastery. The colophon of the manuscript provides detailed insights into Khoras and his family. It mentions the burial of his eldest son, Sasnay, in Bagnair, as well as the subsequent burial of his wife, Khut'lu Khat'un, a Persian convert to Christianity, in the same monastery after her demise two years later.³⁶⁶ Further, it references Khoras's second wife, Zmrukht Khat'un, also a former Muslim convert to Christianity,³⁶⁷ the other son of Khoras, Vasak, deceased Sasnay's wife, T'aik T'aguhi, Khoras says about her that she originates from the family of the Armenian kings.³⁶⁸ Inscriptions from T'aik T'aguhi's father, Sharap'shah, her mother, T'aguhi, and herself, have been preserved in Bagnair, from which it becomes evident that this dynasty, likely stemming from the Kiwriké branch of the Bagratid lineage, played a guardian role for Bagnair during this period.

By the year 1234, Sharap'shah's contribution to Bagnair included the donation of a mill in Shirakavan and land plot "*Khach 'in marg*," for which he received eighteen days of masses for himself and his relatives.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁴ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 152.

³⁶⁵ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 156.

³⁶⁶ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 179.

³⁶⁷ Zmrukht Khat'un provided the gold necessary for the illustration of this manuscript, which is mentioned in one of the shrines of it (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 180).

³⁶⁸ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 179.

³⁶⁹ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 185-186, K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 161-162.

Concurrently, Sharap'shah's wife, T'aguhi, made her own donation, consisting of her shop on Sarach Street in Ani (Saddlers' Street), a meadow, a precious cross, and a Gospel.³⁷⁰ Among these, there was the inscription of Sharap'shah and T'aguhi's daughter, the daughter-in-law of Khoras', aforementioned, Sasnay's widow, T'aik T'aguhi, in which she mentions donating two of her shops on the street of the Farriers (*"Nalbndnots"*) to Bagnair.³⁷¹ Additionally T'aik T'aguhi donated her gardens and plots to the monastery in 1262.³⁷²

Shortly after 1236, another inscription should have been written, in which Simewon Abbot notes: *"We met a bitter time: famine, sword and captivity,"* which could have happened in 1236 because of the Mongols capture of Ani. The inscription recorded Vard's son, Khach'eres, having previously donated his houses near the *"Gaght Gate"* of Ani to the monastery. Subsequently, during the aforementioned misfortunes, the abbot and monks sold these properties for the monastery's needs, substituting them with three annual masses: two for Khach'eres and one for his wife, Mlk'er.³⁷³

Among the undated inscriptions at Bagnair, one stands out distinctly. It features Abbot K'ristap'or, archimandrite Gamaghiel, and all the monks stipulating that no individual possesses the authority to alter or revoke the will of a deceased monk, whether the *"patron,"* the abbot, or the monks themselves.³⁷⁴ This inscription is noteworthy for delineating the hierarchy of decision-makers within the monastery, placing the patron in primary position, followed by the abbot and then the monks.

In 1242, Mshets'i Mangtavag contributed 100 dahekans to the Bagnair Monastery, thereby securing two annual masses on the feast of St. Sargis from the monks (although the abbot's name is not specified). This inscription holds significance as it discloses the fee requisite to procure one mass during the specified period, which amounted to 50 dahekans.³⁷⁵ It is plausible that amidst the monastery's challenging circumstances, an additional undated inscription was inscribed, according to which the hospice

³⁷⁰ K. Basmadjian 1931, pp. 161-162.

³⁷¹ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 163, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 186.

³⁷² K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 170.

³⁷³ K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 160-161.

³⁷⁴ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 166, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 183.

³⁷⁵ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 180.

Pich‘arents‘ belonging to the monastery was sold, then Koster Tsmakets‘i bought it for 800 silver drams and returned it to the monastery, yielding two masses in return.³⁷⁶

Tadeos Avdalbegyan referenced these two inscriptions, which delineated the monetary requirement for a mass. In a noteworthy study concerning the determination of mass payment in medieval Armenia, Avdalbegyan analyzed epigraphs from 15 monasteries spanning the 12th to 14th centuries and determined that the average cost of one mass (expressed in monetary terms), ranged from 20 to 25 dahekans.³⁷⁷ From the list compiled by the researcher, it can be seen that among the mentioned 15 monasteries, the highest cost for a single mass (50 dahekans in one, 40 in another), is indicated in the inscriptions of Bagnair, the average value being 45 dahekans. Following Bagnair, Noravank of Syunik‘ ranked second with an average of 36 dahekans.³⁷⁸

However, it should be acknowledged that relying solely on the data from these two inscriptions precludes definitive conclusions regarding Bagnair’s consistently high mass pricing. There remains the possibility that during other property endowments, the mass price could have been lower. Nevertheless, considering certain fluctuations, it is evident that the Bagnair Monastery, situated near the commercial hub of Ani and esteemed among its residents, indeed imposed higher demands on donors for masses compared to other establishments.

In 1261, Abułamr, son of Grigor I Magistros, acquired half of Kaghghuts‘ village, likely belonging to the Tigran Honents‘ lineage, and subsequently bestowed it upon the Bagnair Monastery (Fig. 39).³⁷⁹ A year later, in 1262, Abułamr donated the remaining half of Kaghghuts‘ village.³⁸⁰ In another inscription from 1262, it is documented that Garegin, son of the elder priest Mankik, along with his wife Mariam, presented their precious Noraghbyurik village with haylands, a “*Tonakan*” (“*Book of Feasts*”)

³⁷⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 187.

³⁷⁷ T. Avdalbegyan, *Armenological Studies (Hayagitakan Hetazotowt’yowner)*, Yerevan, 1969, p. 324. At that time 20 dahekans could be 88,8 to 85 grams of gold (G. Grigoryan, 2002, p. 87). At that time, the ratio of the dahekan to the dram was 1 to 10, that is, the average cost of 20-25 dahekans for one mass was equal to 200-250 silver drams (T. Avdalbegyan, 1969, p. 331).

³⁷⁸ T. Avdalbegyan, 1969, p. 324.

³⁷⁹ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 169.

³⁸⁰ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 171.

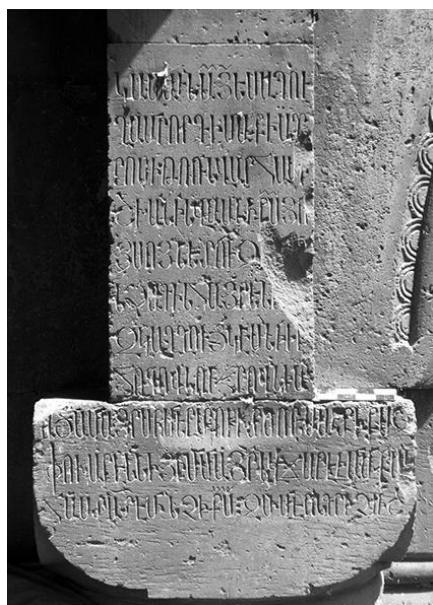


Fig. 39. Abughamr's inscription of 1261,
located in the narthex of Bagnair
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)

transcribed on parchment, and a Gospel adorned with a golden binding to the monastery.³⁸¹

Also in 1262, Khoras II Jr., the grandson of the aforementioned Khoras I and son of Sasnay and T'aik T'aguhi, composed an extensive inscription at Bagnair. Khoras II initially recounts the history of Ashnak village, originally acquired and gifted to him by his grandfather, which subsequently passed to Shahnshah I Zak'arian. Khoras II, in exchange for the precious stones of his wife, regained ownership of the village, and then proceeded to donate the lot of his son Sasnay to Bagnair. Additionally, Khoras II contributed other assets,

including a water-mill in Tignis, extensive meadows, and a silver bowl.³⁸² Another significant donation made by Khoras II, in 1266, to Bagnair was the Jrdzorik Monastery, not previously documented in other sources. The name implies its probable location in a ravine near a water source, where he also possessed a mill. In acknowledgment of his generosity, Abbot Abraham and the monks offered him ten days of masses.³⁸³

During Abbot Abraham's tenure in 1271, Alēk's, son of Ghazar, donated a shop on Bazaz Street in Ani and a silver bowl to the Bagnair Monastery. In return, he was granted twelve masses by the monastery.³⁸⁴

In 1278, archimandrite Gēorg of the Bagnair Monastery, acquired a manuscript of Nerses Shnorhali's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (Jerusalem, MS 332).³⁸⁵ In the colophon, he elucidates the manuscript's purpose as being *"to educate philological followers, for the benefit of*

³⁸¹ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 187, K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 172-173.

³⁸² N. Sargisian, 1964, pp. 188-189, K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 174-175.

³⁸³ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 189, K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 177-178.

³⁸⁴ K. Basmadjian, 1931, pp. 179-180.

³⁸⁵ Grand Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. James, compiled by Bp. Norayr Pogharian, v. II, Jerusalem, 1967, pp. 207-208.

individuals and the church,” indirectly attesting to the existence of the Bagnair monastic school.³⁸⁶

Additionally, a colophon from “*Bagnair Gospel*,” scribed in the 1350s, reveals that the manuscript underwent repairs at Bagnair by Paron, son of Grigor Khuts‘es. This colophon also mentions Paron’s brother, Asil, referred to as the judge of Ani. Notably, it references Poghos, the abbot of Bagnair, who is identified as the last abbot of Bagnair and whose name had only recently become known in philological circles.³⁸⁷

Regarding the abbots of Bagnair, Ghevond Alishan remarks that among approximately fifty inscriptions, “*hardly three or four abbots are mentioned*.”³⁸⁸ Now, through the synthesis of available materials, we can compile the following list of Bagnair abbots:

Step‘anos: in 1042

Simewon I: in 1206-1211

Grigor: in 1215

Simewon II: in 1229-circa 1238

K‘ristap‘or: in (1240-50s)

Abraham: in 1262-1271

Poghos: in the 1350s

A discernible pattern emerges in the Bagnair inscriptions, where following the mention of the abbot, there is often reference to “*all of our brothers*” or “*congregants*,” indicating the collective involvement of the monastery’s congregation in its affairs and obligations towards donors. Apart from the abbots, the monastery boasted authoritative clergy and priests, including Mkh‘it‘ar (1046), Arak‘el (13th century, the 20s), Yusēp‘warder (1262), and archimandrite Gēorg (1271-1278), who are mentioned by name.

Noteworthy is Bagnair’s distinction in preserving the names of epigraphic scribes, as highlighted by Sedrak Barkhudarian’s research. Barkhudarian notes: “*Just as Bagratid-period Ani served as a cultural hub, disseminating its influence across Armenia, so too did the culture of scribes originate from there... Ani yields the highest number of names (of scribes - K. M.) - 8, followed by Horomos with 7, and Bagnair with 7 as well... .*”³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 488.

³⁸⁷ Main list of the Armenian manuscripts, v. V, p. 209.

³⁸⁸ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 121.

³⁸⁹ S. Barkhudarian, *Medieval Armenian Architects and Stonemasons*, Yerevan, 1963, p. 204.

The remembered epigraphers in Bagnair include Raybik (1210), Margaré (1215), Manasé (1206-1236), Davit (1242), Hovsep (circa 1240-1250), Simeon (author of 5 significant inscriptions between 1261 and 1262), and Israel (1266). It is not excluded that some of these individuals were members of the monastery's congregation.

Undoubtedly, the Bagnair Monastery also served as a centre for manuscript culture. Various inscriptions mention the donation of manuscripts to the monastery, while the renowned "*Bagnair Gospel*," penned in 1232, emerged as a celebrated relic associated with the monastery. Though temporarily seized, it was eventually redeemed and returned to Bagnair in the mid-14th century (Col. fig. 48). Notably, alongside the very scribe Ignatios, scribes Step'anos (son of Gelan) and Sargis contributed to further colophons within this manuscript.

Further evidence of the monastery's repository of valuable scrolls is provided in a 1305 colophon, which refers to an exquisite manuscript of Esai's prophecy, which was specially named Bagnairets'i: "... *my scriptures were fulfilled... it is a right and a fine example to call Bagnairets'i...*"³⁹⁰

The departure of congregants from the Bagnair Monastery remains shrouded in uncertainty. Like other neighboring monasteries of Ani, such as Horomos and Arjoarich, Bagnair was intricately linked with the city. Thus, the forced exodus of Ani's residents, which escalated to catastrophic levels in the latter half of the 14th century, likely contributed to the decline of the surrounding monastic establishments. However, while the Horomos Monastery continued to function and have leaders into the 15th to 19th centuries, information about the fate of Bagnair is lacking. The latest known information about the monastery known so far is the reconstruction of the "*Bagnair Gospel*," which was made here in the 50s of the 14th century.

Photographs from the early 20th century depict the main structures of the monastery still standing, albeit partially destroyed. According to the Foundation for Research on Armenian Architecture (RAA), the churches and courtyard of Bagnair were deliberately demolished during the 1950s to 1960s (Fig. 40). Presently, only the Holy Trinity small church, situated northeast of the complex, remains intact, while the main St. Astvatsatsin Church and the narthex exist only as a few partially ruined walls.

Similar to the case of Horomos, it must be emphasized that in the medieval period, the Bagnair Monastery was intimately intertwined with

³⁹⁰ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., I, p. 87.



Fig. 40. Remains of the narthex at the Bagnair Monastery (early 21th c.)

Ani and was considered one of the city's notable monasteries. Therefore, the future fate of its ruins, as part of the world cultural heritage, warrants international attention. We advocate for the inclusion of Bagnair, along with Horomos and Arjoarich, in the UNESCO list, mirroring the recognition bestowed upon the city of Ani itself.

ARJOARICH MONASTERY

The Arjoarich (Arjo-Arich)³⁹¹ Monastery is located about 6-7 km southwest of Ani, west side of the Akhuryan river, on the eastern slope of the homonymous mountain (also known as Alaja), near the now Kurdish-populated village of Alaja, on the bank of a small ravine. Looking east from this monastery high above the city, the panorama of Ani can be seen in the distance from the side of the citadel.

In the sources, the monastery is mentioned by two names: St. Astvatsatsin and St. Gregory. In front of the main St. Astvatsatsin Church, a large *zhamatun* (vestibule-narthex) was built (as in Horomos and Bagnair). It is not possible to determine the place of St. Gregory, because the monastery complex is now completely destroyed, only the traces of the buildings remain.

The Arjoarich Monastery was probably founded during the Bagratunis, but the records preserved in the ruins of its main church and narhex are from the 13th century (the oldest – 1207, the latest – 1289). The monastery is not mentioned by historians, but it had quite rich inscriptions, some of which were published by Mkh'it'ar ist congregant Nerses Sargisyan back in 1864.³⁹² It is known that N. Sargisyan travelled to Armenia in 1843-1853 in order to search for historical and bibliographic monuments, but it is not known exactly in which year he was in Arjoarich. He states that in the previous year of his visit, the local church and the narthex had collapsed and he copied the epigraphic texts from the fragments and stones preserved in the ruins.³⁹³

For studying the history of the monastery, we have two types of primary sources: epigraphs and manuscript colophons, and the structures on the site can be judged from travelogue and archaeological descriptions. We will present the materials of those sources below.

³⁹¹ The name of the settlement is mentioned in the literature in two variants: Arjoarich or Arjo-Arich, in the original sources, "*Arjuarich*," "*Arjevarevts*". We visited that monastery in 2013, on 2nd of October, which is fully destroyed.

³⁹² N. Sargisyan, 1864, pp. 190-208.

³⁹³ Ibid., pp. 190-191.

Epigraphic Information

We can see from the inscriptions of Arjoarich that the monastery was a very popular sanctuary among the residents of Ani. The epigraphs of the monastery are known to Armenian philologists mainly from N. Sargisyan's publication, but the 1920 newsletter of Ashkharbek Kalantar about the monastery has also been published recently, where several inscriptions are also represented by pen drawings.³⁹⁴

Judging from the inscriptions, at the beginning of the 13th century, the monastery also belonged to bishop Grigor I, who later became the bishop of Ani and considered himself to have originated from the Pahlavuni dynasty (about this below, in the "*New Pahlavunis in Ani*" section).

In particular, there exists a multitude of donation inscriptions, wherein it is noted that a significant portion of the contributions to the monastery (including stalls, houses, etc.) were situated in Ani. In the earliest inscriptions (1207) it is mentioned, that Parsamo, the son of Hassan (the village head of Oshakan already known to us from Bagnair), upon joining the monastery, he bestowed his personal garden, known as Sasn, in commemoration of his late brother Khurt.³⁹⁵

The next inscription dated 1213 of Arjoarich, though a donative one, has also preserved important evidence about the above-mentioned abbot Grigor (son of Abulamr), who, as we can see below, was also mentioned as Grigor Magistros in the 1230s.³⁹⁶ It is the first mention of the very figure that we see as a leader in Arjoarich in 1213. The inscription further states that priest Hovhannes, son of priest Horomeants Kostandin, procured something valuable (unfortunately, this section is not preserved) and bestowed it upon the monastery: "*I bought a precious... and I bestowed it to Arjoarich, to St. Astvatsatsin, in the hands of priest Grigor, son of Abulamr,*" in return for which he received 40 masses annually.³⁹⁷

There was also an undated inscription in the monastery, written during the abbotship of the same Grigor and canonical in content, it refers to the number of liturgies offered for the congregants of the monastery upon their demise. As aforementioned, inscriptions with similar content and structure

³⁹⁴ A. Kalantar, *Armenia: From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages*, collected works, (edited by Aram Kalantaryan), Yerevan, 2007, pp. 141-145.

³⁹⁵ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 190.

³⁹⁶ K. Matevosyan, 2015, pp. 84-103.

³⁹⁷ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 190-191.

were also written in Horomos (1195) and Bagnair (1215), as well as in Harichavank⁴ of Shirak (1214). Epigraphist Gagik Sargsyan was tasked with their examination.³⁹⁸ The inscription of Arjoarich was likely written in the 10s of the 13th century, under the patronage of bishop Grigor and archimandrite Gersam, and stipulates that for the deceased abbot and priest of the monastery, four 40th-day memorial should be offered, three 40th-day memorial to the priest and the hieromonk of the monastery, and two 40th-day memorial for lay monk and the deacon.³⁹⁹

Another one of the numerous inscriptions (on the western side of the northern wall of the narthex) is interesting, which presents a list of the monastery's property in the city of Ani. Here are mentioned "*Polkararots' stall*," "*stall of Sarach street*," houses, cellar, stable, etc.⁴⁰⁰ Beneath this inscription, as a continuation, were other 13th-century donative epigraphs, again mostly with dedicatory inscriptions within Ani.⁴⁰¹

Chronologically, the most recent epigraph of the narthex of Arjoarich, dating back to 1289, records a donation by elder Vordeak Koghbats'i during the tenure of monk Andreas. In this inscription, Koghbats'i identifies himself as the son of Davit and the grandson of elder Parav then informs about dedicating his personal garden, known as "*Paravents*" in Koghb, and the accompanying residence to the St. Gregory church of the monastery.⁴⁰²

The inscriptions have preserved the names of three abbots of the monastery: Grigor, son of Abulamr (1207-1213), Vardan (1240s-1260s), and Andreas (1289).

It is regrettable to note that the extensive epigraphic heritage of the Arjoarich Monastery has been completely destroyed (Fig. 41). During our visit in 2013, not even a stone fragment of the aforementioned inscriptions could be found amidst the ruins of the monastery. Only one abbreviated name, "*K(risto)s*," remains on a broken stone with a simple cross sculpture, located at the upper left corner near the western entrance of the monastery.⁴⁰³

In addition to the inscriptions found within the monastery itself, Arjoarich is referenced in two inscriptions from Mren and Ani. It is

³⁹⁸ G. Sargsyan, *Epigraphical Reflections of the Medieval Religious-Legal Norms*, "Historical-Philological Journal," 2006, N 2, pp. 128-129.

³⁹⁹ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 191, cf. G. Sargsyan, 2006, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁰⁰ A. Kalantar, 2007, pp. 141-142, N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 191-192.

⁴⁰¹ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 191-192.

⁴⁰² A. Kalantar, 2007, p. 144, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 192.

⁴⁰³ K. Matevosyan, *Epigraphic Relics from Western Armenia*, "Etchmiadzin," 2015, IV, p. 145, fig. 5.



Fig. 41. Solitary half-standing wall
of the Arjoarich Church
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)

noteworthy that the 1273 inscription of the famous rich man Sahmadin preserved on the southern wall of the 7th century cathedral of Mren refers to the exemption of some taxes of the Arjoarich Monastery, the gardens there and in Oshakan. Sahmadin bought Mren at that time, so he left the inscription here, as the owner of the place, and performed charity for his abundance of longevity and forgiveness of sins.⁴⁰⁴

The inscription of Ani is very interesting, which is preserved on the entrance gate tower on the road leading up to the city from the Akhuryan river bridge and belongs to customsman Sargis Tsilents' of Ani. The inscription states: "*Thanks be to God, I, customsman Sargis Tsilents',*

exempted St. Grigor of Arjoarich from both major and minor customs duties, for the repose of the soul of our lord Shahنشah, and for the longevity of his God-given children, Zak'aria and his brothers."⁴⁰⁵ Although the date of this inscription is not explicitly mentioned in the corpus of the Ani epigraphy, in Ghevont Alishan's book "*Shirak*," there is a graphic image of the epigraph, the beginning of which indicates the year 1320.⁴⁰⁶ This corresponds to the year of the death of Zak'arian Prince Shahنشah II, for whose "*repose of the soul*" and the longevity of his sons, Sargis Tsilents' performed this act of charity.⁴⁰⁷

This inscription holds significant historical value for Arjoarich in three ways. Firstly, it highlights the monastery's role as an economic entity, with its goods destined for sale in the city of Ani being exempt from both major and minor customs tax called "*bazh*" due to the decree of Sargis Tsilents'. Secondly, if we consider that the latest date preserved in the monastery's

⁴⁰⁴ S. Karapetyan, *Mren and Its Monuments*, "Vardzk'," 2012, N 7, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁰⁵ CAI, I, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁶ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 74.

⁴⁰⁷ P. Muradyan, 1997, p. 56.

own inscriptions is 1289 (as we shall see below – in the colophons, 1298), this inscription demonstrates the continued activity of Arjoarich in 1320. Thirdly, thanks to this inscription, it can be said that the route from Arjoarich to Ani passed through the above-mentioned entrance to the city, that is, the stone bridge of the Akhuryan river near the city.

Subsequently, this signifies the existence of an eastern route from Arjoarich, whereby travellers bound for Ani traversed the left bank of the Akhuryan river (potentially via by the great bridge of Nerkin Jrap).⁴⁰⁸ Following this course, they proceeded upstream along the river, crossed the bridge near Ani, and gained access to the city through the gate of the “*Sargis Tsilients*’.”

Colophon Information

Evidence regarding Arjoarich is preserved in three colophons from the 13th century. The first is found in the renowned “*Gospel of Haghpat*” (Matenadaran, Ms. 6288), a manuscript dating back to 1211. It was written by priest Sahak Anets‘i at the Haghpat Monastery, where he studied, and later brought to the Bekhents‘ Monastery in Ani for illustration. Sahak then have it binded at the Horomos Monastery and then presented the book to Arjoarich on behalf of himself and his father’s family. The colophon specifically mentions the “*construction of a church*” in Arjoarich, funded by the Sahak Anets‘i’s family, which was a separate tribal church or chapel, and the Gospel was placed in it.⁴⁰⁹

The second testament regarding Arjoarich was preserved on a fragment of a manuscript, specifically a sheet from the old Gospel (Matenadaran, hand. no. 1501, endpapers). This colophon likely dates back to 1236, following the devastating Mongol invasion, as it references the martyrdom of the relatives of priest Astvatsatur, who received the manuscript, at the hands of the Tatars (“*who were martyred from the Tatars...*”). It is notable that Astvatsatur identifies himself as a disciple of the Arjoarich congregation and dedicates the manuscript to the monastery. In this colophon, Arjoarich is depicted as a monastery located near the gates

⁴⁰⁸ Nerkin (Inner) Jrap bridge near Ani was the largest bridge built over the Akhuryan, with a total length of 125 meters and a single-span arch of 34 meters. The bridge is now demolished, but an impressive large part of it has been preserved on the river bank.

⁴⁰⁹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 71.

of Ani, indicating its close proximity to the city, referred to as “*Arjoarich Monastery, which is at the threshold of Ani.*”⁴¹⁰

One of the remarkable manuscripts composed entirely in Ani is the 1298 manuscript currently housed in St. Petersburg (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of AS of Russia, B 44). This Gospel was dedicated to Arjoarich in the same year.⁴¹¹ The colophon accompanying it mentions that the manuscript was penned within the Inner Fortress of Ani, written by the Eghbayrik scribe at the behest of priest Hakob who reports that he and his late brother Step‘anos were once students at the Arjoarich school.⁴¹²

The colophon of the priest Hakob holds significant value in providing insights into the Arjoarich school and clarifying the name of the monastery. Priest Hakob’s colophon is valuable both for the information about the school of Arjoarich and for clarifying the name of the monastery, because, as we have seen, in the epigraphs it is mentioned either by the names of St. Astvatatsin or St. Grigor. It can be seen from the colophon that the main church of the monastery was St. Astvatatsin, but there was also a no less famous church named after St. Grigor, as well as a famous cross (cross-stone), which Hakob calls “*the Holy Sign of the power of Christ.*” As can be seen from A. Kalantar’s note, in 1920 it was still standing near the western wall of the church.⁴¹³

It can be seen from the colophon that the brothers were born in Arjoarich. Hakob also mentions his parents, his sister and her children, and among the members of the monastery, their student, the celibate priest Nerses.⁴¹⁴

Travelogue and Archaeological Descriptions

Nerses Sargisian, who visited the monastery in the 1850s, wrote: “... *the monastery, now vanished, still holds the relics of the church. While not matching Bagnair in size and splendour, it does not fall far behind.*”⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 197.

⁴¹¹ For details on the manuscript, see K. Yuzbashyan, 1971, pp. 77-94, K. Matevosyan, 1984, pp. 110-115.

⁴¹² Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 817.

⁴¹³ A. Kalantar, 2007, p. 139.

⁴¹⁴ Hakob calls Nerses their “*foster siblings.*” The recipient’s parents’ names are Kirakos and Khelok’, he had a late brother, Sargis, his sister’s name is Mner, about whose eldest son Grigor it is said: “*Who went abroad,*” the other son is Shah (see *ibid.*).

⁴¹⁵ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 190.

The congregant Kyuregh Srapyan (1844-1895) of St. Etchmiadzin who visited the monastery in 1878, provides a succinct account in his newsletter titled “*Churches of Alacha.*” He notes: “*These churches, constructed from meticulously hewn stones, stand at the base of Alacha mountain on the western flank of Alacha Kurdish-populated village. Only the walls of the primary monastery remain standing, with the “katughike” (dome – K. M.) collapsed, seemingly due to an earthquake, as it lies completely on the ground.*”⁴¹⁶ He then describes the forty-column narthex, mentions the presence of large (“triumphant”) khachk‘ars, numerous defaced inscriptions, and references the western section of the monastery, likely the refectory building, described as “double-storeyed.”⁴¹⁷

A comprehensive and scholarly description of Arjoarich is documented within the archives of the archaeological expedition led by Ashkarbek Kalantar, conducted in this locale on August 20-21, 1920. The seasoned archaeologist initially delineates the site’s geographical locality and the dilapidated condition of its edifices, attributing the structural collapse to a natural catastrophe. Kalantar notes, “*The forceful impact of the earthquake propelled entire segments of the dome, altar, and adjoining walls from west to east.*”⁴¹⁸

Of particular significance is Kalantar’s observation concerning the church’s frescoes, a subject overlooked by preceding visitors. Armenian medieval mural painting remains inadequately examined; numerous monuments have endured substantial degradation or complete obliteration over recent centuries, including the mural at Arjoarich. Kalantar’s account stands as the sole testament to this artwork’s existence.⁴¹⁹

At the Arjoarich Monastery, A. Kalantar conducted measurements and captured photographs of the site’s features; however, their precise whereabouts remain elusive (with the hope that they may one day be

⁴¹⁶ A newsletter about Kars region, p. 111.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ A. Kalantar, 2007, p. 139.

⁴¹⁹ “*The remnants of frescoes are situated adjacent to the southern corner of the western wall. At the uppermost section, a severely faded depiction of three figures adorned in regal attire is discernible: one figure is depicted wearing knee-length garments paired with long boots, while of the other two are slightly taller. To its left is a figure of a saint with a halo, looking inward, but from below (toward the waist). Adjacent to this ensemble, on the left-hand side, a portrayal of a saint adorned with a halo is present, though depicted in a downward perspective, gazing inward from below the waist*” (Kalantar, 2007, p. 140).

unearthed). The archaeologist catalogued the photographs, comprising two images of inscriptions, two providing a panoramic vista of the narthex roof, eight showcasing fragments and intricate details, and one depicting a “fresco located near the southern corner of the western wall of the church.”⁴²⁰

Additionally, A. Kalantar references the remnants of ancillary structures surrounding the church and narthex: “All the buildings are destroyed... with the exception of a solitary structure situated 15 sazhen west of the church, of which a wall is left, characterized by a north-to-south



Fig. 42. Approximate reconstruction of the Church of Arjoarich and its narthex
(based on measurements by A. Hakobyan, drawing by S. Ayvazyan)

wall constructed from reddish stones. The building was spacious, maybe a refectory for the congregation. On the southern and western sides of the church narthex, there were separate buildings, perhaps chapels, with only traces of walls.”⁴²¹

After this description of 1920, in the past period, the ruins of the monastery were further destroyed and “ravaged,” traces of inscriptions and frescoes disappeared. It can be added to the previous descriptions of the monastery that on the southern and southern-west sides of the church and

⁴²⁰ A. Kalantar, 2007, p. 140.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

the narthex, the ruins of other monastic buildings, built mainly with unprocessed stones, occupy quite a large space. The only more or less preserved part is the western wall of the refectory near the entrance of the monastery.

The specialists of the “*Research on Armenian Architecture*” (RAA) tried to fill the lack of measurements and old photos with the approximate measurements made by studying the ruins in recent years and a drawing representing the reconstruction of the church and narthex (Fig. 42).⁴²²

In summary, it can be affirmed that Arjoarich stood as a prominent monastery with close affiliations to Ani. Flourishing particularly during the 13th century, it boasted a large congregation, school, and a prosperous monastic economy. Regrettably, the St. Astvatsatsin Church, narthex, and ancillary structures south of the monastery now lie in ruins, prompting profound apprehension regarding their future preservation.

⁴²² Measurement by A. Hakobyan (2014), drawing by S. Ayvazyan, see S. Karapetyan, *Another Genocide after the Genocide*, no. I, Yerevan, 2015, p. 84.

TIGNIS, TSARAK'AR-MAGHASBERD AND TSARAVAN

There were two renowned fortresses safeguarding Ani's environs: Tignis to the north and Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd to the south. The latter is better documented, and its details will be elucidated below, but first, let us initially provide a succinct overview of Tignis.

Tignis is a fortress boasting impressive walls, situated on the right bank of the Tignis source, a right tributary of the Akhuryan river, atop a

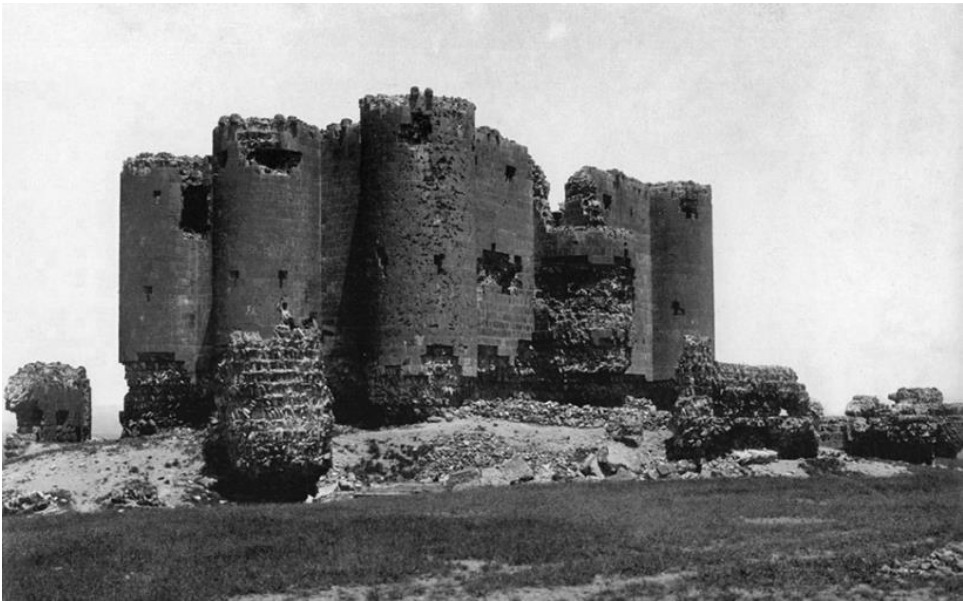


Fig. 43. Tignis fortress (photograph by T'oros T'oramanian, early 20th century)

small hill (Fig. 43). Limited information exists regarding it, the summarization of which can be encapsulated in the following encyclopedic overview: *“Tignis, a fortress located in Shirak canton within the Airarat province of the Kingdom of Greater Armenia, adjacent to the Tignis source and near the village of Tikniz (Tignis). Its origins trace back to pre-Christian antiquity. In the 9th century, the Bagratunis extensively renovated and fortified Tignis, strategically guarding the environs of Shirakavan city. Positioned atop a lofty hill, the fortress commands panoramic views of the Shirak plain, Shirakavan, Argina, and surrounding settlements. The stout*

square walls (constructed with meticulously hewn stones), are reinforced by eight robust towers (four at the corners, four at the midpoint). These walls rest upon a foundation composed of colossal Cyclopean stones. Each of the three internal structures within the fortress (comprising various chambers, halls, etc.) features double-story arcades. Written sources offer scant information about Tignis."⁴²³

The final point to note regarding the name of Tignis in written sources is somewhat inaccurate. While there is no direct reference to a castle, there exists evidence of a settlement or location in the one of the 1262 donation inscriptions of the Bagnair Monastery, where a mention is made of a mill situated in Tignis alongside a hay land ("*...the mill in Tignis, and my hay land*").⁴²⁴

The precise date of the castle's construction and its builder remain unknown, prompting speculation regarding its purpose and establishment timeline. It is conjectured that the castle was erected for the defense of Shirakavan. Notably, our on-site observations (initially in Argina, then in Tignis) suggest that this fortress may have served as a refuge, particularly for the Catholicate of Argina. This settlement, situated in an exposed location without a defensive infrastructure, and Tignis, despite its elevation on a small hill, lacked natural defenses on other fronts, necessitating to surround it with very strong ramparts. Tignis, being the closest viable location to Argina, offered an ideal site for constructing a fortress, enabling the Catholicos and Catholicate entourage to seek shelter in times of peril. Moreover, with Argina located approximately 2 km away, the fortress of Tignis provides clear visibility of the former.

The security challenges faced by monasteries in the mentioned region are evident from historical records dating back to the reign of Gagik I, notably concerning the Horomos Monastery. In a 1013 inscription, abbot Anania stipulated the transfer of ownership of the Kegharagom area to the Horomos Monastery, "*... designating it as a refuge during times of escape.*"⁴²⁵ This underscores the importance placed on the proximity of fortified strongholds to monastic sites as places of refuge. Thus, the necessity for such shelters was apparent even during the reign of Gagik,

⁴²³ Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, vol. 11, Yerevan, 1985, p. 696.

⁴²⁴ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 188-189.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

widely regarded as one of the most powerful kings of Ani. This demand for refuge would have been even more pronounced during the tenure of the Catholicate of Argina in the mid-10th century.

It is noteworthy that the Catholicate served not only as the residence of the Catholicos but also as the repository for precious church relics. It is known that during the tenure of Anania Mokats'i, bishop Hakob of Syunik' had several valuable items, including "*the special cross of Syunik', a golden embroidered khorugv, a precious scepter, and an honorary throne,*" confiscated during a riot. These artifacts were subsequently relocated and safeguarded in the "*holy room*" of the Catholicate of Argina.⁴²⁶ Subsequently, when the Catholicate was already in Ani, those sanctities were returned to the Syunik' under the tenure of the Catholicos of Sargis Sewants'i I (1006). It is evident from historical accounts, such as those by the historian Asoghik, that the Catholicate of Argina housed numerous other sacred objects, including manuscripts and precious church utensils.⁴²⁷

Taking into account these facts and circumstances, it is our contention that the Tignis fortress was erected during the reign of Abbas or Ashot III the Merciful, benevolent monarchs who initiated its construction to safeguard the security of the Catholicate of Argina. Subsequently, upon becoming of Ani as a capital, this fortress also functioned to defend the city's environs.

Regrettably, this distinctive example of medieval fortress construction has now deteriorated into ruins and stands perilously close to complete destruction (Col. figs. 28-29). It should also be considered as an important monument closely related to Ani and care should be taken for its preservation.

Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd

The fortress known as Tsarak'ar or Maghasberd is located southwest of Ani, downstream of the Akhuryan river, at a distance of about 5 km. The towering ramparts of the fortress still stand today in the Akhuryan gorge, which is the current Armenian-Turkish border, and therefore the area of the archaeological site is closed for visits from both sides (Fig. 44).

⁴²⁶ Step'anos Orbelian, p. 304.

⁴²⁷ Asoghik, p. 185.



Fig. 44. Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd from the Akhuryan gorge
(photograph from the early 20th century)

At the very beginning, let us note that until now in the literature, Tsarak'ar and Maghasberd have been considered different fortresses. Since we examined this issue before and came to the conclusion that these are different names of the same fortress,⁴²⁸ henceforth we will call it Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd. Here we will briefly look at that question.

The name "*Makhaziberd*" is first mentioned in the work of the purported Shapuh Bagratuni ("*History of the Anonymous Historian*"), wherein it is recounted that the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602 AD) dispatched an Armenian governor named Makhaz to the East. He erected a fortress on the shores of the Akhuryan river and named it Makhaziberd.⁴²⁹ The source, in the given case, presents a compilation of historical narratives, and the information it contains may only possess an approximate correlation with reality.

⁴²⁸ K. Matevosyan, *The City of Ani and Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd in the 11th-14th Centuries*, "Monument" annual, IV-V, Yerevan, 2008, pp. 236-247.

⁴²⁹ History of an Anonymous historian (attributed to Shapuh Bagratuni), translation from Classical Armenian to Russian, introduction and annotation by M. H. Darbinyan-Melikyan, Yerevan, 1971, p. 51.

The second reference to the name Maghasberd suggests that the fortress is known by two names. Dating back to 1222, it is cited in the translated colophon of an Arabic dream book within the fortress itself. The passage reads: “*This dream book was translated from the Arabic script to the Armenian script... in the fortress named Maghasberd, located at the gate of the city of Ani, and the name of the fortress was Tsark‘ar.*”⁴³⁰ The third testimony of this name is found again within the fortress in the colophon of bishop Nathanael in 1343.⁴³¹

The fourth author to mention the name “*Maghasa Berd*” (“*Maghasaberd*,” “*Maghasberd*”) is deacon Zak‘aria Kanakerts‘i, a 17th-century historian. Drawing from the information gleaned from the Anonymous Story-Teller, he subjected it to artistic reinterpretation and embellished it with a narrative dated 1638, detailing the fortress’s deceitful transition from Persian to Ottoman rule.⁴³² Zak‘aria described the location of the fortress in great detail, it is likely that he saw it.

We concur with Suren Yeremyan’s assertion that the original designation of the fortress was “*Maghkhaz fortress*,” correlating with the position of “*Maghkhaz*” within the Arshakuni court.⁴³³ This name appears to derive not from the founder’s name, but rather from the aforementioned position.

As can be seen from the above-mentioned 1222 inscription and a number of related facts, this fortress, so close to the capital, was more often referred to by its second name, Tsarak‘ar, during the heyday of Ani in the 11th-13th centuries.

Let us now examine the available references concerning the fortress known as Tsark‘ar or Tsarak‘ar, which held significance in the history of Ani during the 11th-12th centuries. Ghevond Alishan, in his discussion regarding the identification of Kechror’s whereabouts, referenced Tsarak‘ar. Drawing from the account of Vardan Arevelts‘i stating that the amir of Kechror seized Tsarak‘ar, Alishan posited its location in either Yeraskhadzor or Gabeghenik‘ canton.⁴³⁴ Subsequently, various authors

⁴³⁰ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 131.

⁴³¹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., II, p. 397.

⁴³² Deacon Zakaria, Historiography, vol. II, Vagharshapat, 1870, pp. 15-16.

⁴³³ History of the Armenian people, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1984, p. 199.

⁴³⁴ Gh. Alishan, 1890, p. 47.

echoed this perspective in their works.⁴³⁵ However, a comprehensive analysis of the evidence (including some elements unknown to Gh. Alishan), suggests that Tsarak'ar was situated in close proximity to Ani.

Samvel Anets'i, in his account of the construction works of Vest Sargis, records that in 1024 initially, plans were made for the construction of a church in Khts'konk', followed by the conversion of the Tsark'ar Monastery into a fortress: *"He also turned the Tsarak'ar Monastery into a fortress, surrounding it with thick walls and monolithic wall towers, inside which he built two other adjacent domed churches (churches) near the cube-shaped holy temple named after St. George: St. Hovhannes and St. Sekenos."*⁴³⁶

According to Samvel Anets'i, Vest Sargis fortified the Tsarak'ar Monastery, encircling it with sturdy walls and wall towers. He also established two domed churches or chapels near the old St. Gevorg Church. It is noteworthy that the fortress walls, which remain standing to this day, exhibit distinct characteristics of wall construction from the prosperous era of Ani (Col. fig. 30).

Samvel Anets'i's account provides partial insight into the dual mention of the fortress. Drawing from the report of the Anonymous historian concerning Makhaz (or "*Maghkhaz*"), who likely established a Byzantine military outpost in this location towards the end of the 6th century AD, it becomes apparent that during the bleak era of Arab dominion that ensued, when no fortresses were erected in Armenia (and those existing were largely demolished), its military significance waned. Subsequently, a modest monastery, housing a church dedicated to St. Gevorg, was established here. The monastery bore the name Tsarak'ar (see its etymology discussed in the "*Tsaravan*" section below). During the reign of Hovhannes Smbat, Vest Sargis, a prominent figure in Ani's realm, converted the Tsarak'ar Monastery into a fortress. Although the historian mentions the construction of two churches by him,⁴³⁷ we posit that these were diminutive chapels, the erection of which "*camouflaged*" the actual transformation of the monastery

⁴³⁵ History of the Armenian people, 1976, p. 98, T. Hakobyan, St. Melik-Bakhshyan, H. Barseghyan, Dictionary of the Toponymy of Armenia and of the Adjacent Regions, vol. 3, Yerevan, 1991, p. 659, M. Yovhannessian, *Fortresses of Armenia*, Venice, 1970, p. 643.

⁴³⁶ Samuel Anets'i and others, pp. 183-184.

⁴³⁷ It is interesting that one of the chapels built by Vest Sargis was called St. Sekenos, which is the only church known by that name in the Armenian reality.

into a military edifice. It is pertinent to note that Nerses Sargisyan, who visited Maghasberd in the mid-19th century, observed “*the remains of three diminutive chapels*” on site.⁴³⁸

During the era of the Shaddadids, Tsarak‘ar stood as one of the strongholds within the Ani Emirate. However, in 1177, as recounted by Vardan Arevelts‘i, it fell under the control of the Gharacha Amir of Kechror and subsequently was acquired by Khzil Arslan, the youngest son of Eltkuz At‘abek of Gandzak. According to the historian, Khzil Arslan accommodated individuals of nefarious intent within the fortress, who perpetrated acts of banditry incessantly. They subjected Christians who fell into their grasp to confinement in the fortress’s dark dungeons, leading to their eventual demise due to starvation. Additionally, they ruthlessly seized seven religious figures, revered as martyrs by the city-dwellers of Ani, whose commemoration occurs on the feast day of St. Gregory the Illuminator.⁴³⁹

In fact, Tsarak‘ar had been transformed into a bandit stronghold, posing a persistent threat to the city-dwellers of Ani. It is evident that the residents of Ani refused to tolerate this state of affairs and took decisive action nine years following the fortress’s capture. At that juncture, the Amir of Ani was Shaddadid Sultan, with whom the Armenians enjoyed amicable relations.⁴⁴⁰ In 1186, for the first time since the fall of the Bagratuni kingdom, the residents of Ani take an offensive military action for their own security. Vardan Arevelts‘i recounts: “*In 1186, the city-dwellers of Ani seized control of Tsarak‘ar, the hereditary property of bishop Barsegh, ruthlessly eliminating all inhabitants save for women and children.*”⁴⁴¹

As evident, the city-dwellers of Ani conducted a successful campaign, capturing the hard-to-reach fortress (Fig. 45). In doing so, they not only neutralised the bandit stronghold but also restored the hereditary rights of Bishop Barsegh II. Legally, Tsarak‘ar was transferred to the Emirate of Ani, however, effectively it was ceded to the Armenians of Ani. By the end of 1198, upon the demise of the last Amir Sultan of Ani, the city gates

⁴³⁸ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 125.

⁴³⁹ Vardan Bardzrberdets‘i, *Universal History*, Moscow, 1861, p. 171.

⁴⁴⁰ K. Matevosyan, 1997, p. 68.

⁴⁴¹ Vardan Arevelts‘i, p. 136. The victory at Tsarak‘ar is also mentioned in the book “*History of the City of Ani.*” While the author drew on Vardan Arevelts‘i’s work, they provided a more detailed explanation of the event (Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, 1983, (appendix), pp. 109-110).



Fig. 45. Inaccessibility and double-tiered walls of Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd

welcomed amirspasalar Zakaré. Ani, now part of the Georgian state, assumed the administrative centre of Zakaré's territories, consequently, the fortress of Tsarak'ar also fell under their control.

Upon examining the events of the late 12th century in Tsarak'ar, it becomes apparent that the fortress was situated near Ani, rather than in Yeraskhadzor or any other location tens of kilometers away from the city. The above-mentioned colophon of the dream book, translated in 1222, is also telling about this, where the fortress is considered to be "*located at the door of the city of Ani.*" Additionally, it should be noted that the record also mentions the presence of an Arabic dream book with an elderly man among the Muslim prisoners of the fortress, which was translated into Armenian by hieromonk Arak'el, nicknamed Var, Mkh'it'ar, and Sheran from the Chechkants' tribe.⁴⁴² Some scholars also attribute to Arak'el Anets'i the translation of another secular book, "*History of the Copper City.*"⁴⁴³

Another manuscript kept in Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd is evidenced by a colophon of 1343, which was written by bishop Nathanael, the leader of the Havuts' T'ar Monastery. That book, which contains Samvel Anets'i's Chronicle (Matenadaran Ms. 3681), written in Vaspurakan's Urnkar Monastery in 1315, happened to be in Maghasberd, where it was acquired

⁴⁴² Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., pp. 130-131.

⁴⁴³ H. Mkrtchyan, *Translator of Arak'el Anets'i*, "Ani," 1992, N 2, pp. 28-30.

by Nathanael, who temporarily took refuge with his friend Amirza.⁴⁴⁴ Judging from the small colophons in the manuscript, the fortress was under the ownership of paron (lord) Zak‘arian Shahnshah III of Ani and his brother Shrvanshah during that period⁴⁴⁵.

It can be assumed that in the early 50s of the 14th century, when the Zak‘arians left Ani as a result of the violence of Melik Ashraf (1344-1357), they probably also lost Tsarak‘ar-Maghasberd.

In the early 16th century, reference to the fortress is found in a Georgian document, specifically mentioning the spiritual leaders of “*Samtskhe-Saatabago*.”⁴⁴⁶ By the 17th century, Zak‘aria K‘anak‘erts‘i (1627-1699) provides an account of the fortress as an active centre. It remained inhabited until the 19th century.⁴⁴⁷ Additionally, according to T‘oros T‘oramanian, this fortress “*stood as the most impregnable stronghold of its time, surpassing even Ani in strength*.”⁴⁴⁸ T‘oramanian further observes that Loris-Melikov, a renowned Armenian military commander in the Russian army operating in the Ani region, “*esteemed the Maghas fortress more, both for its strategic location and its military-scientific construction*.”⁴⁴⁹

Tsaravan

The study of Tsarak‘ar and its environs has been relatively limited. The Turkish authorities have designated the fortress, situated on the periphery of the Armenian-Turkish border, as a restricted zone. Nevertheless, in 2005, French researchers P. Dangles and N. Prouteau conducted investigations in the area. Utilizing space photography, they identified a sizable settlement near the fortress dating back to ancient times. Subsequent on-site research revealed remnants of a settlement, denoted as a city, spanning approximately 800 meters in length and 150 meters in width, located approximately 350 meters southwest of the fortress (see the plan, fig. 46).⁴⁵⁰ This medium-sized settlement may be considered to have emerged

⁴⁴⁴ Matenadaran, Ms. No. 3681, pp. 83(2)-84(1), Samuel Anets‘i and others, pp. 50-53.

⁴⁴⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., II, p. 397.

⁴⁴⁶ Monuments of Georgian Law, no. 3, Tbilisi, 1970, p. 245 (Georgian).

⁴⁴⁷ T‘. T‘oramanian, 1942, pp. 311-312.

⁴⁴⁸ T‘. T‘oramanian, 1942, p. 311.

⁴⁴⁹ T‘. T‘oramanian, 1942, p. 324.

⁴⁵⁰ P. Dangles, N. Prouteau, *Observations on Some Fortresses in the Ani Region*, “*Revue des Études Arméniennes*”, Volume 30, Paris 2005-2007, pp. 273-299.

during the peaceful era of Ani, particularly under the Bagratunis, and akin to Ani itself, thrived during the rule of the Zak'arians. The settlement's strategic positioning allowed the populace to seek refuge within the formidable Tsarak'ar fortress during times of peril.

The name of this settlement, discovered only 15 years ago, was not found by French researchers in any source. However, we think that one of the epigraphs of Horomos preserved its name, Tsaravan. We have published a small study about this,⁴⁵¹ the results of which we will briefly present below.

One of the inscriptions at the Horomos Monastery mentions the toponym Tsaravan, which is not documented in other primary sources, and its location was previously unknown. The scholarly edition of the inscription was carried out by Professor Jean-Pierre Mahé and Samvel Karapetyan.⁴⁵² According to the paleography, this 13th-century inscription is divided into two parts and pertains to the donation of two stalls by two distinct individuals. The complete text of the inscriptions is provided as follows:

"I, Shah, gave my own stall and hall, on the west side of the fortress of Tsaravan George, to offer mass to Christ: 1 to me, 1 to my father Gabr and 1 to my brothers Karapet and Eghbayrik.

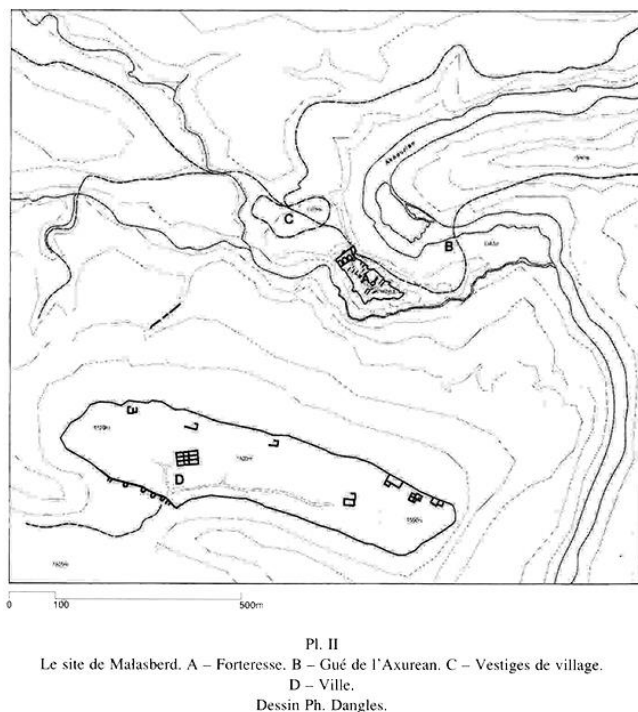


Fig. 46. Plan of Tsarak'ar fortress and its surrounding settlement (author: F. Dangle, Revue des études Arméniennes, Tome 30, p. 286)

⁴⁵¹ K. Matevossian, *The Locality of Caravan*, "Revue des Études Arméniennes", volume 40, Paris, 2021.

⁴⁵² Horomos Monastery, pp. 460-461.

I, Khurt, gave my stall on the south side of St. George, to offer mass to Christ, 2 in the name of Khurt, and 1 to his friend”⁴⁵³ (Fig. 47).

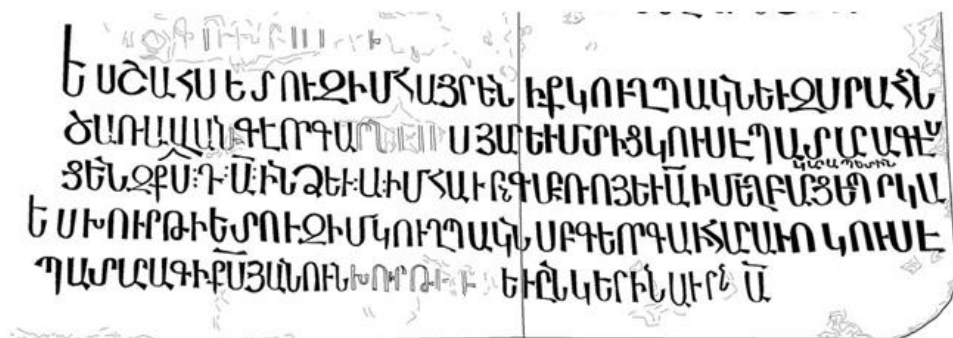


Fig. 47. Epigraph of Horomos (drawing by S. Karapetyan)

As we can see in the first of the dedicative inscriptions, it is mentioned that the Shah gave Horomos his own stall and hall, which were in Tsaravan, on the western side of the Gevorg fortress, and received three masses, one each for himself, his father and two brothers. According to the second, a person named Khurt, dedicated his stall on the southern side of St. Gevorg, received three masses: two for himself, one for a friend. It is likely that in both cases we are talking about the same St. Gevorg.

Let us try to find out where Tsaravan and the aforementioned St. Gevorg were located, which in one case is combined with the word “*fortress*.” The first thought that may arise is to look for these toponyms in the city of Ani, because most of the stalls mentioned in the dedicative inscriptions of Horomos, as well as of other monasteries near the city, were found in Ani, and the inscriptions often indicate their location with great precision, on which street they were located, in which part, near what prominent place, or what other stalls they bordered or attached to the same wall, etc.

It is widely acknowledged that Ani possessed two fortresses, one being the Inner Fortress situated at the southern extremity of the city, and the other being the Citadel. Both fortifications are strategically positioned, with steep ravines flanking their western and southern aspects, rendering them naturally impervious to intrusion. Notably, the latter stalls were predominantly concentrated within the central precincts of the city. The

⁴⁵³ Horomos Monastery, p. 460.

Inner Fortress and the Citadel are not explicitly referenced as part of the St. Gevorg Church or a fortress of St. Gevorg in any sources. Furthermore, inscriptions typically delineate the locations of Ani's stalls in relation to specific streets and nearby edifices (such as churches, khanapars, and mosques), yet there is a conspicuous absence of mention regarding the fortresses.

Let us try to look for Tsaravan outside of Ani, which, of course, could not be too far away. We think that the place where the landmark names for our search mostly come together is the Tsarak'ar fortress, the main church of which was called St. Gevorg. The latter was the old church of the Tsatkarar Monastery, which the historian calls a "*cubic temple*," and from which it can be assumed that it was not domed, but rectangular in plan, most likely a basilica structure.

The name Tsarak'ar (Շարակար) associated with both the monastery and the fortress likely derives not from the root "*tree*"⁴⁵⁴ («*δυν*» - pronounced as "*ts'ar*") but from the term "*tip*" («*δωψ*» - pronounced as "*tsayr*"), referring to the rocky promontory at the convergence of two valleys known as Tsaira'kar (Շայրակար) (see fig. 44). This interpretation gains support from a colophon within the fortress dated to 1222, affirming its designation as "*the name of the fortress is Tsark'ar (Շարկար)*."⁴⁵⁵ Notably, in Kirakos Gandzakets'i's "*History*," when Tsarak'ar is mentioned in connection with Vest Sargis manual and cited from Samvel Anets'i, certain manuscripts substitute "*Tsarak'ar*" with "*Tsayra'kar*."⁴⁵⁶

It is hypothesized that Tsair'kar (Շայրակար) evolved into Tsark'ar (Շարկար) or Tsarak'ar (Շարակար), as referenced in "*History of the City of Ani*" ("*above the strong fortress to be called Tsarak'ar*"),⁴⁵⁷ ultimately adopting a simpler pronunciation as Tsarak'ar, as noted by historians Samvel Anets'i and Vardan Arevelts'i.

Let us revisit the Horomos epigraphs, wherein the donation of stalls in Tsaravan is documented. Shah bestowed a stall in Tsaravan, situated on the western flank of the Gevorg fortress, to Khurt, while another was allocated in

⁴⁵⁴ It is pertinent to observe that the occurrence of a toponym featuring the root "*tsar*" is improbable in Shirak, given its predominantly lowland and treeless geographical characteristics. Consequently, the gardens referenced in the inscriptions of Ani and adjacent monasteries were more commonly situated elsewhere, notably in Aragatsotn.

⁴⁵⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 131.

⁴⁵⁶ Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 89.

⁴⁵⁷ Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, (appendix), p. 109.

the south of St. Gevorg.⁴⁵⁸ These stalls can likely be localized in the settlement adjacent to Tsarak‘ar, given its alignment along the south-western perimeter of the fortress, with one extremity extending southwards and the other westwards. Consequently, the details provided in the Horomos epigraph align with the topography of the settlement on the western side of the Tsarak‘ar (St. Gevorg) fortress. Additionally, the presence of a fortress in this vicinity, with its primary and ancient church dedicated to St. Gevorg, suggests a connection between the names Gevorg and Tsaravan, potentially indicating that it pertains to the Tsarak‘ar fortress settlement (Fig. 48, col. fig. 31).

We anticipate that a thorough archaeological investigation of this archaeological site will yield valuable insights, enriching the history of this settlement adjacent to the medieval castle. Even today, it can be inferred that this settlement, located approximately 4-5 km from Ani and featuring stalls, served as a “*satellite*” component of the “*great Ani*” during its zenith.



Fig. 48. Tsarak‘ar-Maghasberd near the ruins of Ts‘aravan

⁴⁵⁸ Might there have been stalls in a relatively modest settlement? In his insightful article on medieval workshops and their benefactions, esteemed epigraphist and historian Gagik Sargsyan demonstrates that such establishments were present not only in major urban centres but also in smaller towns and settlements (G. Sargsyan, 1977, pp. 269-276). Their presence would have been entirely plausible in a town situated near a prominent commercial and economic hub such as Ani.

Part II

THE CITIZENS OF ANI

ON THE NOBLE CLANS OF ANI

During the Bagratid period, and to some extent later, Ani served as the residence for the nobility, who held various positions. Among the princely families of Ani, the Pahlavuni held a prominent position. However, there were also other clans, which for some reason were left out of attention, and their most famous representatives, often without convincing justification, were also considered Pahlavuni. It is with the intention of rectifying these inaccuracies that we have previously delved into some noble houses of Ani and their notable representatives.⁴⁵⁹ Below we present it as revised below.

It is important to acknowledge the scarcity of primary sources concerning the Armenian nobility. Historiographers typically mention princes and other nobles only in connection with significant events involving their participation or the construction of churches, with their names often preserved in building and donation inscriptions. One notable exception is the Letters (letters) of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni.

Below we examine the Pahlavuni family and its distinguished representative, Grigor Magistros, the son of Vasak, also explore the process of the Catholicos throne being passed to the Pahlavuni, beginning with prince's son Vahram (Grigor Vkeyaser – “*Gregory the Martyrophile*”).

Next, we shed light on Prince Smbat Magistros, credited with founding the Bagnair Monastery near Ani. Despite being erroneously considered the son of Vahram Pahlavuni in historiography, available evidence suggests that Smbat belonged to another family and was likely contemporary with Vahram.

We then turn our attention to the Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty and its renowned member, Grigor Apirat Magistros, son of Hasan. Often mistaken

⁴⁵⁹ K. Matevosyan, *From the History of Nobility of Ani or Three Grigor Magistrose*, Yerevan, 2015.

for Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, son of Vasak, Grigor Apirat and his generation played a significant role in Ani during the 12th century. Lastly, we provide information on another notable prince of the Bagratid period, Vest Sargis.

Additionally, we touch upon the activities of several bishops of Ani-Shirak, many of whom hailed from noble houses, outlining their contributions to the region's history to varying extents.

PAHLAVUNIS

The Pahlavuni dynasty wielded considerable influence at the court of Ani. Artak Kamsarian's son, Abulamr, who lived in the 10th century, left a lasting legacy, with subsequent members of the family often referred to as "*Abulamrenc*" in Ani. For instance, the church constructed by his son, Grigor Hamzé, in Ani was known as "*Abulamrenc* ' *St. Grigor*" during the Middle Ages⁴⁶⁰ (Col. fig. 12). The lineage, referred to as "*Pahlavuni*" (or "*Palhavuni*" in some sources), continued to thrive in later periods (more on that later). Grigor Hamzé's son, Grigor, passed away at the age of 40, leaving behind his wife, Shushan, who was 30 years old at the time.⁴⁶¹ The latter bestowed with the title of "*Tiknats* ' *tikin*," made significant donations to churches affiliated with the Pahlavunis in Ani, including the St. Grigor Church and the St. Hakob Church, also known as the church of Shushan Pahlavuni in literature.⁴⁶²

The branching of the already strengthened dynasty commenced with the three sons of Prince Grigor Hamzé: Vahram, Vasak (Holom), and Ablgharib, all of whom held prominent positions in the Kingdom of Ani. Vahram rose to become the prince of princes and later the sparapet, while Vasak, also known as the prince of princes, and Ablgharib, served as the marzpan (at that time it was a diplomatic position). Besides the mentioned ones, two of Grigor's children, Hamzé and Seda, passed away at a young age.

Father did not see his youngest child, Ablgharib, as the latter was born after his father's death, as mentioned in one of the inscriptions.⁴⁶³ In 1035 he built one of the famous churches of Ani, the St. Prkich (St. Savior), in one of which epigraphs, he mentions that as an ambassador of King Hovhannes Smbat, he went to Constantinople and from there, purchased the relic of the Holy Cross at a high price, brought it to Ani and placed it in the church (Col. fig. 13). In 1040 Ablgharib built two chapel-burial courtyards near St. Grigor Church (*Abulamrenc*) of the Pahlavuni family: St.

⁴⁶⁰ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 181.

⁴⁶¹ Letters of Grigor Magistros (G. Muradyan), "*Matenagirk* ' *Hayots*" (Armenian Classical Authors) vol. XVI, Yerevan, 2012, p. 261.

⁴⁶² CAI, I, pp. 31-32, 49.

⁴⁶³ CAI, I, p. 33.

Step'anos, for his father and mother, and St. Christopher, for his deceased sister and brother.⁴⁶⁴

Tragically, Vasak, one of Grigor Hamzé's sons, met an untimely demise in 1021. While resting on a rock after a battle with invading raids, he was mistakenly slain by Armenian peasants (who mistook him for one of the raiders). His power passed to his son, Grigor Bjnets'i, who later earned the title of magistros from the Byzantines in 1045 and became known as Grigor Magistros.

All three of these Pahlavuni figures demonstrated unwavering loyalty to the Bagratid kings. However, their relationship with Catholicos Petros during the crisis of the Bagratid kingdom from 1041 to 1045 was notably strained. Vahram Pahlavuni is conventionally regarded as the leader of the "*Patriots*" faction, while the Catholicos, along with Vest Sargis, aligned with the "*Byzantophile*" faction.⁴⁶⁵ The absence of Petros I's name in the inscriptions of the Amberd Church and Marmashen, erected by Vahram Pahlavuni in 1026 and 1229 respectively, indicates that the tensions between the prince and the Catholicos date back to earlier periods.⁴⁶⁶

Numerous scholars have extensively examined the Pahlavuni family and its distinguished members, thus, we see no need to delve into further details here. However, it is imperative to provide a comprehensive account of one of the most prominent figures of Armenian Middle Ages, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, and notably, his ambitious endeavor to transfer the Catholicos throne to the Pahlavuni family, a topic which has not received thorough scrutiny before.

Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni

Grigor Magistros stands out as one of the most prominent secular figures of medieval Armenia, renowned not only as a prince and political-military leader but also as a theologian-philosopher, teacher, writer, and translator. His multifaceted talents and comprehensive development have attracted the attention of numerous researchers. Unlike many other

⁴⁶⁴ CAI, I, pp. 33, 43-48.

⁴⁶⁵ Leo, 1963, p. 325, T. Hakobyan, 1980, p. 351, V. Vardanyan, *The Pahlavunis: the Guardians of the Armenian Statehood and Spiritual Purity*, Yerevan, 2008, p. 41, etc.

⁴⁶⁶ See this in detail: K. Matevosyan, 2015, pp. 46-49.

Armenian medieval figures whose biographies are primarily sourced from historiographical works, epigraphs, and manuscript colophons, Grigor is uniquely distinguished by the rich collection of his letters (Letters) that have survived to the present day. These letters not only shed light on various aspects of his life but also reveal his personal qualities, relationships, and approaches to diverse issues.

The exact dates of Grigor's birth and death remain uncertain in the sources, with estimations typically ranging from 990 to 1058. Similarly, details regarding his education are scarce, but it is widely believed that he was born in Ani and received an exceptional education, likely including periods of study both in Ani and Constantinople, based on historical evidence, his works and letters.

Grigor's name first emerges in historical records in 1021, notably in the detailed account of his father's passing provided by Matt'eos Urhayets'i.⁴⁶⁷ Following his father Vasak Holom's death, Grigor assumed a significant role among the nobility (freemen) of the Kingdom of Ani, alongside his elder and younger uncles, Vahram and Ablgharib. While Vasak is referred to as an "*asparapet*" by Matt'eos Urhayets'i, it is commonly understood that his elder brother Vahram held the position of sparapet of the Kingdom of Ani. It is possible that Grigor inherited this title after Vasak's demise. Notably, an undated inscription discovered near Marmashen in 2004 refers to Vasak as an "*Armenian aspet (knight)*."⁴⁶⁸ This term could be an abbreviation of "*asparapet*," suggesting a restoration of the title of the Knight of the Coronation during the final years of Ani's rule, possibly bestowed upon the Pahlavuni lineage (in the time of the Arshakunis, the Knights of the Coronation were Bagratunis). This assumption seems to be confirmed by the fact that after a while Vasak's son, Grigor Bjnets'i, becomes the one who places the crown on Gagik II.

It is noteworthy that the Pahlavunis, foremost among them the offsprings of Vasak, profoundly mourn his demise, considering him a martyr who sacrificed his life for the Christian faith. Seda, Vasak's daughter, is the first to articulate this sentiment.⁴⁶⁹ Additionally, in the 1029 inscription of the Marmashen Monastery, Vahram eulogizes his brother as "*Prince of*

⁴⁶⁷ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 16-19.

⁴⁶⁸ A. Manucharyan, *Newfound Mention with Epigraphy "Hayots' Aspet" (Armenian Knight)*, YSU Faculty of Theology, Yearbook II, Yerevan, 2007, pp. 157-158.

⁴⁶⁹ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 113.

princes, Vasak, who met a valiant end during the Turkish war."⁴⁷⁰ Subsequently, upon attaining the rank of magistros, Grigor identifies himself as the son of Vasak, referred to as "*Martiros*" (martyr).⁴⁷¹

Inheriting his father's wealth and status, Grigor embarked on a vigorous campaign, notably founding grand St. Astvatsatsin Church, in his hometown of Bjni, during the consecration of which, in 1031, under the directive of Catholicos Petros, the Bishopric of Bjni was established, encompassing a significant territorial expanse. Grigor Bjnets'i refers to himself as the "*Prince of princes*" in one of the church's inscriptions.

As noted by the first editor of the Prince's Letters, K. Kostaneants', "*the foremost position among Grigor's correspondents is held by Catholicos Petros I..., with whom Prince Pahlavuni shared a bond of special affection and esteem.*"⁴⁷²

In the tumultuous period following the deaths of the antagonistic sibling kings, Ashot and then Hovhannes Smbat, in 1041, and the ensuing turmoil gripping the Ani kingdom, Grigor Bjnets'i emerged as a central historical figure. Upon Hovhannes Smbat's demise, Prince Vest Sargis, a trustee to the king, sought to seize power. Simultaneously, the Byzantine Empire, invoking Hovhannes Smbat's testament, demanded control over Ani. Amidst this precarious situation, Vahram Pahlavuni took decisive action alongside his supporters, who, in 1042, ingeniously (likely clandestinely) transported eighteen-year-old Gagik, Ashot's son, to Ani and, after his coronation, proclaimed him the Armenian king.⁴⁷³ Historian Samvel Anets'i attests that the consecration of Gagik II (1042-1045) took place at the St. Astvatsatsin Church of Ani, conducted by Catholicos Petros.⁴⁷⁴ Additionally, Matt'eos Urhayets'i asserts that Grigor Bjnets'i officiated Gagik's coronation.⁴⁷⁵

Therefore, Vahram Pahlavuni, in his capacity as military leader and head of the dynasty, and the scholar Grigor, as the ideological inspirer and ceremonial participant, jointly crowned Gagik in an attempt to forestall the collapse of the Bagratid kingdom of Ani. During this period, Grigor Bjnets'i

⁴⁷⁰ CAI, X, p. 94.

⁴⁷¹ Letters of Grigor Magistros, p. 10.

⁴⁷² Letters of Grigor Magistros, the original with an introduction and annotations was published for the first time by K. Kostaneants', Alexandrapol, 1910, pp. 285-286.

⁴⁷³ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, pp. 57-58.

⁴⁷⁴ Samuel Anets'i and Continuators, p. 186.

⁴⁷⁵ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 96-97, Smbat Sparapet, pp. 36-37.

also quelled marauders who had infiltrated the country from the eastern flank near the Hrazdan river, leading the army in battle.⁴⁷⁶ It is plausible that his son simultaneously engaged in conflicts against the Byzantines, who encroached upon the kingdom from the western frontier, as suggested by one of Grigor's notable Letters (letter 83), a poignant poetic entreaty to repel the invaders.⁴⁷⁷

However, subsequent events unfolded unfavorably for the young king and his supporters. A formidable apparatus of Byzantine diplomacy worked against the diminutive kingdom of Ani, compounded by internal discord. Shortly after his coronation, Gagik managed to quash the revolt of Vest Sargis, who, nevertheless, later resumed his position at court. However, a conflict eventually erupted between Gagik and Grigor Bjnets'i. Although historians lack explicit details about this discord, it becomes apparent from several letters penned by Grigor in 1042-1043 to his confidant, archimandrite Sargis Anets'i. In these missives, Grigor vehemently asserts his innocence against baseless accusations and slander.⁴⁷⁸ Persecution ensued against Grigor Bjnets'i.

The resolution of this dispute remains uncertain. However, by late 1044, when Gagik, despondent and besieged by external pressures including attacks by the emir of Dvin instigated by Byzantium, was offered refuge in Constantinople (1044), circumstantial evidence suggests that Grigor Bjnets'i was in Ani and likely supported the king's decision to depart. As historical records indicate, Gagik handed over the keys of Ani to the Catholicos upon his departure for Constantinople, only to find himself stranded upon arrival, prohibited from returning home, and coerced into surrendering Ani in exchange for another city within the empire.⁴⁷⁹

Upon learning of Gagik's prohibition from returning, Ani resolves to dispatch Grigor Bjnets'i after him. Journeying to Constantinople, Grigor, known for his sagacity, takes the initiative, voluntarily surrendering the key to Bjni and his ancestral heritage to the emperor, as recounted by historian Aristakes Lastiverts'i. In recognition of his gesture, Grigor is bestowed with honors and conferred the title of magistros, along with a military

⁴⁷⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 96-99.

⁴⁷⁷ "Matenagirk' Hayots'" (Armenian Classical Authors), vol. XVI, p. 369.

⁴⁷⁸ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 330-335, Letters of Grigor Magistros, pp. 262-264, 283, 294.

⁴⁷⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 62.

appointment and new estates in the southern regions of Armenia under imperial dominion.⁴⁸⁰

This strategic move by Grigor Magistros can be elucidated by several factors. Firstly, it reflects a pragmatic assessment of the prevailing political climate, recognizing the futility of continued resistance. Grigor's conciliatory gesture appeases the emperor, offering an alternative to Gagik's obstinacy, which may have yielded unexpected benefits. Secondly, a likely motive was the unresolved conflict with Gagik and his earlier persecution and despondency, which the astute prince could not easily overlook. This presented an opportunity for political retribution, which a shrewd figure like Grigor would not let slip away. Thirdly, a justification could be derived from Grigor's consideration for the members of his clan, particularly Vahram Pahlavuni, who had previously vanquished the Byzantines on numerous occasions and played a pivotal role in Gagik's ascension to the throne. Under new circumstances, Vahram could have become a target for Byzantine retribution. Grigor's actions forestalled this potential bloodshed, ensuring Vahram's continued command of the Armenian forces remaining in the city following the Byzantine arrival.

Subsequent events unfolded as follows: despite initial resistance, Ani, bereft of an heir, fell under imperial rule in 1045. Through the emperor's benevolence, Gagik was granted some estates.⁴⁸¹ Grigor Magistros, upon returning to Armenia, specifically Taron, emerged as the preeminent Armenian prince, wielding substantial authority in the country and enjoying the confidence of the Byzantines.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

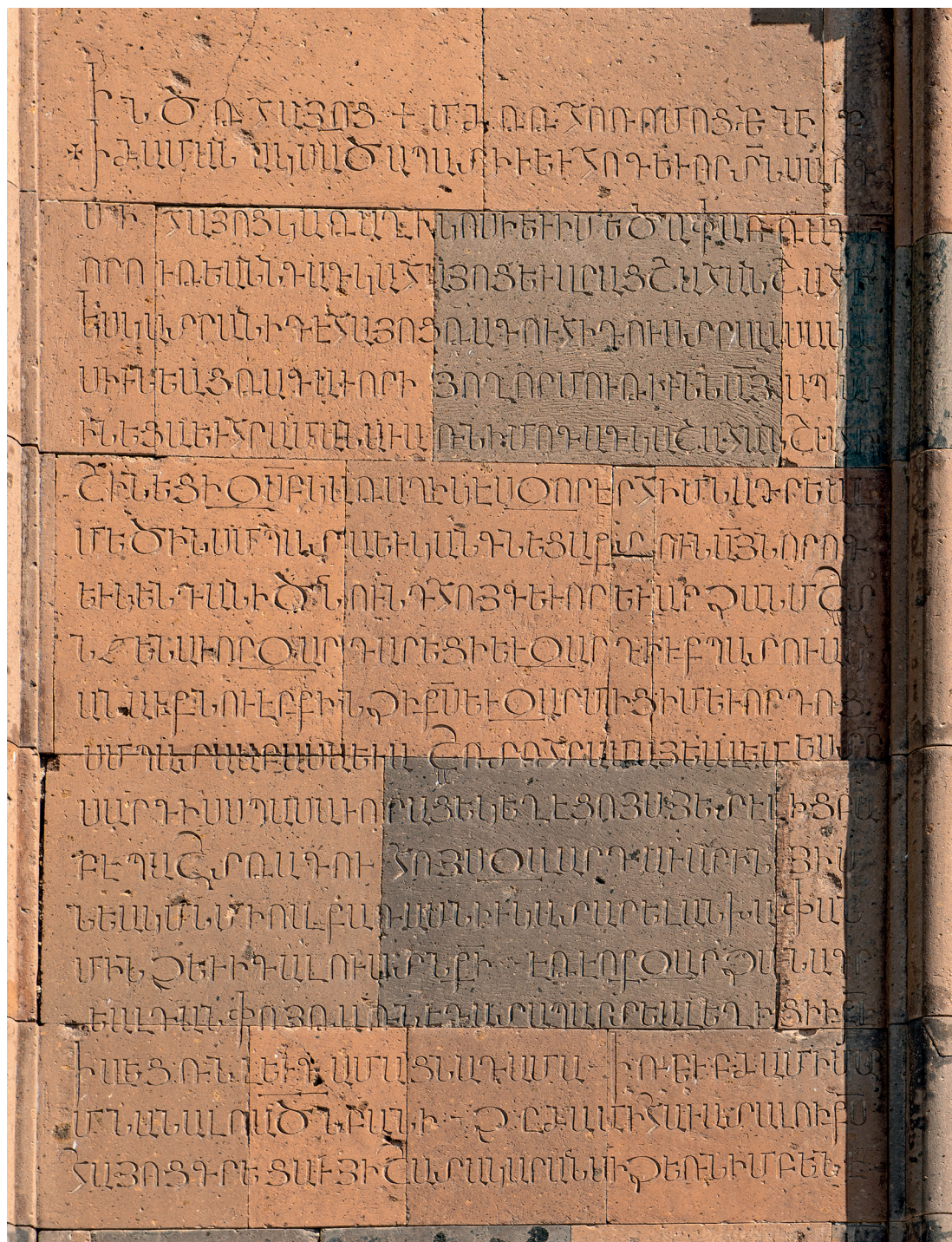
⁴⁸¹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 63.



1. Cathedral of Ani (Katoghiké),
1001 (photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2016)



2. Cathedral of Ani and, on the southeast side, the foundations of St. Hripsimyan's Church, featuring a cross-shaped plan (photograph by Gevorg Petrosyan, 2021)



3. Building inscription of the Cathedral of Ani
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2016)



a.



b.

4. Ancient district Nerkin Berd (Inner fortress) (Aghjkaberd) on the southern side of Ani: a. The Akhuryan river surrounding the rocky promontory; b. Nerkin Berd (Inner fortress) and the elevated citadel (Verin (Upper) fortress), (photographs by Ibrahim Süleymanoğlu, 2018)



5. Inner fortress, with Zakaré's Church at its center, and the citadel (Verin (Upper) fortress), with the Palace Church at its core



6. Palace Church of the Citadel
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



7. Dvin Gate of Ani, with the Cathedral visible in the distance
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



8. Western part of the Smbatian walls with a cross-decorated rampart
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



9. Cross-decorated walls from Tsaghkots‘adzor
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



10. Bridge of Ani on the Akhuryan river
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



11. The axis of the bridge of Ani was adjusted to the position of the Cathedral, which can be seen at the summit (photograph by Sasun Danielyan, 2017)



12. Abughamrents' St. Gregory Church of Ani
(photograph by Gevorg Petrosyan, 2018)



13. St. Saviour Church of Ani
(photograph by Gevorg Petrosyan, 2018)



14. Gagkashen St. Gregory Church of Ani
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



15. Manuch'ê's Mosque of Ani
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



16. Narthex of St. Arakelots' Church of Ani
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



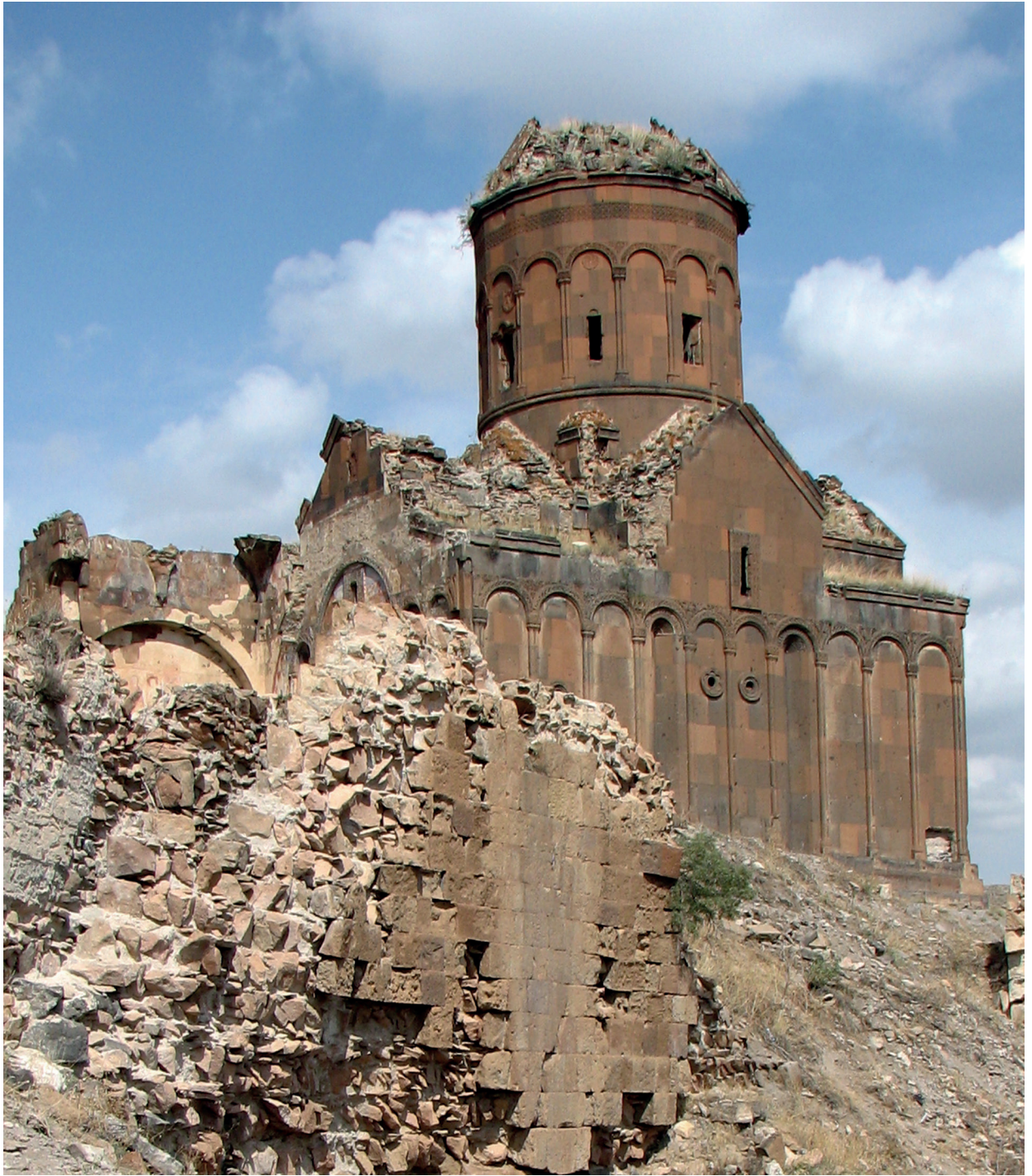
17. Part of the ceiling of the narthex of St. Arakelots' Church of Ani
(photograph by Gevorg Petrosyan, 2018)



18. Zakaré's church in the Inner fortress of Ani
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



19. Section of Bun Street in Ani, featuring rows of workshop-stalls, with the Cathedral visible in the distance (photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



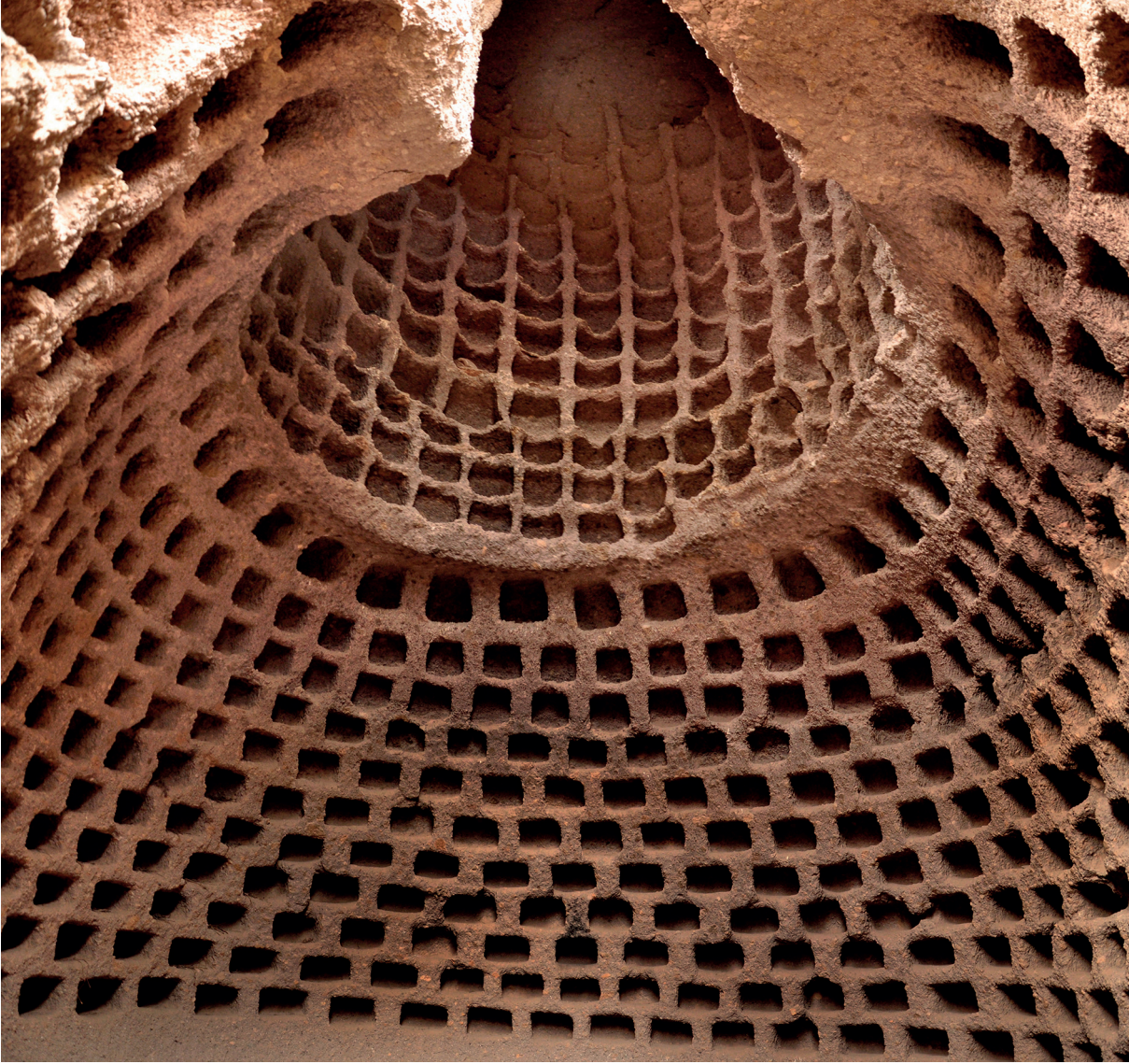
20. St. Gregory the Illuminator Church, built by Tigran Honents' in Ani
(photograph by Suren Nersisyan, 2007)



21. “Kusanats’ Monastery” of Ani
(photograph by Suren Nersisyan, 2007)



22. Paron's Palace of Ani
(photographs by İbrahim Süleymanoğlu, 2018)



23. Dovecote in the rock-cut section of Ani
(photographs by Ibrahim Süleymanoğlu, 2018)



24. St. Hovhannes Church of Horomos and the narthex,
viewed from the north (photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



25. Bas-relief of the dome in the narthex of Horomos, 1038
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



26. Holy Trinity Church of Bagnair
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



27. Section of the roof from the narthex of Bagnair
(photographs by Samvel Karapetyan, 2009)



a.



b.

28. Tignis fortress: a. Participants of the “Ani in Context” international workshop, from left to right: Karen Matevosyan, Felix Ter-Martirosov, Ashot Manucharyan, Armen Ghazaryan; b. The ruins of the fortress (photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



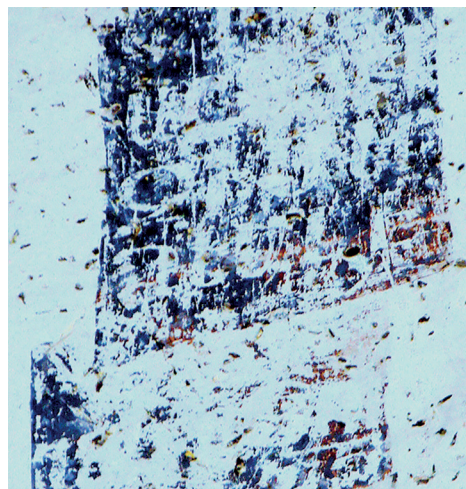
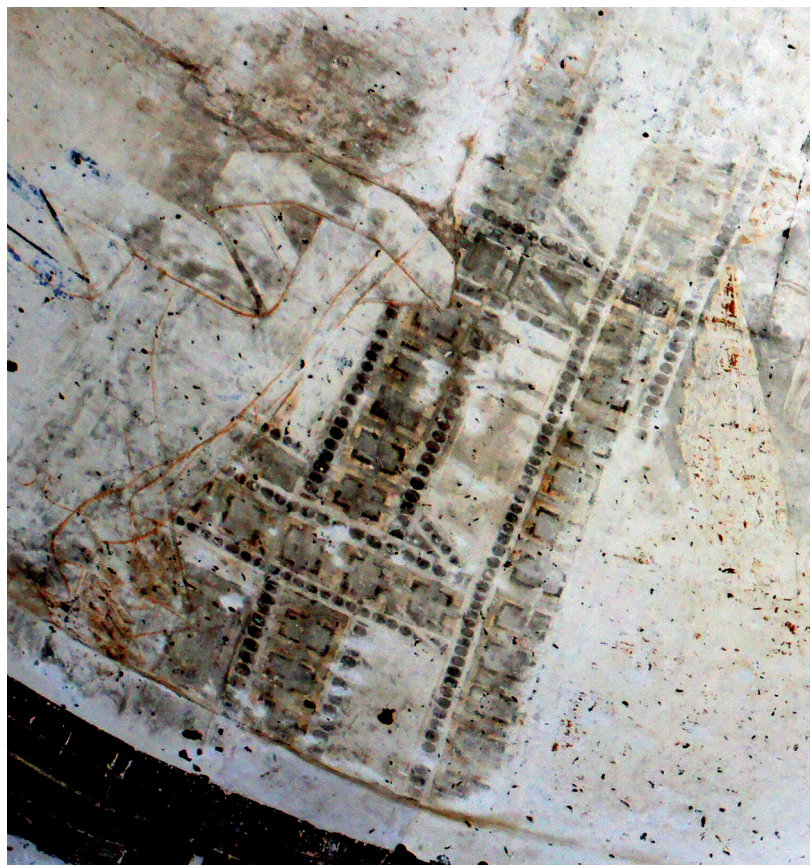
29. Section of the northern wall of Tignis fortress
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



30. Fortification walls of Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



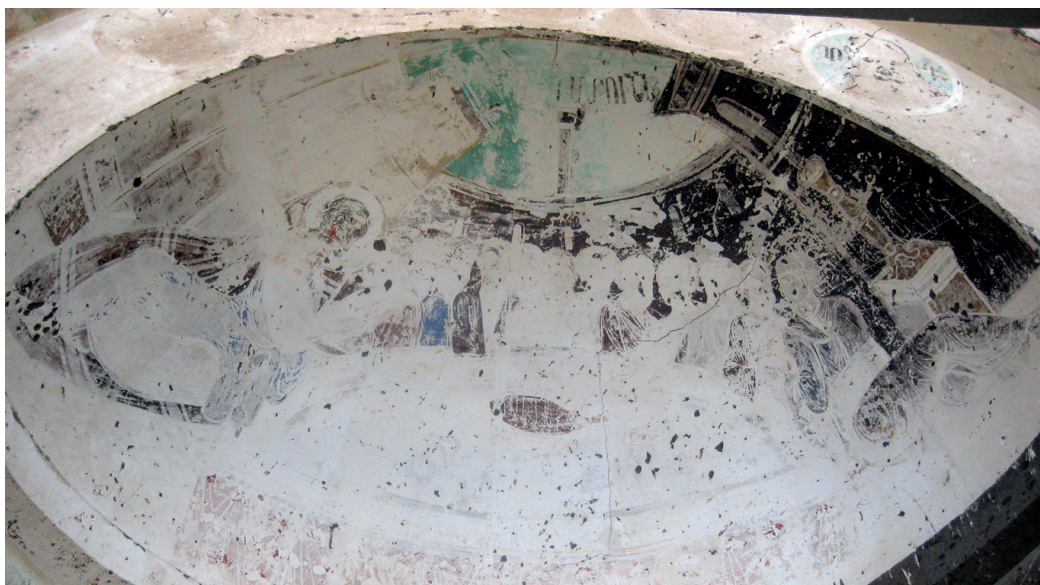
31. Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd viewed from the side of Ts'aravan
(photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



32. Fragments of the mural of the Cathedral of Ani: a. Fragment of Christ's ornate throne,
 b. The head of an ox from the animals of the tetramorphic throne,
 c. A fragment of the Armenian painted inscription (photographs by Christina Maranci, 2019)



33. The mural-decorated senior altar of St. Gevorg Church in Horomos
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



a.



b.

34. Fragments of the mural painting of St. Saviour Church of Ani: a. Last Supper, b. Harrowing of Hell (photographs by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



35. The image of Sargis Parshik in the mural of St. Saviour Church
(photograph by Karen Matevosyan, 2013)



36. The mural-decorated senior altar of the St. Gregory the Illuminator Church built by Tigran Honents' in Ani



a.



b.

37. a. Part of the mural of the church built by Tigran Honents'. The Armenian king Trdat III with the kings of Iberia and Abkhazia. b. A part of the murals depicting the life of St. Gregory the Illuminator



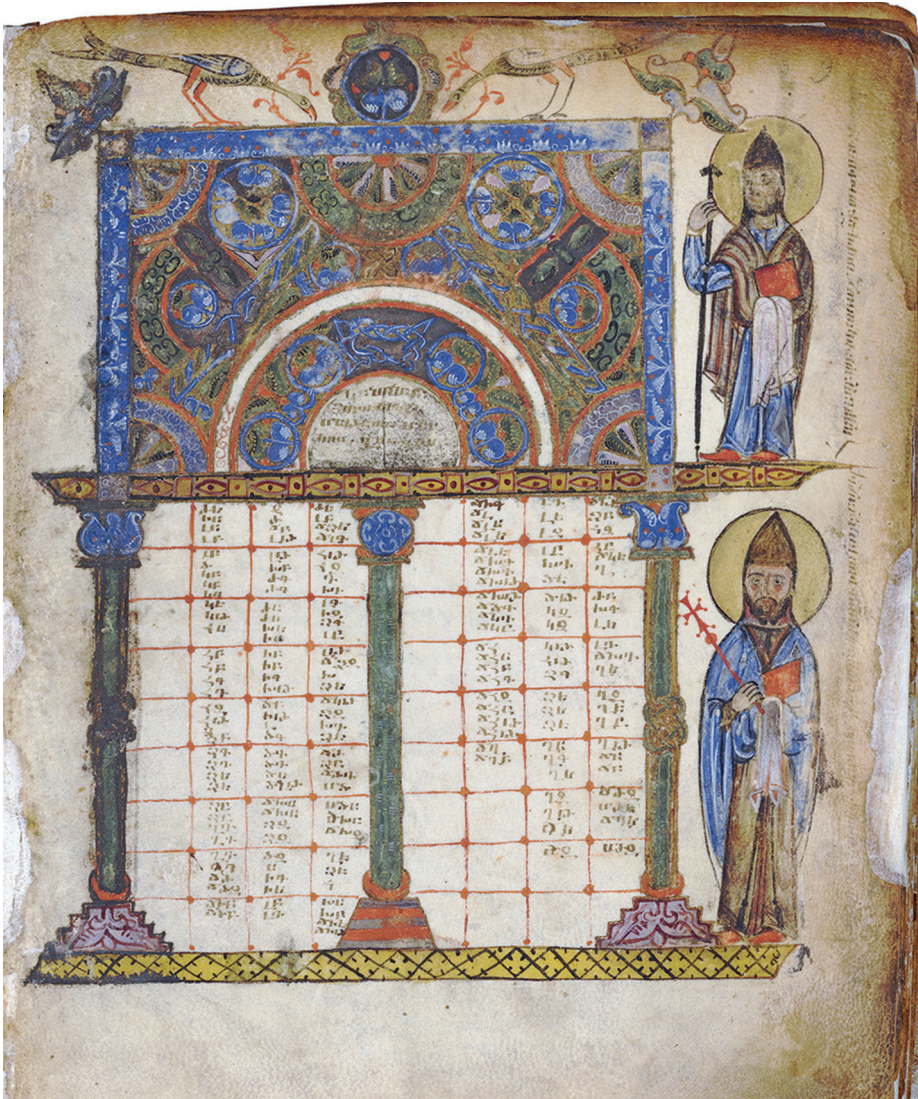
38. Tigran Honents' family rock-cut graveyard in Ani's Tsaghkots'adzor (photograph by Hrayr Baze Khacheryan, 2013)



39. Fragments of the 13th century mural of Kh'ach'ut (Bakh'tagh'ek) church of Ani in the Hermitage exhibition (photograph by Satenik Vardanyan)



40. Altar, in the margin: Sheranik and “cupbearer,”
 miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, “Gospel of Haghbat”
 (Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 8v)



41. Altar, in the margin: Yeghbayrik, abbot of Bekhents' monastery, and Abraham, miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, "Gospel of Haghbat" (Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 9r)



42. Altar, “musician” in the margin,
miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, “Gospel of Haghbat”
(Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 15r)



43. John the Evangelist and Prokhoron,
miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, "Gospel of Haghbat"
(Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 278v)



44. Dedicatory: priest Sahak and his brother Arak'el, miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, "Gospel of Haghbat" (Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 17r)



45. Entry into Jerusalem,
miniaturist Margaré, Ani, 1211, "Gospel of Haghbat"
(Matenadaran, Ms 6288, p. 16v)



46. Birth, miniaturist Ignatios, Horomos, 1236,
 "Gospel of Khts'konk'"
 (New Julfa, Ms 36, p. 2r)



47. Mark the Evangelist and the receivers; Brnavor and Tghatikin, miniaturist Ignatios, Horomos, 1236, "Gospel of Khts'konk'" (New Julfa, Ms 36, p. 124v)



48. The title page of Mark's Gospel, scribe and miniaturist Ignatius, Horomos, 1232, "Gospel of Bagnair" (Matenadaran, Ms 1519, p. 29r)

The Transition of the Catholicosol Throne to the Pahlavunis

An intriguing episode in the annals of the Armenian Church is intricately linked with the endeavors of Grigor Magistros, particularly when the Catholicosol throne passed to the Pahlavuni family and the first scion to ascend to this exalted position was Grigor's son, Vahram, who assumed the name Grigor upon his ordination and later acquired the epithet "*Vkayaser*" (Martyrophile) (1066-1105).⁴⁸² Following his elevation, notable alterations transpired in the succession of Armenian Catholicos. The catholicosol throne, traditionally regarded as hereditary, became associated with the Pahlavuni lineage, with subsequent incumbents (following Martyrophile, being linked to this family maternally). Asserting descent from the inaugural Armenian patriarch, St. Gregory the Illuminator, the Pahlavunis began occupying the catholicosol throne on the basis of inheritance, a trend that endured for approximately one hundred and fifty years.

However, this progression had its antecedents, originating in the 20-40s of the 11th century, when members of the Pahlavuni dynasty, wielding considerable influence in the Kingdom of Ani, spearheaded a concerted campaign to assume control of the catholicosol throne. Both direct and indirect evidence suggests that the impetus for this initiative stemmed from prominent figures within the Kingdom of Ani, namely Sparapet Vahram Pahlavuni and his brother, Governor Ablgharib, with the primary architect and executor of the scheme being Ablgharib's nephew, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni. This aspiration germinated during the tenure of Petros I and was catalyzed by a crisis within the church.

While direct historical testimonies are lacking, related evidence offers insights into these developments. For instance, in 1029, Vahram, in an expansive building inscription at Marmashen, identifies himself as: "*I – Vahram, Prince of Princes and the antipat patrick, the son of Prince Grigor of Greater Armenia, from the Pahlavuni clan, and a descendant of St. Gregory, the Illuminator of Armenians...*"⁴⁸³ Such a proclamation would have been regarded as remarkable for its time, given the prevailing emphasis

⁴⁸² About the activities of the Catholicos, see V. Torosyan, *The Authority of the Armenian Catholicate (mid XI century – early XII century)*, Yerevan, 2018, pp. 23-148.

⁴⁸³ CAI, X, p. 94.

on dynastic and hereditary entitlements, implying an overt assertion of the dynasty's claim to the catholicosol throne. Similarly, marzpan Ablgharib, in an undated donation inscriptions at Sanahin, delineates his lineage as: "*I – Ablgharib, marzipan of Armenia, from the Pahlavuni clan, from the house of Arsacids...*"⁴⁸⁴

In 1045, Grigor, already holding the title of magistros, is for the first time referred to as Pahlavuni in the preface to his work, penned during his sojourn in Constantinople.⁴⁸⁵ By 1051, in the inscription at the Kech'aris Monastery, Grigor Magistros begins identifying himself as Arshakuni.⁴⁸⁶ This identification is corroborated by his seal, the Greek inscription of which translates to: "*God, help your servant Arshakuni Grigor Magistros, chamberlain, Duke of Vaspurakan and Taron.*"⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, in a letter penned in 1046 to Metropolitte Hovhannes of Syunik (letter 11), Grigor Magistros once again underscores his lineage, tracing it back to Gregory the Illuminator and his successor, Catholicos Sahak Part'ev.⁴⁸⁸

Thus, instead of the title "*prince of princes, son of Vasak*" that he held when he was the owner of Bjni, Grigor's series of titles not only expanded after receiving the honor of magistracy, but also emphasized the family names of Pahlavuni and Arshakuni.

As previously mentioned, following the capture of Ani, the Byzantines initiate the dissolution of the local Catholicate. As aptly articulated by historian Vardan Arevelts'i, the Byzantines annulled the two thrones of Ani, namely the catholicosol and royal thrones.⁴⁸⁹ Upon the demise of Catholicos Petros, exiled to Sebastia in 1054, the mantle of leadership passed to Khach'ik Anets'i, who had previously undergone catholicosol consecration. However, the Byzantines barred him from returning to his homeland, and upon his demise in 1065, they obstructed the election of a new Catholicos. According to one chronicle, the last king of Kars, Gagik Abasian, relinquished his kingdom to Byzantium in exchange for permission to elect

⁴⁸⁴ Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions, vol. 9, compiled by S. Barkhudayan, K. Ghafadaryan, S. Saghumyan, Yerevan, 2012, p. 28.

⁴⁸⁵ Letters of Grigor Magistros, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁸⁶ G. Hovsepian, *The Khaghbakians or Proshians in Armenian History*, p. 312.

⁴⁸⁷ See Letters of Grigor Magistros, p. 85, ft. 4.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 259, 261-262. The Catholicos of the Assyrians also called Grigor Arshakuni (Ibid., p. 192).

⁴⁸⁹ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 104.

a Catholicos.⁴⁹⁰ Other sources also mention the efforts of his daughter Mariam in this endeavor.

It is noteworthy that a characteristic feature of this era was the pervasive atmosphere of anticipation regarding the End of the World, coinciding with the 1000th anniversary of the crucifixion of Christ, which profoundly influenced Christian believers from common folk to royalty. New prognostications of the imminent apocalypse supplemented existing ones. Particularly notable is the example of King Vaspurakan Senek'erim, who became consumed with various prophecies. As the invasion of Turkic tribes loomed, he descended into despondency, meticulously scrutinizing the predictions of prophets and teachers. Convinced of divine predestination, he resolved to cede his land to the Byzantines and relocate to Sebastia.⁴⁹¹

Some time, after that, in Ani, amidst a political crisis, exacerbated by a double solar eclipse and an earthquake, perceived as harbingers of imminent misfortune, the court seeks counsel from Archimandrite Hovhannes Kozern from Taron, who resided at Sevanavank'. The princes who left Ani, among whom was Grigor, witnessed the archimandrite crying, thrown to the ground, then he sets out his ominous predictions (that the fetters of the devil were removed, etc.).

Central to Armenian prophetic tradition is the vision of Sahak Part'ev (387-436 AD), the last Catholicos of the lineage of Gregory the Illuminator. This prophecy, aside from foretelling future calamities, predicts the demise of the Arsacid kingdom and the patriarchate of Gregory the Illuminator, however, it also prophesies the restoration of an Arsacid clan to the throne and the ascension of a descendant of Gregory the Illuminator to the Catholicos throne.⁴⁹²

Grigor Magistros was undoubtedly acquainted with this prophecy, as evidenced by his reference to it in one of his programmatic letters (letter 18), addressed to the archimandrite Sargis Anets'i. Grigor notes that although it seems that the end of the world is near, according to the prophecy of Daniel, the vision of Sahak (Isaac) Part'ev or the lamentation of Movses Khorenats'i, he made every effort he could to preserve the unity of the country.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ G. Hovsepian, 1951, p. 419.

⁴⁹¹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 54-57.

⁴⁹² Ghazar P'arpets'i, *History of the Armenians*, "Matenagirk' Hayots'" (Armenian Classical Authors) vol. II, Ant'ilias, 2003, pp. 22-32.

⁴⁹³ Letters of Grigor Magistros, pp. 296-297.

After 1045, Armenia found itself grappling with a vastly altered reality: the kingdom had collapsed in Ani, the Catholicos was expelled and isolated, and the noble army disbanded. The grim teleological forecasts appeared to be materializing. However, Grigor Magistros remained steadfast in his belief in the realization of Sahak Part'ev's vision – the emergence of a new Catholicos from the Pahlavuni family – and endeavored to contribute to its fulfillment.

Notably, within Grigor Magistros' letters, there is a brief message to his son: "*To his son, Vest Vahram*" (letter 84). This acrostic comprises seven lengthy lines, with the first six combining to form the initials of the name VAHRAM. Its content consists of words of commendation and guidance. The final line serves as Grigor Magistros's testament to his son: "*I ask you never forget our tradition... and so that the light of our ancestor's lamp does not go out, I am talking about your grandfather Part'ev (Gregory the Illuminator).*"⁴⁹⁴

These words carry a profound significance, as they epitomize the imperative to uphold and continue the legacy of Gregory the Illuminator, symbolized by the eternal flame of his lamp – a metaphor for leadership in the Armenian Catholicate. While Vahram may have taken his father's wish into consideration, there is evidence to suggest that he may not have been initially inclined to exchange his princely attire for the religious garb of the Catholicos. Remarkable accounts shed light on Vahram's ascension to the Patriarchal chair, revealing that he was "*repressed,*" implying coercion into assuming the Catholicos throne.⁴⁹⁵ In another more detailed source, Mariam, the daughter of King Gagik Abasian of Kars, acts as the organizer and mastermind of this event: "*Mariam searched and found Grigoris, the son of Grigor Magistros from the Pahlavuni family. Leaving his native (princely) honor, he followed religiosity, and was forcibly, with numerous requests, put on the seat of the Catholicos.*"⁴⁹⁶

From these accounts, it becomes apparent that Grigor Magistros meticulously laid the groundwork for Vahram-Grigor to ascend to the position of Catholicos. Approximately ten years following his father's passing (Grigor Magistros died in 1056 or 1058), Vahram succumbed to the public demand, assuming the role of Catholicos in 1066 and adopting the

⁴⁹⁴ Letters of Grigor Magistros, p. 312.

⁴⁹⁵ Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, p. 191. The information is from Matenadaran, Ms. 3613.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 190. The information is from Venice, Ms. 959.

name Grigor upon his consecration. He thus became the second Catholicos to bear that name after Gregory the Illuminator. The ecclesiastical justification for what happened was formulated in a peculiar way by Matt'eos Urhayets'i, writing: *"The Holy Spirit informed him (Vahram - K. M.) to sit on the throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator, his ancestor..."*⁴⁹⁷

In this context, the colophon of Gregory the Martyrophile in 1077 is particularly intriguing, seemingly conveying a response to his father's legacy. In this colophon, Grigor asserts his lineage and justifies his ecclesiastical stewardship, declaring: *"...I – Grigoris, the son of Grigor Magistros, by the mercy of the great God, was awarded the throne of my grandfather, Saint Gregory, according to the predictive vision of Saint Sahak."*⁴⁹⁸ This was a brilliant fulfillment of Grigor Magistros's aspiration and his paternal guidance.

Thus, following the fall of the Ani kingdom and the expulsion of the Catholicate, Grigor Magistros's endeavors facilitated the transfer of the catholicosal seat to the Pahlavuni dynasty. However, after the passing of Magistros's son, Gregory the Martyrophile, the catholicosal seat transitioned exclusively through the maternal line of the Pahlavunis (descendants of Magistros's daughters), who occupied the chair in Hromkla, east of Cilicia. This hereditary succession within the Pahlavuni dynasty persisted until the early 13th century.

New Pahlavunis in Ani

The Pahlavuni lineage, which wielded considerable influence in Ani during the Bagratid era, gradually receded into obscurity for various reasons. Information about the direct descendants of Vahram Pahlavuni's sons, Grigor and Abulamr, as well as the marzpan Ablgharib, is scant. Grigor Magistros's family relocated to Taron and Mesopotamia; one of his sons, Vahram, ascended to the position of Catholicos (Gregory the Martyrophile), while Vasak assumed the role of Duke of Antioch (where he met his demise as a result of a conspiracy). One of Grigor Magistros's daughters married Vasak, the son of Grigor Apirat Magistros, and only their descendants later

⁴⁹⁷ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 168.

⁴⁹⁸ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 109.

rose to prominence in Ani during the Shaddadid period. However, male-line descendants of the Pahlavunis are conspicuously absent from Ani between the mid-11th and late 12th centuries.

From the early 13th century onwards, when Ani had already come under the rule of the Zak'arians, a new dynasty emerged in the city, whose members claimed descent from Vahram Pahlavuni. Notably, Bishop Grigor and Gharib (Kharip') Magistros undertook the restoration of the Marmashen Monastery, originally founded by Vahram Pahlavuni. In a comprehensive inscription dated 1225, etched on the walls of the Cathedral undergoing repairs, they proudly assert their tribal lineage. The inscription reveals that the Marmashen Monastery had fallen into disrepair during the Seljuk rule, with some even converting the main church into living quarters. The epigraph, in particular, says that the church was repaired "*by the hands of the sons of Abulamr Magistros, Archbishop Grigor and my relative Kharip', grandchildren of Prince of Princes Vahram, from the lineage of St. Gregory.*"⁴⁹⁹ Subsequently, the inscription details the condition of the ruins, describing how the monastery had been repurposed into a village, with inhabitants residing within the church premises, who were displaced, leading to efforts to restore the monastery to its former grandeur and splendor. The inscription also documents numerous donations made to the monastery, including the St. Step'anos Church and its congregation in Ani, which were placed under the authority of Marmashen.⁵⁰⁰

The data suggest that if the purported dynasty had wielded influence in 12th-century Ani, the Marmashen Monastery, founded by Vahram Pahlavuni, would not have fallen into such neglect. It is conceivable that the rise of this new dynasty commenced shortly after the Zak'arians assumed control of Ani (1198), as indicated by their acknowledgment of the Zak'arians as their masters at the outset of the inscription. The latter part of the inscription commemorates the passing of Gharib ("*Kharip' Magistros*") and his interment at Marmashen.⁵⁰¹

Further details about Archbishop Grigor shed light on his significance. Presumably born in the 1180s, he is first mentioned in the Arjoarich

⁴⁹⁹ CAI, X, p. 95.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 95-96. Gharib Magister died in 1225 in August in the Garni battle against the troops of Shah Jalal ad-Din of Khorezm, where the Armenian-Georgian army led by At'abek Ivané was defeated.

Monastery in 1213 (*"Son of Aubghamr, Grigor"*).⁵⁰² Subsequently, he is mentioned in Bagnair in 1215, where he left a regulatory inscription referred to as *"our own covenant."*⁵⁰³ By 1216, another inscription from Ani indicates that Grigor had assumed the position of bishop of Ani and Shirak (Grigor I, in the bishops' list of Ani).⁵⁰⁴ In this inscription, etched on the wall of the Episcoposal church of the city, St. Arak'elots, he abolishes the *"soul tax"* imposed for the benefit of the episcopal seat for the deceased, amounting to 11 drams. Notably, he identifies himself as *"Grigor, son of Abulamr, the heir of my own native seat of Ani, the archbishop of this province."*⁵⁰⁵ Here he clearly emphasizes that he is the *"heir"* of the seat of Ani, which he calls *"his own"* and *"native."* He uses similar wording in a number of other inscriptions.⁵⁰⁶ None of the 12th-century bishops of Ani, who were of the Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty, ever emphasized their *"hereditary right"* in this way.

Evidently, by the early 13th century, Ani's episcopal authority was divided between two vicars: the elder, Sargis, son of Apirat (from the Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty), and the younger, Grigor, son of Abulamr.⁵⁰⁷ Probably after the death of Sargis (presumably in the 20s of the 13th century) Grigor finally and completely *"inherited"* the seat of Ani.

Bishop Grigor might not need to be addressed in such detail, because our material is about the nobility, but this figure was also married, had heirs both secular and ecclesiastical, and, following his brother's passing, likely assumed the appellation Grigor Magistros, possibly in a bid to amalgamate ecclesiastical and secular prerogatives. Let us see what the facts are about this.

The 1232 colophon of the *"Bagnair Gospel"* records its donation to the Bagnair Monastery, specifying that it was donated to *"... a place with the authority of Grigor, who is called Magistros and is the bishop of the seat of Ani."*⁵⁰⁸ Subsequently, in 1233, a donation inscription from Bagnair also mentions his father's name: *"A place under the rule of Grigor Magistros, son of Abulamr."*⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰² N. Sargisian, op. cit., p. 190.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 183.

⁵⁰⁴ K. Matevosyan, 1997, p. 110.

⁵⁰⁵ CAI, I, p. 14.

⁵⁰⁶ CAI, X, p. 70, CAI, I, p. 18.

⁵⁰⁷ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 73-81, 102.

⁵⁰⁸ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XII century, p. 179.

⁵⁰⁹ N. Sargisian, op. cit., p. 185.

The identity of Abulamr's son, Grigor Magistros, is further confirmed in an inscription from 1239 by Barsegh, son of Amir Erkat', the new bishop of Ani. This inscription stipulates that St. Step'anos Church, along with its congregation, should be under the jurisdiction of the Marmashen Monastery, as it was previously overseen by Grigor Magistros, who is interred there alongside his brother Gharib (Kharip').⁵¹⁰

As previously noted, in the 1225 inscription at Marmashen, it was Bishop Grigor who placed St. Step'anos Church of Ani under the authority of that monastery. His brother Gharib was buried there, and Grigor himself was laid to rest in Marmashen, where his tombstone still stands, confirming his lineage as the son of Abulamr and the grandson of Vahram.⁵¹¹ Therefore, the Grigor Magistros mentioned in the 1239 Ani inscription is none other than Archbishop Grigor, the son of Abulamr.

In the inscription on his tombstone, the phrase "*grandson of Vahram*" is interpreted to mean "*offspring*," signifying Grigor's descent from Vahram Pahlavuni. Notably, Grigor's eldest son, Abulamr, also underscores this lineage. In a 1262 inscription, he identifies himself as the son of the Magistros and leaving aside the name of his immediate grandfather Abulamr, emphasizes his status as the grandson of Prince Vahram, that is, he is a descendant of Vahram Pahlavuni.⁵¹²

Despite being a high-ranking clergyman, Bishop Grigor was married, a common practice at the time.⁵¹³ He had three children named Abulamr, Sargis and Vahram, the second of whom became Bishop of Ani,⁵¹⁴ and the other two are referred to as "*prince*." Interestingly, when mentioning their father's name in inscriptions, Grigor's sons simply refer to themselves as "*son of Magistros*" (without specifying the name Grigor). We see this both in Bishop Sargis II in Ani⁵¹⁵ and in the inscriptions of his brother Abulamr, in 1261 and 1262, in Bagnair⁵¹⁶ and Marmashen.⁵¹⁷ In the 1262 inscription

⁵¹⁰ CAI, I, p. 17.

⁵¹¹ CAI, X, p. 103.

⁵¹² K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 171, N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 188.

⁵¹³ See Mkh'it'ar Gosh, *The Lowcode*, (with diligence of Kh. T'orosyan), Yerevan, 1975, pp. 50, 320.

⁵¹⁴ Kirakos Gandzakets'i, p. 310.

⁵¹⁵ CAI, I, p. 19.

⁵¹⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 186, 188.

⁵¹⁷ CAI, X, p. 98.

of the latter, has been preserved the name of his mother, that is, the wife of Bishop (Magistros) Grigor I, Mamk'an.⁵¹⁸

The aforementioned facts suggest that Archbishop Grigor, who has been documented in the monasteries of Ani and its surroundings since 1213, likely adopted the name Grigor Magistros in the later stages of his life, possibly after the passing of his brother Gharib Magistros (1225).⁵¹⁹ It is worth noting that, similar to Gharib and Grigor, the term "*Magistros*" appended to their names no longer carried the connotation of a recognized Byzantine title, but rather symbolized the highest nobility. By incorporating "*Magistros*" into their names, these brothers sought to underscore their affiliation with the Pahlavuni dynasty, perhaps also invoking the prestige associated with Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni.

Bishop Hovhannes of Ani, from the late 13th century to the early 14th century, was the son of Bishop Grigor I (Magistros)'s son, Abułamr. In inscriptions dating to 1308 and 1313, he is mentioned with reverence, and his lineage is traced back to Grigor the Illuminator.⁵²⁰

Another notable figure of this new Pahlavuni dynasty named Zak'aria is remembered as the "*hejub*" (chamberlain, house supervisor) of Shahnshah II in Ani, whose wife, Khorishah, was the sister of Shahnshah. In the 1313 colophon, Zak'aria is called "*Pahlavuni, a brave and fine warrior*."⁵²¹

Hence, the involvement of the Pahlavuni and the subsequent new Pahlavuni dynasty in Ani spans from the mid-10th century to the early 14th century. It is remarkable that the desire to preserve the Pahlavuni patronymic persisted into the 17th century. In particular, it is known that the children of a certain Abraham Pahlavuni, Trdat and Anna, in a 1690 Synaxarion (Haysmavurk'), (Matenadaran, Ms. 7442, pp. 280-283) made the history-colophon of the Crimean Armenians written, noting that their ancestors were from Ani.

⁵¹⁸ K. Basmadjian, 1931, p. 171.

⁵¹⁹ In these three years (1232, 1233, 1239) the mention of a figure named Grigor Magistros has led some researchers to assume that there was such a person as "*Prince Shirak*" (H. Acharyan, Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names, vol. I, p. 574, G. Hovsepian, *The Khaghbakians or Proshians in Armenian History*, Ant'iliias, 1969, p. 8).

⁵²⁰ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV, vol. I, pp. 148, 235.

⁵²¹ Ibid., pp. 235-236.

Smbat Magistros and His Noble House

Among the princely houses of the Bagratid period of Ani, particularly during the time of Gagik I, there was one that was identified with the Pahlavunis, but the study shows that it is different. In particular, prince Smbat Magistros, the founder of the Bagnair Monastery, was considered the eldest son of Vahram Pahlavuni, but the examination of the primary sources reveals that Vahram did not have a son named Smbat and Smbat Magistros is a representative of a completely different princely house. Let us try to find out the reality and present the available data about the princely house of Smbat.

Only two facts are known about Smbat Magistros. The first is that he led the 6000 troops of Ani's kingdom with two other generals, Vahram Pahlavuni and Ashot Marzpan, as part of the joint Armenian-Georgian army that went against the Muslims in 998 near the village of Tsumb, and the second is that in 1010 he built the Bagnair Monastery nearby Ani.

Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik, who completed his *"Universal History"* in 1004, writes about the fact that Mamlan Amir attacked with a huge army the Taik' principality of Davit Kouropalatēs, and the latter turned to the Armenian and Georgian kings with a request for help. Gagik I Bagratuni allocated six thousand soldiers, who were led by three generals. Later, an interpolation was made in that section of history, which partially changed its content, and it was in that changed form in the 1885 and 2011 editions of the book.⁵²² In the ancient manuscript of the *"History"* of Asoghik copied in the Ani period by the scribe Yohan kept in Matenadaran (Matenadaran, Ms. 2865), next to the author's original, we see a later marginal note about Marmashen and Bagnair, which the later writers introduced into the original and created a reason for confusion. Let us see what Asoghik actually wrote: *"And Gagik separated a 6,000-strong regiment from the entire Armenian army, selected and well-armed, handing it over to prince Vahram, the son of Grigor, and Smbat Magistros, the son of Vahram, and Ashot Marzpan)."* To the right of this section, in the margin, there is a small letter addition consisting of seven short lines, equal to Vahram's name: *"...of Pahlavuni who built Marmashen. Who built*

⁵²² Asoghik, p. 270, Step'anos Taronets'i' Asoghik, *Universal History*, (the original prepared by G. Manukyan), "Matenagirk' Hayots'" (or Armenian Classical Authors), v. XV, 10th c., book II, Yerevan, 2011, p. 818.

Bgner”⁵²³ (Fig. 49). With that the author of the note, scribe Yohan, who lived at the beginning of the 13th century, wanted to add the facts known to him that Vahram Pahlavuni built the Marmashen Monastery, and Smbat Magistros built the Bagnair Monastery, so he separated the two data with a full stop. But the later copyists introduced those lines as a unified thought into the original, from which it turns out that Vahram built both Marmashen and Bagair. Meanwhile, historian Samvel Anets’i has a clear testimony about Bagnair being built by Smbat Magistros.

If Smbat Magistros was the son of Vahram Pahlavuni, the historian would not have repeated his name, but would have mentioned prince Vahram and his son, Smbat Magistros. However, the historian knew his contemporaries well. Describing the details of the battle, he notes. that since the Armenian and Georgian armies were not led by kings, each clan went into battle independently: “...each one fought, roaring like a lion, according to their clan and regimental seniority.”⁵²⁴ This also shows that when listing the commanders of the battle, the historian distinguished them according to their clans: Vahram is the son of Grigor, and Smbat Magistros from another lineage is naturally the son of another Vahram.

Vahram Pahlavuni’s two children, Grigor and Apulamr, are mentioned in epigraphic and bibliographic sources. Grigor was probably the eldest, because he was named after his grandfather. It was assumed that he had a serious illness, because Apulamr made a donation to the Arak’elots’ Church of Ani in 1031 for his brother’s health and longevity.⁵²⁵

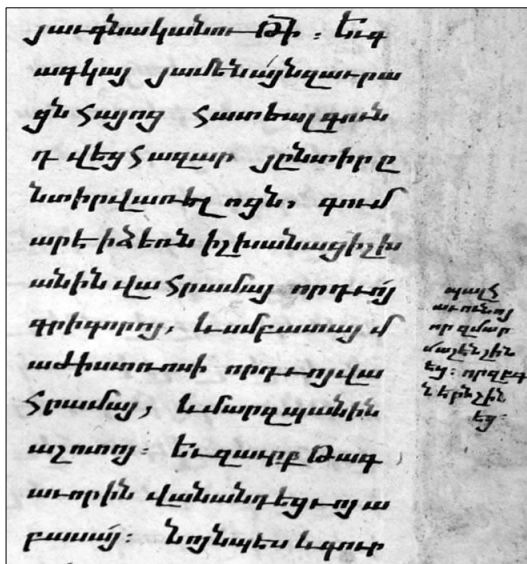


Fig. 49. Interpolation of scribe Yohan in the “History” of Asoghik (Matenadaran, Ms 2865, p. 236r)

⁵²³ See K. Matevosyan, *The Historical Collection Copied by the Scribe Yohan...*, pp. 102-112.

⁵²⁴ Asoghik, pp. 272-273.

⁵²⁵ CAI, I, p. 12.

Those who consider Smbat to be the son of Vahram Pahlavuni have taken as their basis only the part of Asoghik's history quoted above and subjected to an interpolation. Referring to Smbat, N. Akinyan writes: "*Vahram, who mentioned the names of his brothers and children in his inscriptions, has no mention about Smbat at all.*"⁵²⁶ However, the power of the tradition was so great that while making this important observation, he considered Smbat to be the son of Vahram Pahlavuni.

Unfortunately, researchers have overlooked another important circumstance. It is known that Vahram Pahlavuni and his son Grigor were killed during the 1045 campaign of the Byzantines who conquered Ani against the amir of Dvin. Vahram was a man in his later years at that moment, an old man, as his nephew Grigor Bjnets'i writes about him. Even if we assume that he was eighty years old at the time of his death, as K. Kostanyants' writes: "... *he died in battle... eighty-year-old man,*"⁵²⁷ going back 80 years from 1045, we will find the approximate date of his birth: 965, and it will be clear that at the time of the battle of Tsumb, in 998, he was 33 years old. In these calculations, which have an approximate starting point, the shift of a few years forward or backward cannot be of significant importance. The truth is that at the time of the mentioned battle, the Prince of Princes Vahram was so young that he could not have a son who had reached the age of a military officer, let alone the honorary title of a magistros.

There is another circumstance that makes it impossible to identify Vahram Pahlavuni's and Smbat Magistros's father Vahram. That is, from a 1021-1022 inscription of the Bagnair Monastery built by Smbat Magistros in 1010, it is revealed that Seda, the daughter of Vahram Pahlavuni's brother, Vasak, was a daughter-in-law in the lineage of Smbat Magistros, the founder of the monastery. It is clear that if Smbat was the son of Vahram Pahlavuni, then the daughter of his brother Vasak Pahlavuni could not become the daughter-in-law of that family.

And finally, as mentioned, Smbat Magistros built the Bagnair Monastery in 1010, and Vahram Pahlavuni completed his family monastery in Marmashen in 1029, according to the building inscription, where he also writes that he did this "*in memory of us and our sons*" and calls the

⁵²⁶ N. Akinian, 1956, p. 358.

⁵²⁷ Papers of Grigor Magistros, p. 292.

monastery “*the place of our grave.*”⁵²⁸ In other words, Marmashen was the dynastic graveyard – the mausoleum of Vahram’s family. Therefore, none of his sons could fall before his father and establish a separate monastery. It should also be noted that the name Smbat is not found in Pahlavunyats’ genealogy at all.

Thus, we think that the page about his supposed Smbat son in Vahram Pahlavuni’s biography should be considered closed and we should try to find real information about Smbat Magistros. We believe that the latter was at least a generational relative of Vahram Pahlavuni, or perhaps an older person, judging by the circumstances of his being a magistros during the battle of Tsumb and building a family monastery already in 1010.

Now let us turn to the second information about Smbat Magistros, reported by Samvel Anets’i. In his Chronology, he writes in front of the year 1010 of the Armenian era: “*Smbat Magistros built the angel-inhabited and desirable monastery called Bagnair, gathering there god-loving youths.*”⁵²⁹

The Bagnair Monastery soon became a major spiritual and cultural centre closely related to Ani and flourished in the 11th-13th centuries. The ancient church is St. Astvatsatsin. In general, in this period, the princely houses of Ani supported the establishment of large monasteries, which also became a place for family graveyard.

Unfortunately, no building inscription has been preserved in Bagnair, due to the fact that the church was almost destroyed. The oldest of the inscriptions here belongs to prince Vasak Pahlavuni’s daughter Seda (Grigor Bjnets’i’s sister), where she informs about the donation made to the monastery, which she made in memory of her father, Vasak. It is known that Vasak was killed in 1021, therefore the inscription of Seda was written in that year or the following year, under the direct impression of the loss of her father.

From the point of view of our study, it is particularly interesting what status the daughter of Vasak Pahlavuni acts in Bagnair, especially since the ktetor princes of the place are also mentioned here. He writes: “*I – Seda, the Lady of Ladies, the wife of prince Vahram, the son of Prince Ashot.*”⁵³⁰ In other words, she came as a bride to a princely house, whose elder representative was the Prince of Princes Ashot, and the younger one was her husband Vahram. It should be noted that this inscription was written only a

⁵²⁸ CAI, X, p. 94.

⁵²⁹ Samuel Anets’i and others, p. 182.

⁵³⁰ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 21, K. Matevosyan, 2015, pp. 110-111.

decade after the foundation of the monastery, and it should be assumed that the persons mentioned in it are the kinsmen of Smbat Magistros. In particular, it is not excluded that the Prince of Princes Vahram, being the eldest son⁵³¹ of the prince Ashot, received the name of his grandfather Vahram, who can be identified with the father of Smbat Magistros. In other words, it is possible that the founder of Bagnair, Smbat Magistros, son of Vahram, and the Prince of Princes Ashot (whose son was named Vahram after his grandfather) were brothers. In that case, it will become completely understandable why the daughter-in-law of this house, the daughter of Vasak Pahlavuni, made a donation to Bagnair. One thing is clear, that the time from the construction of the monastery (1010) to the inscription of the wife of Prince of Princes Vahram (1021-1022) is such a short period that it is unlikely that another clan unrelated to the lineage of Smbat Magistros would have been so dominant in the Bagnair Monastery.

It is possible that in a 1077 colophon of the manuscript of the Gospel (Matenadaran, Ms. 275), according to which it was written by Smbat Patrik,⁵³² son of Vahram, is evidenced about the lineage of this family. We believe that Smbat Patrik is the son of the above-mentioned Prince Vahram and Seda. At the beginning of the colophon, Smbat remembers his patron (suzerain), who was Mariam, the daughter of Gagik, the last king of Kars. It is known that after the fall of Ani's kingdom, some of the Armenian nobles gathered around Gagik Abasian. It is possible that his name Smbat originates from the name of his famous ancestors, Smbat Magistros.

Summing up, let us note that the current ideas about the princely houses of the Bagratid Armenia are mostly under the influence of traditional historiography, where the role of the Pahlavuni clan is significantly exaggerated. There is no doubt that that dynasty had an exceptional position in the kingdom of Ani, but this does not mean that the other princely dynasties should be artificially attached to the Pahlavunis. This was once the case with the founder of Kech'aris, Grigor Apirat Magistros, whom we will refer to below. We think that in the history of Ani's Bagratid kingdom, the lineage of Smbat Magistros, the founder of Bagnair, should have its place from now on.

⁵³¹ It speaks in favor of Vahram's seniority that he was married to the daughter of one of the most prominent princes of the time, who proudly writes about her: "...the daughter of the Great Vasak." Apart from Seda, no other daughter of Vasak Pahlavuni is mentioned in other sources.

⁵³² Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 110.

Since Smbat Magistros is the first figure (since 998) to be mentioned with the Byzantine title or honorary order “*magistros*” in the Bagratid kingdom of Ani (from 998), let us briefly mention the phenomenon of this Byzantine awarding. According to the Byzantinist Hrach Bartikyan, in the mentioned period, the Magistros was the highest title given to foreigners by the Byzantine court, the bearer of which also received an annual monetary reward.⁵³³

After Smbat Magistros, Hasan’s son Grigor Magistros (1001) is mentioned with that title in Ani. Then, after bequeathing Ani to the empire, King Hovhannes Smbat received such a title. Noting that, John Skylitzes also reports that an annual pension or reward was appointed for the Bagratid king,⁵³⁴ and Matt’eos Urhayets’i writes that he received that reward for 15 years.⁵³⁵ The next figure to receive a master’s degree was Vasak’s son Grigor Pahlavuni, who, as we saw above, received it in 1045 after the handover of Bjni to the empire from emperor Constantine Monomachus. Around the same time, after the actual capture of Ani, when Gagik II was given some estates in Cappadocia as compensation, the emperor also awarded him the honorary title of magistros.⁵³⁶

If in the last three cases, it is clear why or for what the Byzantines gave the title of magistros to the Armenian nobles, then the connection of the first two figures, Smbat and Grigor Apirat, with Byzantium remains uncertain due to the lack of facts. The reality, however, is that the empire extended its influence to neighboring countries by conferring titles and rewards on foreigners, and used it on occasion.⁵³⁷ Another prince of Ani, Vest Sargis, though not a magistros, had a number of other titles (“*antipat patrick, vest and duke...*”)⁵³⁸ and rendered service to the empire at the time of need. Of course, this does not mean that all title holders became henchmen of the empire. As we saw above from the 1029 inscription of Marmashen, at that time Vahram Pahlavuni also had the title “*antipat patrick,*” but he was an independent figure who prioritized the interests of the Armenian state.

⁵³³ H. Bartikyan, 2002, p. 669.

⁵³⁴ John Skylitzes, p. 146.

⁵³⁵ Matt’eos Urhayets’i, p. 94.

⁵³⁶ John Skylitzes, p. 148.

⁵³⁷ About Byzantine-like practices in the Armenian principality of Taron, see G. Grigoryan, *Taron’s Feudal Principality in the IX-X Centuries*, Yerevan, 1983, pp. 130-139.

⁵³⁸ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 209. Byzantine versions of these titles respectively are: Antipatros, Patrikios, Vestiarios and Dux.

GRIGOR APIRAT MAGISTROS AND THE HASSANIAN-APIRATIAN CLAN

The Hassanian or Apiration family is esteemed as one of the distinguished princely lineages during the Bagratid era. Given that both names are prevalent in literature, with one derived from Hasan, the inaugural figure of the clan, and the other from his illustrious son, the “*great prince*” Apirat (Grigor Apirat Magistros), it is deemed appropriate to adopt the composite designation of Hassanian-Apiration. This clan, which emerged during the era of Gagik I Bagratid and persisted until the onset of the 13th century, has been primarily associated by scholars with the Pahlavuni.

The preeminent figure of the clan is documented in contemporary inscriptions as Grigor Magistros, while in the works of later historiographers he is referred to him as Apirat. He built St. Grigor Church of Kech‘aris and others, however there is frequent conflation with Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni in separate analyses. The rationale behind this confusion has been elucidated in prior editions;⁵³⁹ however, we shall briefly address this prince and his lineage here, as the familial branch of his son Vasak exerted a notable influence on the history of Ani.

The earliest accounts of Prince Grigor Magistros, son of Hasan, have been preserved in the epigraphs of his time. The first account hails from the 1001 inscription of the priest Gēorg at St. Step‘anos Church in Arzakan, who was the builder of the church. In the inscription Grigor, bearing the esteemed title of magistros, is listed following the name of Gagik I Bagratid: “...*During the kingship of Gagik, the Lord of the World, Grigor, the Armenian magistros...*”⁵⁴⁰

The second inscription is created by the name of Grigor himself on the southern door facade of the main church St. Grigor of the Kech‘aris Monastery. It reads: “*In 482 (1033) of the Armenian era, during the reign of Gagik and under the patriarchate of Lord Sargis, I, Grigor Magistros, son of Hasan, commissioned the construction of this church for the intercession of myself, my patron, and my sons.*”⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ K. Matevosyan, 2015, pp. 7-35.

⁵⁴⁰ G. Sargsyan, 2002, p. 111.

⁵⁴¹ G. Hovsepiyan, 1969, p. 159.

The initial publishers of the inscription, Ghevond Alishan, Garegin Hovsepyan, and Nerses Akinyan, observed an error in the year. Taking into account the year of King Gagik I Bagratuni's demise in 1020 (actually 1017), as well as the inclusion of the names of Sargis I Sewants'i, who relinquished the Catholicosial chair in 1019, it was proposed to regard the initially cited date of 1033 as a clerical error and rectify it to 1003.⁵⁴² This proofreading is deemed completely accurate, particularly, as we can see below, considering that Grigor, the individual responsible for the inscription, passed away in 1021.

Therefore, in 1003, Hasan's son Grigor Magistros identifies himself as the vassal prince of Gagik I Bagratuni and asserts that he constructed the church as an intercession for himself, his progeny, and his patron (the king).

The third inscription commemorating Grigor Magistros was created in 1042 in Tekor, posthumously. The author of the inscription is the prince's daughter Tiknats'tikin, who was the wife of Prince Vest Sargis; *"In 1042, I - Tiknats'tikin, with the name of Astgho, the daughter of Grigor Magistros and the wife of Vest Sargis from the East, bequeathed the tax of Tekor, for the longevity of shahnshah (king of kings) and the souls of my parents..."*⁵⁴³

With the exception of N. Akinyan, the researchers investigating the inscription identified Grigor Magistros mentioned therein as Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (Bjnets'i)⁵⁴⁴ whereas it is known that the Pahlavuni prince received the honorary title of magistros subsequent to the collapse of Ani's kingdom in 1045. Notably, Tiknats'tikin in the inscription mentions that she did a charity s for the longevity of the shahnshah (i.e., King Gagik II of Ani) and for the salvation of her deceased parents' souls, indicating that her parents had already passed away at that time.

Grigor Magistros is also referenced in bibliographic sources, albeit under the name Apirat, unlike the contemporaneous epigraphs. The chroniclers documenting him – Matt'eos Urhayets'i, Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, Vardan Arevelts'i, Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i, and Nathanael Havuts'tarets'i – lived between one and a half to three centuries after him. During this period,

⁵⁴² G. Alishan, 1890, p. 259, G. Hovsepyan, 1969, p. 159, N. Akinian, 1956, p. 374. We believe that the text of the inscription was dictated to the engraver, during which the letter-sound confusion of "Ձ (Dz)" (pronounced "Ձu (Dza)") and "Ծ (Ts)" (pronounced Ծu ("Tsa")) occurred. Such mistakes are still found in Armenian epigraphs.

⁵⁴³ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 207.

⁵⁴⁴ Leo, 1963, pp. 322-327, History of the Armenian people, 1976, p. 148, K. Yuzbashyan, 1988, p. 161, etc.

in Armenian historiography, the name “*Grigor Magistros*” became associated with the namesake Pahlavuni prince. Thus, to circumvent confusion, they opted to use the prince’s secondary name, Apirat, while still acknowledging his parentage as the son of Hasan. The consistency of historical accounts regarding the same individual is primarily evident in the narratives of Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i and Mkh‘it‘ar Ayrivanets‘i, who attribute the construction of the Kech‘aris Monastery to Apirat, the builder of which is referred to in epigraphs as Grigor Magistros.

The first author to mention Hasan’s son Grigor Magistros with the name Apirat is Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, of whose “*History*” (completed in 1193) unfortunately, only the beginning has been preserved. In the 13th century, Vardan Arevelts‘i, Mkh‘it‘ar Ayrivanets‘i, and Step‘anos Orbelian referenced Mkh‘it‘ar’s work. Vardan, in particular, occasionally reproduced verbatim sections from Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, thereby preserving individual fragments of that intriguing history. A unique testimony about the great prince Apirat has been retained in a passage extracted from the “*History*” of Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i. This passage recounts an incident at the conclusion of the power struggle between Gagik I Bagratuni’s eldest son, Hovhannes Smbat (1017-1041), who ascended to the throne following his demise, and his younger brother, Ashot, in 1021. Through the intervention of Catholicos Petros I and the princes, it was resolved that Hovhannes Smbat would rule in Ani and its environs, while Ashot would govern the remaining territories of the kingdom, known to historians as the “*Outer World*.” Subsequently, an incident occurred, reported solely by Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, which Vardan Arevelts‘i recounts. Pretending to be indisposed at his military post near Talin, Ashot deceitfully summons and apprehends Hovhannes Smbat, delivering him to Prince Apirat for execution. Willingly, Apirat escorts him to Ani and restores him to the throne, asserting that he cannot harm one anointed by God and replace him with a lunatic.⁵⁴⁵ Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i’s narrative then proceeds to detail the lineage of Prince Apirat and the circumstances surrounding the construction of the Kech‘aris Monastery: “*It is recounted that Apirat, having risen from obscurity through astute conduct and benevolence, eventually commanded 12,000 horsemen and erected the sacred Kech‘aris Monastery.*”⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ Vardan Arevelts‘i, 2001, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁴⁶ Vardan Arevelts‘i, 2001, pp. 102-103, *Modern Armenian*: pp. 139-140.

The scholars generally attribute the depiction of Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i of Prince Apirat “*ascending from relative obscurity*” to his hereditary background. Nevertheless, as detailed below, these remarks portray him as an individual who, despite not being his father’s eldest son and designated successor, managed to advance and attain success through his own intellect and benevolence.

Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i recounts the aftermath of the incident narrated by Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i. He recounts how Apirat, accompanied by his family and army, sought sanctuary with Abusuar, the amir of Dvin (also known as Shaddadid Abu-l-Asvar, Abulasvar in other Armenian sources).⁵⁴⁷ According to the historian, initially the amir received Apirat favorably, but malicious people warned him of the perceived threat posed by the prince and his sizable retinue, leading him to plot Apirat’s assassination. Apirat’s general, Sari, safeguarded Apirat’s wife and two sons, Apljahap and Vasak, and sought refuge in Ani, where they were warmly received by King Hovhannes Smbat, who bestowed upon them cantons and authority.⁵⁴⁸

From the narrator’s account, it is evident that Hovhannes Smbat deeply mourned the unjust demise of Apirat and assumed responsibility for his children. The historian’s explanation for Apirat’s murder, attributing it to the Shaddadid amir acting upon malicious hearsay, appears rather straightforward. When Apirat departed for Dvin with his family, one would expect some assurances of safety. However, it is plausible that Abulasvar executed the prince at the behest of Ashot, with the individuals dispatched by him potentially characterized as “*some evil talkers*” to Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i. This conjecture gains credence from the subsequent intimate bond between the two, culminating in Ashot bestowing his daughter (Katramidé, named after his mother) in marriage upon Abulasvar.⁵⁴⁹

Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i and Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i omit the incident’s date, but in the appended brief chronology in the original “*The Last Bagratid Kings*,” Apirat’s demise is noted as transpiring in 1021.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ The beginning of the rule of Abulasvar Shaddadid in Dvin is considered to be in 1021 or 1022. In fact, Apirat went to Abulasvar in the first year of his settlement in Dvin (A. Ter-Ghevondian, 1965, p. 209).

⁵⁴⁸ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁴⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts‘i, p. 62. Their son Manuch‘é, born from this marriage in the 1030s, became the lord of Ani in 1065 (H. Margaryan, 1980, p. 86).

⁵⁵⁰ Brief chronicles, v. 2, p. 502, see also: Samuel Anets‘i and Continuator, p. 183.

Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i, (13th century), provides insight into Apirat's endeavors, including the construction of a canal in Yerevan. He recounts: "*The Apirat prince, commanding 12,000 horsemen, oversaw the establishment of Kech'aris and the excavation of the Yerevan canal.*"⁵⁵¹ This information suggests Yerevan was considered a domain of Grigor Apirat.⁵⁵² It should be added that Grigor Magistros's princely stronghold likely stood near the Kech'aris Monastery, at a site now known as Kh'ach'er, where a significant monetary treasure, comprising 297 Byzantine copper coins (from the 1010s and 1020s under Vasil II's rule), was unearthed during excavations in 2008.⁵⁵³

Hence, Grigor Magistros, the son of Hasan, emerged as a notable figure within the Bagratid realm, being first mentioned with the magistros's title in 1001 and meeting his demise in 1021.

Before delving into additional cases, let us clarify the issue of the prince's binomial nomenclature. N. Akinyan discusses the name Apirat, stating: "*The name cannot be etymologically explained by the Armenian word 'apirat.'* Perhaps the distorted form is the name *apipat*, pronounced first *apirpat*, then *apirat*, which may have been contributed by the word '*apirat*'... Grigor and Apirat present the binomial nomenclature of the same person."⁵⁵⁴ We are likely referring to the "*apuhpat*" title, also held by Vest Sargis and Vahram Pahlavuni.

Upon our request, linguist Hrach Martirosyan provided his insight regarding Grigor's name "*Apirat*," suggesting that the personal name "*Apirat*" indeed corresponds to the Classical Armenian term "*apirat*," which denotes "*lawless, unjust, wrongful.*" Various examples of cacophemism (or dysphemism) are evident in diverse languages, including Armenian, as seen in names such as Anpēt, Apush, Gēsh, Yimār, and others.⁵⁵⁵ Apirat could potentially fall within this category.⁵⁵⁶ However, the researcher posits an alternative explanation for the "*Apirat*" personal name.

⁵⁵¹ Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i, p. 58.

⁵⁵² T. Hakobyan, *History of Yerevan*, Yerevan, 1969, pp. 212-213.

⁵⁵³ H. Hovhannisyan, *A Treasure of Anonymous Byzantine Follies from the Excavations of the Khach'er Archaeological Site in Tsaghkadzor*, "Herald of Yerevan University," 2013, N 1, pp. 16-29.

⁵⁵⁴ N. Akinyan, 1956, p. 373.

⁵⁵⁵ Respectively these names mean "*masterless or useless*," "*idiot*," "*ugly*," "*stupid*."

⁵⁵⁶ One motivation for infamy was to deceive the malevolent spirits responsible for kidnapping newborns, by presenting the child as "*apirat*" – evil, illegitimate, and worthless, thus dissuading them from taking it.

Given that the term “*Apirat*,” besides its primary connotation, is also documented in literature with the meaning of “*expelled, exiled, banished*,” it is plausible to infer that the personal name “*Apirat*” derives from this sense, a pattern observed in other personal names ((e.g., Gharib (expatriate), Nzhdeh (sojourner)). We believe this to be a plausible resolution to the issue, especially considering the account of Nerses Shnorhali, a descendant of this lineage, who remarked about his father, Apirat: “*Who inherited a name from his forebears, being known as Apirat.*”⁵⁵⁷

We postulate the possibility that the prince originally bore the names Grigor and Apirat. The practice of dual naming was prevalent among the Armenian nobility during that era.⁵⁵⁸ For instance, King Ashot III the Merciful, was known by the dual name Ashot Gagik, while his grandson, Hovhannes Smbat, was also identified by a dual name. Historical records predominantly mention individuals with two names by one or the other. For example, in an inscription dated 1036 from Horomos, Hovhannes Smbat referred to himself as “*I, Smpat Shahanshah, son of Gagik Shahanshah,*” and two years later, in another inscription at the same monastery, he identified himself as “*I, Yovannēs Shahanshah, son of Gagik Shahanshah.*”⁵⁵⁹

Several Pahlavuni princes contemporaneous with Grigor Apirat Magistros also bore dual names: Grigor Hamzé, Vasak Holom, Tigran Aplgharib. Additionally, one or the other of their names is prevalent in most instances.⁵⁶⁰ In this context, it is not uncommon for Hasan’s son to be named Grigor and Apirat. This perspective finds support in the fact that some individuals from his generation continued to be known by the names Grigor and Apirat for an extended period, up until the final Catholicos of this clan, who reigned from 1194 to 1203 and is widely remembered by the dual name Grigor Apirat.

⁵⁵⁷ Nerses Shnorhali, *Verses by Lord Nerses Shorhali* (“*Banq Chapav*”), Venice, 1928, p. 601.

⁵⁵⁸ We can find the theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of binominal identity in Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni’s “*Grammar Commentary*,” where he writes: “*Binominal identity is when one person has two names*,” then he gives an example from the Bible, “*Eghiazaros Avaran*,” clarifying that two the names are not always used together, one or the other can be mentioned (Bibliography of Grigor Magistros, p. 445).

⁵⁵⁹ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 146, 166. Binominal identity was also very common among the kings of Vaspurakan.

⁵⁶⁰ CAI, 10, p. 94, K. Kostaneants’, *Annal of Armenian Inscriptions*, St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 14.

To reconcile the data from primary sources with researchers' perspectives, we propose referring to the aforementioned figure as Grigor Apirat by the dual name, while also acknowledging the title: Grigor Apirat Magistros.

Now, let us briefly outline information concerning his father and his familial background. Regarding Grigor Apirat's father, N. Akinyan remarks: "*Hasan; this was Apirat's father. We did not know anything more about him.*"⁵⁶¹ Fortunately, in a recent manuscript (Matenadaran Ms. 3681), we discovered another reference to Hasan's name in an addition by Havuts' T'ar priest Nathanael (14th century) to Samvel Anets'i's "*Chronology.*" It appears that Prince Gevorg, the proprietor of Keghi (Geghi, Kaqavaberd) fortress, who erected the Cathedral (Katoghiké) Church of Havuts' T'ar, was also Hasan's son. Until now, Mkh'it'ar Ayrivanets'i's brief account was the only known source: "*And Prince Gevorg of Keghi built Havuts' T'ar.*"⁵⁶² However, it was unclear who Prince Gevorg's father was. Here, concerning the construction of the same Cathedral Church, within the events of 1002, abbot Nathanael of Havuts' T'ar provides highly significant information about Prince Gevorg's lineage: "*Gevorg, the prince of princes, son of Hasan, brother of Apirat...*"⁵⁶³

With the revelation that Grigor Apirat and Prince Gevorg, the proprietor of Keghi fortress, are siblings, it becomes evident that Hasan was also of princely status. Mkh'it'ar Anets'i's statement about Apirat, "*not the greatest of the notables,*" is thus interpreted not in terms of his dynastic lineage, but rather as a commentary on his character. Moreover, historians' assertions regarding Grigor Apirat's command of 12,000 horsemen, previously viewed as a significant exaggeration, are now substantially validated. The influence wielded by Hasan's sons spanned from Varazhnunik' (Kech'aris) to Yerevan, encompassing the Havuts' T'ar Monastery and Keghi fortress, adjacent to the Dvin Emirate. Such territorial control would indeed necessitate a substantial military force.

Regarding Gevorg, Nathanael Havuts'tarets'i disclosed not only his construction of the Cathedral Church of Havuts' T'ar with nine apses (now demolished, yet the site remains notable),⁵⁶⁴ but also his substantial

⁵⁶¹ N. Akinyan, 1956, p. 373.

⁵⁶² Mkh'itar Ayrivanets'i, p. 57.

⁵⁶³ Matenadaran, Ms. No. 3681, p. 78(1), Samuel Anets'i and Continuators, p. 181.

⁵⁶⁴ See K. Matevosyan, *Historical-Archaeological Observations*, Yerevan, 2020, pp. 41-50.

contributions to the monastery, including the acquisition of the village of Goght (Kokht) from King Gagik I and his son Hovhannes Smbat.⁵⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that historians trace the lineage of the younger members of this clan back to the name of Hasan.⁵⁶⁶

Until now, little has been known regarding the lineage of Prince Gevorg, the ruler of Keghi. However, with the recent revelation of his father's name, it is now feasible to trace his descendants to the familial monastery in Havuts' T'ar. An ancient inscription, dating back to 1181 and engraved upon a khach'k'ar, attributes its erection to Hasan, the progeny of Smbat.⁵⁶⁷ Given the established tradition among Armenian noble families to name the eldest grandson in honor of the grandfather,⁵⁶⁸ it is plausible to infer that Prince Gevorg's offspring carried the name Hasan, following the lineage of Smbat and his son, Hasan. This hypothesis finds indirect validation in the nomenclature of Grigor Apirat's two sons, Apljahap and Vasak, further corroborating the assumption. Notably, Grigor Apirat refrained from naming any of his offspring Hasan, likely due to the preexistence of Hasan as the name of his elder brother Gevorg's progeny, the eldest grandson.

Thus, the inquiry into the precedence of Hasan's offspring prompts an examination of Apirat's status vis-à-vis the "*not notables*." He was likely Hasan's youngest son. While Gevorg inherited his father's power and the Keghi fortress by right of seniority, even naming his own son after him, the younger Grigor Apirat, Hasan's son, rose from the ranks of the "*non-notables*" or "*lesser-knowns*" through his intelligence and entrepreneurship. He gained recognition and amassed a large cavalry.

Regrettably, the name of Hassan's father remains unknown. Nonetheless, there exists the possibility that he served as a devoted soldier under King Ashot II the Iron (914-929), as suggested by historian Hovhannes Draskhanakerts'i, who notes Gevorg, an honoree ("*someone*

⁵⁶⁵ Samuel Anets'i and Continuators, p. 181.

⁵⁶⁶ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 226, 288, Smbat Sparapet, p. 82.

⁵⁶⁷ G. Hovsepyan, *Havuts' Tar's Amenaprkich and Similar Monuments in Armenian Art: Materials and studies of the history of Armenian art*, vol. II, Yerevan, 1987, pp. 17, 20.

⁵⁶⁸ L. Ter-Petrosian discusses the Cilician Armenian noble clans, noting: "*The naming of the grandfather and the primogenital grandson within Armenian medieval noble families was an entrenched tradition. Nonetheless, the ethnology of the Rubinyan and Hetumyan families is hardly an exception in this respect; in all cases where it is confirmed that the grandson is the firstborn, he must bear the grandfather's name...*" (L. Ter-Petrosyan, "*Crusaders and Armenians*", Volume II, Yerevan, 2007, p. 79).

honored”) ⁵⁶⁹ of the king, possibly Hasan’s father. Gevorg, later referred to as Marzpetuni in historiography, a designation not substantiated by primary sources, is believed to have distinguished himself in history by valiantly defeating the Arab army with a small contingent of soldiers near the Keghi fortress in 924. ⁵⁷⁰ It is plausible that following this feat, the fortress was granted to him as a possession. This conjecture gains credence as Hasan honored his eldest son with the name Gevorg, thereby adhering to the established custom of naming grandchildren after their grandfather.

An intriguing reference to the clan’s origins is documented in a testament dedicated to the Havuts’ T’ar Monastery by the late author, Bishop Manuel Bjnets’i (15th century). In this document, Prince Gevorg, credited with erecting the local Cathedral Church, is described as “*the branch of the Bagratids.*” ⁵⁷¹ Should we lend credence to this account, it is plausible that this lineage, for instance, had ties to the Bagratids through the maternal line. Notably, during the commemoration of the 1000th anniversary of Christ’s birth by King Gagik I and his wife, Katramidé, who commissioned grand churches in Ani (Gagkashen St. Grigor and the Cathedral), their actions were emulated by the principal princes of the realm, notably the Hassanian-Apiratians. As evidenced by the construction of a church in Havuts’ T’ar in 1002 (by Prince Gevorg) and in Kech’aris (by Grigor Apirat) in 1003, it is plausible that these events were not mere coincidences. Furthermore, the notable gift bestowed by Gagik I upon Prince Gevorg, the “*All-Saving Cross*” from the Byzantine emperor, as recorded by Nathanael Havuts’tarets’i, ⁵⁷² along with Grigor Apirat’s advancement and favor during the reign of the same monarch, and subsequently, Hovhannes Smbat’s warm regard towards his descendants, all suggest a kinship connection.

Let us briefly delve into the offspring of Grigor Apirat Magistros and the subsequent lineage bifurcation stemming from them. As indicated in the account of Matt’eos Urhayets’i in 1021, following Grigor Apirat’s demise in Dvin, the military commander Sari escorted the prince’s family to Ani, where Hovhannes Smbat assumed guardianship of his two sons. ⁵⁷³ Based on the sequencing of the historian’s enumeration of Grigor Apirat’s progeny,

⁵⁶⁹ Catholicos Hovhannes Draskhanakerts’i, *History of Armenia* (Old Armenian, Modern Armenian), translation into Modern Armenian and annotations by G. Tosunyan, Yerevan, 1996, p. 354.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 356-357.

⁵⁷¹ K. Matevosyan, *Havuts’ Tar Monastery*, p. 94.

⁵⁷² Ibid., pp. 20-22.

⁵⁷³ Matt’eos Urhayets’i, pp. 16-17.

Apljahap appears to be the eldest. Nonetheless, it remains plausible that Matt'eos Urhayets'i (or his informant) erred in this regard. The precedence of Vasak is bolstered by his residence in Ani, whereas Apljahap is conspicuously absent from this narrative. Vasak honored his firstborn son by bestowing upon him the name Grigor in remembrance of his father. Following his demise, Vasak was interred in Kech'aris, the familial monastery established by his grandfather.

Since Armenian historians are notably reticent in documenting women, the name of Grigor Apirat's daughter is regrettably absent from Urhayets'i. Nonetheless, as previously noted, she undoubtedly existed, as evidenced by her mention in Tekor in 1042. The extent of Hovhannes Smbat's compassion towards Grigor Apirat's fatherless children is exemplified by the case of this young lady, who identifies herself in the aforementioned inscription as the spouse of Vest Sargis. It is widely acknowledged that Vest Sargis was unattached at that time, a figure of considerable influence at court and in close proximity to the monarch, thus rendering his marriage anything but coincidental. It is highly probable that, acting as her guardian, Grigor Apirat's daughter was wedded to Vest Sargis under the auspices of King Hovhannes Smbat. This union further solidified the latter's bond with Hovhannes Smbat. It is not without significance that at the time of the king's demise, Vest Sargis is recorded as his trustee.⁵⁷⁴

While direct testimonies are lacking, it is reasonable to presume that Hovhannes Smbat exercised similar discernment in selecting wives for Grigor Apira's sons. Thus, regarding Grigor Bjnets'i's son, Armenian Catholicos Grigor II Martyrophile from 1066, Matt'eos Urhayets'i recounts his visit to Ani in 1072, where he ordained his nephew Barsegh, the son of Apirat's son Vasak, as the local bishop.⁵⁷⁵ Essentially, this event elucidates the matrimonial alliance between Vasak, son of Grigor Apirat Magistros, and one of the daughters of another prominent prince of Ani's realm, Grigor Bjnets'i. Considering that Vasak had been orphaned since 1021 and entrusted to the guardianship of Hovhannes Smbat, it is plausible to surmise that the monarch also played a pivotal role in facilitating such a propitious match. Furthermore, this union underscores the distinctiveness between the Hassanian-Apiratian and Pahlavuni clans, as the daughter of Grigor Pahlavunui (Bjnets'i) could not have been betrothed to another Pahlavuni family member.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 226, Smbat Sparapet, p. 82.

Vasak and his wife bore four offspring: Grigor, Barsegh, Hasan, and Apljahap. Among them, Grigor emerged as the primary Armenian prince in Ani during the reign of the Manuch'ë amir, renowned as a valiant military commander leading his own forces. His sibling, Barsegh I Anets'i, ascended to the episcopal seat of Ani in 1072, subsequently assuming the role of sole Catholicos in 1081 (from 1105). The descendants of Grigor's son, known as Hasan Magistros, included the illustrious prince Grigor Apirat of the 12th century and the bishop Barsegh II Anets'i.

Regrettably, historical sources remain silent on the marital endeavors of Grigor Apirat's other son, Apljahap. N. Akinyan addresses this ambiguity by stating: "*While it is established that Vasak's wife is Grigor's daughter, the narrative concerning Apljahap remains elusive. While Vasak resided in the Eastern territories (Ani, Kh'achenk'), Apljahap appears to have ventured to Mesopotamia alongside his father-in-law in 1045, assuming control of the formidable fortress of Tsovk'.*"⁵⁷⁶ Nerses Akinyan's conjecture that Grigor Apirat's son Apljahap wedded the other daughter of Grigor Bjnets'i, from whom their children Apirat, Grigoris, Vahram, and Vasak were born, holds significant plausibility.

While it is uncommon for two brothers to marry two sisters, considering Hovhannes Smbat's pivotal role in shaping the future of Grigor Apirat's offspring, it is not inconceivable that, at the king's suggestion, Grigor Bjnets'i arranged marriages for two of his three daughters with Apljahap and Vasak, the brothers. From this union, a lineage diverged: Vasak's family established roots in Ani, while Apljahap, presumably, relocated to Mesopotamia with his father-in-law, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni.

Given the absence of direct evidence, we must rely on related data. The naming of the eldest son within this lineage with the uncommon name Apirat holds significance in unraveling this puzzle. If Vasak chose to name his firstborn after his father, Grigor, it is plausible that Apljahap followed suit by naming his own eldest son after his father's alternative name, Apirat. As previously noted, Nerses Shnorhali, the son of the latter, regarded this name as "*preliminary*" or indigenous.

However, it should be noted that the name Apljahap was no longer used in the descendants of this clan. Apirat's son, Nerses Shnorhali, who

⁵⁷⁶ N. Akinyan, 1956, pp. 379-380, B. Kyuleserian, *Tsovk'* (Tsovk'-Tluk' and Hrom-Kla), Vienna, 1904, pp. 10-16.

mentions his father so lovingly, never once gives his father's name, that is, his grandfather's name. In the poem "*Vipasanut'iun*" Nerses Shnorhali tells about his lineage, addresses the activities of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni in a eulogistic style, describes the canonization of his son Vahram (Grigor Martyrophile), whose sister's grandson he was. Shnorhali praises Apirat's maternal grandfather, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, and even mentions the latter's father, Vasak.⁵⁷⁷ Since from the point of view of continuing the catholicosial power, it was extremely important for Nerses Shnorhali that he and his older brother Grigori (the Catholicos of Grigor III Pahlavuni) of Pahlavunis, i.e. emphasizing his descent from the lineage of St. Gregory the Illuminator, he gives a special place to it,⁵⁷⁸ but admits that he is related to the Pahlavunis through his mother's line.

The neglect of the paternal lineage could potentially be attributed to this circumstance. Additionally, internal discord cannot be entirely discounted.⁵⁷⁹ It is conceivable that Apljahap, forgotten by his descendants, probably met an untimely demise. This conjecture gains support from the fact that his brother Vasak (according to Urhayets'i's record) bestowed the name Apljahap upon his youngest son, possibly as a tribute to his deceased sibling.

It is plausible that Apljahap's offspring were under the guardianship of their maternal grandfather, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, from an early age. This notion is reflected in the words of Nerses Shnorhali, who depicts Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni's role in his father Apirat's life as "*He became a father for our father, according to his mother's intercession.*"⁵⁸⁰ Essentially, it was the maternal grandfather who assumed the paternal role for his own father.

It is noteworthy that Catholicos Grigor Martyrophile, son of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, maintained strong connections, particularly with his sister's family and her four children. Upon his directive, Barsegh I Anets'i (son of Vasak) succeeded him in 1113, passing on the catholicosial throne to Grigor, son of Apirat (1113-1166), who was scarcely a teenager at the

⁵⁷⁷ Nerses Shnorhali, 1928, pp. 587-588.

⁵⁷⁸ Nerses Shnorhali, *The Encyclical Letter of Armenian Catholicos*, Venice, 1873, p. 8.

⁵⁷⁹ If we assume that the husband of Grigor Bjnets'i's daughter was not Apljahap, as V. Vardanyan hints about ("*The Pahlavunis of Tsovk' in the Pitfalls of the Era,*" Institute of History of the NAS RA, Issues of Armenian History, No. 8, Yerevan, 2007, pp. 47-48), but someone else, anyway, the name of that person, in fact, was forgotten by his descendants, the exact cause of which is unknown.

⁵⁸⁰ Nerses Shnorhali, 1928, pp. 587-588.

time,⁵⁸¹ thus ruling for over half a century (53 years). Nerses Shnorhali refers to Barsegh I Anets'i as his "*progenitor*," indicating their blood relationship,⁵⁸² further supporting the notion that he was Apljahap's grandson.

Commencing with Grigor III, who, unlike other Catholicoi who typically adopt their birthplace as their title, is referred to by the genealogical epithet "*Pahlavuni*," the descendants of this lineage wielded control over the patriarchal seat for 90 years. The brother of Grigor III, Nerses IV Klaets'i (Shnorhali), successively held the position of Catholicos from 1166 to 1173, followed by their nephew Vasil, Grigor IV Tgha (1173-1193). The offspring of Vasil's daughter was Catholicos Grigor V K'aravezh' (1194), while the son of Zoravar's brother, Grigor VI Apirat, assumed the role from 1194 to 1203. Nerses Lambronats'i (1153-1198) was the progeny of Zoravar's daughter, Shahandukh't, and Prince Oshin, a renowned ecclesiastical figure of Cilicia. One of his siblings bore the name Apirat.

Despite being linked to the Pahlavunis solely through the maternal line, this lineage stemming from Apljahap and Grigor Pahlavuni Magistros's daughter, viewed themselves as legitimate successors to the catholicosal seat, tracing their ancestry back to St. Gregory the Illuminator and perpetuating their presence in the Catholicos role through dynastic inheritance.

It is noteworthy that while the representatives of the Ani branch of the Hassanian-Apiratian house also share maternal ties with the Pahlavunis (as Vasak's wife was the other daughter of Grigor Pahlavuni Magistros), they do not accentuate this genealogical connection.

Let us briefly discuss some notable figures from the Ani family lineage.

Vasak, the youngest son of Grigor Apirat Magistros, along with his sons, assumed prominent roles in Ani, particularly following the departure of the Byzantines during the Shaddadid rule. After the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan captured Ani in 1064, he swiftly bestowed it upon Manuch'é, the son of Ashot IV's daughter Abulasvar, who served as the amir of Dvin. Vardan Arevelts'i's historical account preserves significant details regarding Manuch'é's governance and his invitation to the Hassanians to the city.

⁵⁸¹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 360-361.

⁵⁸² Nerses Shnorhali, *The Encyclical Letter of Armenian Catholicos*, p. 8

Arevelts‘i writes that Manuch‘é “fortified the walls of Ani and welcomed all the other princes into the city with a grand procession. He received Grigor, the son of Vasak and grandson of Apirat, who reportedly commanded five hundred notable freemen bearing the crown, as he possessed numerous troops and freemen. Grigor was also the brother of priest Barsegh, who was ordained as Catholicos in Haghbat by Manuch‘é’s decree and the will of all Armenians. Under Manuch‘é’s reign, the city of Ani flourished even more than before.”⁵⁸³

It is highly plausible that Vardan Arevelts‘i drew this account from the now-lost historical work of Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, who possessed intimate knowledge of Ani’s circumstances. This passage underscores several significant points. Firstly, it indicates that during the Byzantine era and following the Seljuk invasion led by Alp Arslan, Vasak and his son Grigor managed to uphold their military prowess and authority. By adapting to the changing dynamics and reaching an accord with Manuch‘é, they reestablished themselves in Ani. This reintegration likely occurred shortly after Manuch‘é assumed power, as evidenced by Barsegh’s ordination as bishop in Ani in 1072. Furthermore, the same passage suggests that Barsegh’s subsequent elevation to the position of Catholicos in 1081 occurred at the behest of and by the order of Manuch‘é.

According to Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, Barsegh I made a triumphant entry into Ani following his ordination as Catholicos. Upon his arrival at the city’s gates, he was greeted by his kin – his father and three brothers – and jubilant crowds, symbolizing the reinstatement of the Catholicos seat in the city of Ani.⁵⁸⁴

The activities of Barsegh I Anets‘i have been thoroughly examined,⁵⁸⁵ and therefore, we will not delve into them here. It is worth noting, however, that while Barsegh was gradually consolidating the church’s influence in Ani, he also undertook the restoration of the catholicosal school, entrusting it to the renowned clergyman Hovhannes Deacon of that era. Meanwhile, his brother Prince Grigor served in the military alongside the Shaddadids, at times being compelled to take actions against his fellow Armenians, such as during the downfall of the Syunik‘ kingdom around 1094. In recounting

⁵⁸³ Step‘anos Orbelian, 1910, p. 320.

⁵⁸⁴ Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i, pp. 236-238.

⁵⁸⁵ M. Ormanian, pp. 1506-1576, K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 47-58.

these events, Step'anos Orbelian refers to the prince of city-dweller of Ani as "*Grigor Apiratian*." ⁵⁸⁶

Matt'eos Urhayets'i and Vardan Arevelts'i recount the demise of Grigor in 1099. The event unfolded during a skirmish near Kaghzvan against a force of 7,000 marauders who had encroached upon the borders of the Emirate of Ani, where Grigor valiantly perished, "*shielding Amir of Ani Manuch'ê from imminent peril*." Subsequently, he was interred in Kech'aris, with the historian noting that "*Manuch'ê and the entire Armenian army were processing after the corpse*." ⁵⁸⁷

During the 12th century, the Hassanian-Apiratians wielded influence as both secular and spiritual figures in Ani. Notably, Bishop Barsegh II Anets'i, descendant of Hasan, the third progeny of Vasak, rose to prominence.

⁵⁸⁶ Step'anos Orbelian, 1910, p. 320.

⁵⁸⁷ Vardan Arevelts'i, pp. 113-114.

THE HASSANIAN-APIRATIANS AND SOME EVENTS OF THE 12TH CENTURY

In the history of Ani, the 12th century is characterized as a period when Georgian kings fought to wrest the city from the Shaddadid amirs. As mentioned above, the city passed to the Georgians three times: in 1124-26, 1161-64, 1174-76 and was returned to the Shaddadids.

For the first time, the reason for the Georgian invasion was a move by Manuch'ê's son Abulasvar, who ordered a new big crescent in Khlat and installed on the dome of the Cathedral, which was turned into a mosque still in 1064. Vardan Arevelts'i, probably using the story of Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, writes that the people of Ani, who were dissatisfied with this, called the Georgian king David IV the Builder (1089-1125), who captured the city in 1024 and re-consecrated the Cathedral and turned it into a church after a 60-year hiatus.⁵⁸⁸

After that, one of Abulasvar's sons, Patlun, gathering together supporting Muslim forces, caused great damage to Ani and finally managed to get the city back two years later, but he accepted the condition presented to him and firmly swore that the Cathedral should always belong to the Armenians and there no Muslim should have access.⁵⁸⁹

In relation to these incidents, the two-year conflict, it should be noted that the population of Ani also participates in combat operations. Samvel Anets'i, writing that the Georgian general Abulet' won a victory against the army of Patlun besieging Ani with a small number of troops and the city was saved, adds that this happened "*with the participation of the inhabitants of the city in the battle,*" at the same time, when he wrote about the heroic self-defense of his hometown, he recorded with inspiring lines and passed on to history the name of a brave woman, Ayts'yam, who bravely fought on the walls of the city, ignoring the wounds she received from arrows.⁵⁹⁰

During this period, the priestly class, led by the archbishop of Ani, had become quite strong in Ani. The latter also enjoyed a special reputation in pan-Armenian church affairs. As Malachia Ormanian writes: "*The archbishops of Ani were considered chief in all of Armenia with the title of*

⁵⁸⁸ Vardan Arevelts'i, pp. 122-123.

⁵⁸⁹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 400.

⁵⁹⁰ Samuel Anets'i and Continuators, p. 207.

bishop of the North-East and only in very important cases were they related to the see of Hromkla (Rumkale).”⁵⁹¹

The dynastic origin of the locum tenens of Ani was also important. In this period, the archbishops of Ani were the representatives of the Hassanian-Apiratian kin, who were in-laws with the Pahlavunis, in fact, they had a kinship relationship with the Catholicoses in Hromkla, and if the latter considered themselves from the kin of Gregory the Illuminator, then the locum tenentes of Ani were not without that advantage either.

It is under these circumstances that the residents of Ani are making a new attempt to return the Catholicos seat to Ani. The movement is headed by archbishop of Barsegh – Barsegh Anets’i II. He is known to have maintained good relations with both the Georgian kings and the Shaddadid amirs of Ani and the local Muslims.⁵⁹² It is known that in 1174, with the help of the Georgian king, Barsegh rescued from captivity and returned his brother, Prince Apirat to Ani. During his reign, the spiritual church life in Ani and its surroundings experienced an upswing, numerous churches were built and repaired. Probably, at this time, the magnificent narthex of the Episcopal Church of Ani, St. Arak’elots’, was built, inside which Barsegh erected a khach’k’ar dedicated to the memory of himself and his parents in 1184.⁵⁹³ In 1186, the Armenians captured Tsarak’ar (Maghasberd), which was the dynastic property of Barsegh, from the Muslim bandits.⁵⁹⁴ In 1191, he buys Lmbatavank’ from the Muslims : *“In 1191, by the will of God, I – priest Barsegh, bought the monastery from the infidels...”*⁵⁹⁵

The events of 1155 testify to the increasing role of the Armenian clergy in Ani in the middle of the 12th century. Three Arab historians, Ibn al-Asir, al-Fariqi and Ayni, report the following in almost the same words: *“...in the city of Ani, the Armenian priests rebelled, and after seizing it from Amir Shaddad, handed it over to his brother, Fadlun.”*⁵⁹⁶ But as it can be seen, this amir was not to the heart of the resident of Ani either, and in 1161 they kicked him out of the city. Al-Fariqi writes about this: *“In the city of Ana (Ani), the priests rebelled against its master, Amir Fadlun ibn*

⁵⁹¹ M. Ormanian, p. 1784.

⁵⁹² In the letter written by Nerses Lambronats’i to prince Levon II of Cilicia, Barsegh is criticized for having warm relations with the Muslim rulers of Ani.

⁵⁹³ CAI, I, p. 31.

⁵⁹⁴ Vardan Arelvelts’i, p. 136.

⁵⁹⁵ Gh. Alishan, 1881, p. 164.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibn al-Asir, pp. 257, 400, H. Margaryan, 1980, p. 99.

*Manuch'ih, who was defeated and went to the fortress called Bak'ran (Bagaran) near Surmari. The priests handed Ana over to the king K'ark'ur (George) of Apkhazians. His army came and took over, looted a lot of wealth...*⁵⁹⁷ Researchers referring to these and previous testimonies usually emphasize that the “priests” of Ani should be understood as the Christians of the city. However, the reality is that if the driving force of these popular uprisings was the Christian Armenian population of Ani, then the one who led it was the clergy of the city. That is why Arab authors unanimously emphasize the priests (*“the priests rebelled”*). This thing is further substantiated and clarified thanks to the testimonies preserved by the Armenian author Mkh'it'ar Gosh regarding the events of 1161. He notes that bishop Barsegh II of Ani and his brothers invited George several times to capture Ani, but later (apparently after having ousted the city's amir on their own) when George marched on Ani, they did not want to surrender the city to him. The Georgian king captured the city by force and punished many of the opponents by exposing and shaming them, including priests and clerics.⁵⁹⁸

From this, it becomes absolutely certain that during the mentioned events, the clergy of the city acted as an expression of the common interests of the people of Ani. It is natural that the priests of the city did not act independently, but were led by their spiritual leader, Barsegh, who, being the son of the most influential noble house of this period of Ani, later carried out quite independent activities.

In this period, a new attempt is being made to return the Catholicos see to Ani. In 1177, during the reign of Catholicos Gregory IV Tgha (Adolescent), a letter was received from the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos discussing the issue of the union of the Greek and Armenian churches. Grigor Tgha notified the Armenian bishops and clergy about this, and received a negative response from them. The list of names of the clergy who signed that note begins with the name of Barsegh Anets'i II.

In April 1178, a great church meeting was convened in Hromkla, and the first participant from Armenia was Barsegh – *“Archbishop Basilios of the royalist city of Ani.”* The meeting lasts quite a long time and ultimately ends without results, because the traditionalist part of the clergy remains intransigent on the main religious issues, and the document signed as a result

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 101-102.

of the meeting never reaches Constantinople. It is noteworthy that under the document Barsegh's signature is the third after the signatures of the Catholicos of Armenia and Caucasian Albania (followed by the signatures of the archbishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, Tarson, Edessa, Tiflis, Syunik', Caesarea). This fact also shows the exceptional position occupied by the archbishop of Ani. After the meeting, Barsegh returns to Ani, and the See of Hromkla continues to take steps towards the unification of the churches, this time creating ties with the Latin Catholic Church.

Among the clergy of northern Armenia, the belief that it is necessary to have one's own Catholicos see, staying away from other influences and confessional disputes, is gradually deepening. The archbishop of Ani is considered the best candidate for the implementation of this problem. When Catholicos Grigor Tgha died in 1193, the candidacy of Barsegh Anets'i was put forward in Armenia, but it was not accepted by the Armenians of Cilicia. The young bishop Grigor V was ordained a Catholicos in Hromkla, who a year later fell victim to the pressure of prince Levon II (King Levon I from 1198). The strengthened Cilician court directly intervenes in the affairs of the Catholicos. At the end of 1194, a church council was convened in Sis, which ordained Grigor VI Apirat (1194-1203) Catholicos on the instructions of Levon II. The election is made without taking into account the opinion of the clergy of Armenia.

After that, in 1195, by the decision of the Armenian clergy, Barsegh Anets'i II was ordained as Catholicos of Ani. We see the confirmation of this in the 1195 inscription of Horomos abbot Petros: *"In 1195, in the first year of the catholicate of Barsegh..."*⁵⁹⁹

Malachia Ormanian states that after Barsegh Anets'i II was declared Catholicos, the Hromkla See did not issue a verdict against him: *"The grand prince and the Catholicos of Cilicia... did not dare to issue a verdict against Barsegh... and they did not pay attention to what happened in Armenia. In this way, two Catholicoses, opposed to each other, but covering the opposition, managed to live and work together..."*⁶⁰⁰

Thus, 90 years after the departure of Barsegh Anets'i I from Ani in 1105, in 1195 the citizens of Ani restored the Catholicos see of Ani for the last time, which, however, had local significance.

⁵⁹⁹ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 150.

⁶⁰⁰ M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, v. I, pp. 1784-1785.

Soon, Ani was finally freed from the rule of the Amirs and, judging by a colophon written in Horomos and several other facts, at the end of 1198, after the death of the Sultan Amir, he opened the doors without resistance to the Armenian-Georgian troops led by Zakaré and Ivané Zak'arians.⁶⁰¹ Thus, both the Catholicos see and the Christian princely state are restored in Ani. However, the Zak'arians, who were officials of the Georgian state, probably do not show interest in having a Catholicos in Ani in order to avoid the aggravation of Armenian-Georgian inter-church relations.

After Barsegh's death, which took place before 1203, a new Catholicos was not ordained in Ani, but only a bishop from the same Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty, the son of the Catholicos's brother prince Apirat Sargis (Sargis I). He is remembered for the last time in 1220 in the great inscription he left in the Arak'elots' Church of Ani.

During his reign, bishop Grigor I (Magistros), one of the new Pahlavunis, made a claim to the episcopal see of Ani, which was mentioned above.

As we can see, the most prominent representatives of the Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty in Ani were the spiritual leaders, especially Barsegh Anets'i I and Barsegh Anets'i II, and the secular scions were not particularly prominent, as they mostly performed military service for the city's amirs. However, there is no doubt that they supported their relative spiritual leaders and the success of the latter was determined by this.

Regarding the situation of Ani in the 12th century, it should be added that despite the rule of the Muslim amirs, it continued to be a completely Armenian city. William Rubruck, who visited Ani in 1255, reports that there were two mosques in the city.⁶⁰² Based on this evidence, as well as the existence of the ruins of the Manuch'é Mosque and Abu-I-Mamran preserved on the spot, we can say that there were exactly two mosques in Ani. This reality is an indirect fact for determining the approximate limits of the number of the Muslim community in the city and its correlation with the number of the Armenian population, if we consider that the number of large and small churches in the city itself was around 100.

The construction activities of the Muslim rulers in Ani were not limited to the construction of mosques. Several Arabic inscriptions testify to

⁶⁰¹ K. Matevosyan, *The Time of Establishment of the Zak'arians in Ani...*, pp. 280-283. A. Shahnazaryan, 2005, pp. 140-142.

⁶⁰² H. Hakobyan, *Travel Notes*, Yerevan, 1932, p. 23.

the construction of a wall tower (wall tower of Manuch'ê), gates near the citadel (built by emir Shaddad) and a bathhouse. Tombstones of Muslims with Arabic inscriptions have also been preserved, most of which contain excerpts from the K'oran. Only two of them have the names of the deceased: Ibn Rahim and Nisan Ibn Hani. And a tombstone-shrine located southwest of the Cathedral was a place of pilgrimage for local Muslims, but its inscription is incomplete and it is not possible to find out who it belonged to.⁶⁰³

In situations where the fate of the city was at stake, the different religious communities of Ani often stood together in defense of common interests. As we have seen, during the capture of Ani by George III in 1161, when the citizens of Ani unitedly resisted the king of Georgia, the latter, taking over the city by force, punished both Christians and Muslims. This case, the capture of Tsarak'ar in 1186 and other episodes of the city's history show that in the moments that were lucky for the fate of the city, citizens of different faiths were not guided by narrow religious considerations, but acted unitedly.

⁶⁰³ A. Khachatryan, *Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions of Armenia, VIII-XVI Centuries*, Yerevan, 1986, pp. 54, 56, 58, 59.

VEST SARGIS

One of the most famous figures of the last period of the history of kingdom of Ani was Vest Sargis, who has been referred to by dozens of

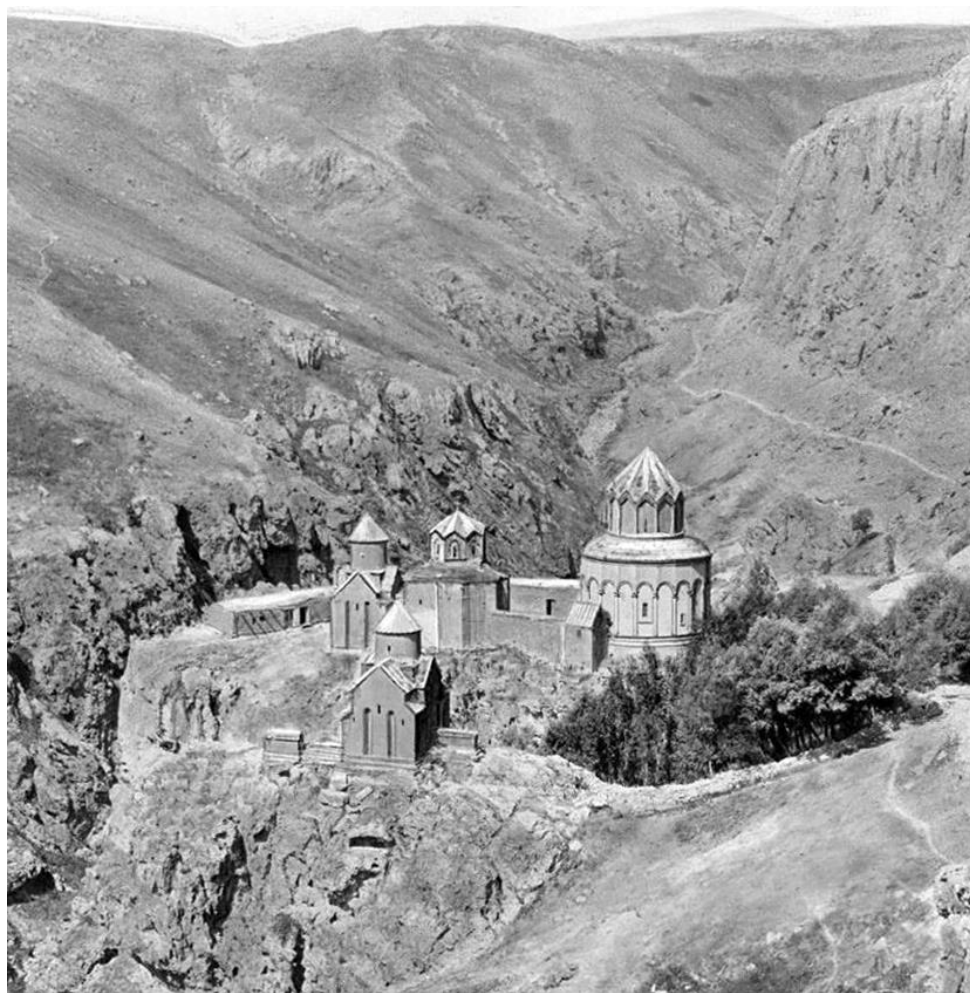


Fig. 50. Early 20th-century view of the Khts'konk' Monastery, with only the church built by Vest Sargis remaining, the large church of St. Sargis

researchers in connection with the fall of the Bagratid kingdom, but there is no separate study dedicated to him yet. It is known that Vest Sargis

originated from Syunik', i.e. "*Haykazn*,"⁶⁰⁴ as Matt'eos Urhayets'i mentions about him twice, and probably he rose to prominence in Ani thanks to the patronage of Queen Katramidé (Katranide), the wife of Gagik I, the daughter of King Vasak of Syunik'. This can be judged from the two inscriptions of Tekor, which is the property of Sargis (within his "*dominion*"),⁶⁰⁵ by which the queen and her son Ashot leave local taxes.⁶⁰⁶ In the 1033 inscription of the church of St. Sargis (Fig. 50) built by him in Khts'konk', not far from Tekor (the Tekor Monastery), Sargis proudly mentions the Byzantine titles granted to him and the fact that he was a beloved servant of three Byzantine emperors and received three honors from them: "...took. From the (3) the titles: *antipat patrick, vest and duke of the East*..."⁶⁰⁷ Those emperors were Basil II (976-1025), Constantine I (1025-1028) and Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034).

Little is known about the family of Vest Sargis, in the above-mentioned inscription of Khts'konk', he called himself and his two brothers, Aplhasan and Khatap, "*sons of Yezdi*."⁶⁰⁸ Aplhasan's name is also found in another inscription of the monastery, where it is mentioned about the premature death of his son Hajaj in 1034 and his burial here.⁶⁰⁹ This shows that Vest Sargis, having established a church in Khts'konk', also turned the monastery into a family gravesite.

The prince's wife, Tiknats'tikin, informs about herself in an 1042 inscription in Tekor, not far from Khts'konk', where she also mentions the name of her father, Grigor Magistros, who, as mentioned above, was from the Hassanian-Apiratian dynasty, the builder of the St. Grigor Church of the Kech'aris Monastery – Grigor Apirat Magistros.

As we have already mentioned, after the murder of Grigor Apirat in Dvin in 1021, his wife and children came to Ani and received the patronage of Hovhannes Smbat here, also receiving "*my canton and authority*."⁶¹⁰ The reason was that the king was grateful to Grigor Apirat Magistros for saving

⁶⁰⁴ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 76, 94-95. In H. Acharyan's dictionary, he is considered "*from free clan of Syuni*" (H. Acharyan, *Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*, vol. 4, p. 409).

⁶⁰⁵ In a 1036 inscription it is said about Tekor: "*in the dominion of Sargis, duke of the East*" (N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 207).

⁶⁰⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 206.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 209.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 209.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 213.

⁶¹⁰ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, pp. 16-17.

his life. We have also mentioned that it was probably at that time that Hovhannes Smbat took the orphaned daughter of Grigor Apirat Magistros under his care and gave her to Vest Sargis as a wife (naturally also giving a proper dowry). It should be thought that after that the prince got closer to the king. It is known that at the time of Hovhannes Smbat's death, Vest Sargis was his trustee and the guard of the state treasury.⁶¹¹

Vest Sargis is mentioned by historians mainly for his role during the crisis of the Bagratid kingdom of Ani, as a prince with a claim to the crown. This issue does not seem to have caused disagreement among historians. However, there is a circumstance that somewhat changes the previous perception about this. Below we will try to answer the question of whether Vest Sargis had descendants, because there is no information about that in the sources, or whether he was childless. Clarification of this circumstance may shed some light on interpreting his claim to the throne of Ani.

The doubt that Vest Sargis probably died without an heir came to us while studying the history of the Tsarak'ar fortress near Ani.⁶¹² As we saw above in the section dedicated to this fortress, the Tsarak'ar Monastery was turned into a fortress by Vest Sargis, about which Samvel Anets'i writes in his chronicle under 1024: *"The Venerable Vest Sargis, after numerous edifices, fortresses and churches, built the wonderful Khts'konk' Monastery"* adding, *"he also turned the Tsarak'ar Monastery into a fortress by surrounding it with thick walls and monolithic wall towers..."*⁶¹³ It is clear that at least since 1024 this territory (which he turned into a fortress) belonged to Vest Sargis and it would be logical if it passed to his descendants (or kinsmen) later. But it turns out that later it passed to the relatives of Sargis's wife, more precisely to his brother's descendants. It could happen mainly in three cases: if Sargis himself sold it to his wife's brother (which is not very likely) or if he received it as his wife's dowry and if they were childless, the wife's property was returned to her clan after her death.⁶¹⁴ It is also possible that the childless Sargis died earlier than his wife, and his clan

⁶¹¹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 57.

⁶¹² K. Matevosyan, *The City of Ani and Tsarak'ar-Maghasberd in the 11th-14th centuries*, pp. 236-247.

⁶¹³ Samuel Anets'i and Continuator, p. 183.

⁶¹⁴ The solution to a similar situation was later reflected in the The Lawcode (Datastanagirk') of Mkh'it'ar Gosh, see Mkh'it'ar Gosh, "Matenagirk' Hayots'" (Armenian Classical Authors) vol. XIX, book I, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 168, 289, 301. On women's land ownership rights in the Middle Ages, see also Kh. Samuelyan, *The History of Ancient Armenian Law*, Yerevan, 1939, p. 247.

no longer had any role in Ani, so the territory and the fortress passed to his wife's clan.

During the rule of the Shaddadid amirs of Ani, in 1186, the Ani citizens captured the Tsarak'ar fortress from the Muslim bandits, which was the property of the dynasty of Bishop Barsegh of Ani. Vardan Arevelts'i wrote about it ("...they took Tsarak'ar, the native [fortress] of priest Barsegh...")⁶¹⁵ and more thoroughly the anonymous author of the book "*History of the City of Ani*," who mentions about the fortress: "*Which was the native inheritance of the Catholicos Barsegh, to his fathers and brothers.*"⁶¹⁶ Bishop Barsegh II of Ani was the son of Hasan Magistros, who was also the son of prince Grigor, who was killed in the war during the reign of amir Manuch'é and was buried in Kech'aris. The latter's father, Vasak, was the brother of Tiknats'tikin – the wife of Vest Sargis. The fact that in the above-mentioned source it is mentioned that Tsarak'ar was Barsegh's "*native, own*" and also "*paternal*" ("*question*") inheritance, shows that the fortress belonged to them for a long time. It could not have been during the Seljuk conquest, because they made everything they captured by force of arms their own. It remains that Tsarak'ar belonged to the Hassanian-Apiratians until 1064. It is the period when Vest Sargis and Tiknats'tikin could have died, and if they were childless, the latter's dowry would be returned to his clan, in this case, to his brother Vasak.

It is clear that this is an opinion based on assumptions. However, other circumstances also speak in favor of it, in particular, the fact that there is no mention of their children in the inscriptions left by either Vest Sargis or his wife. In the above-mentioned inscription of 1033, Vest Sargis, in exchange for a donation, demands from the abbot of Khts'konk' to perform annually four forty masses for his parents, and after his and his brothers' death, for themselves. In the 1042 inscription, Tiknats'tikin mentions that she did the charity for the soul of her parents and for the longevity of Shahنشah Gagik II.⁶¹⁷

It seems to us that the circumstance of being childless is also the reason that when Vest Sargis tried to rule in Ani after the death of Hovhannes Smbat, there was no general uprising against him. Since dynastic hereditary right was the main prerequisite for legitimacy in the Middle Ages, Vest

⁶¹⁵ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 136.

⁶¹⁶ Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, (appendix), pp. 109-110.

⁶¹⁷ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 207.

Sargis could not change the ruling line, but perhaps proposed that he alone rule during his lifetime. That is why he had many supporters, the population of Ani, which was highly politicized in that region, did not rise up against him (it is enough to remember the revolt against the Catholicos Petros), as well as the Bagratids of Kars and Tashir-Dzoraget. However, the other powerful princes of the kingdom of Ani, the Pahlavunis, were against that, who, apparently, did not tolerate the aspiration of someone equal to them to rule over them and organized the coronation of the young Gagik II.

After getting acquainted with the information provided by Aristakes Lastiverts'i, the historian closest in time to these events, we see that after the death of Hovhannes Smbat, when the Byzantines wanted to take over the city, Vest Sargis tried to rule there himself. Perhaps the information of an anonymous Georgian historian that Vest Sargis allied with the Georgian king Bagrat IV (1027-1072) and joined him with "*the nine fortresses of Ani, except Amberd*" refers to this period.⁶¹⁸ This contrasts with the common historiographical view that Vest Sargis always sought to hand over Ani to the Byzantines. Lastiverts'i writes that when the emperor received the news about Hovhannes Smbat, he wanted to take possession of Ani, which was handed over to him by will, at that time one of the main Armenian freemen named Sargis "*conveyed himself the splendour of a king,*"⁶¹⁹ that is, he tried to reign. We think that according to the world view of both the historian and the people of the 11th century in general, it was simply impossible for a person from another clan to inherit the property of any clan (let alone speaking about the royal one) without taking it by force of arms.

In order to have a more complete picture of the situation in Ani in the mentioned period, let us remember that in 1022, Hovhannes Smbat, who bequeathed the kingdom of Ani to the Byzantine Empire, received an honorary title of magister from the emperor and an annual pension was appointed for him. John Skylitzes⁶²⁰ writes about it, and Matt'eos Urhayets'i notes that he received that salary for 15 years.⁶²¹ In other words, Hovhannes Smbat, to some extent, turned into a Byzantine official ruling in Ani, who also had no children (his son died early) and would rule until the end of his

⁶¹⁸ L. Melik'set'-Bek, *Georgian Sources on Armenia and Armenians*, vol. I, Yerevan, 1934, pp. 205-206. Regarding this information, we should mention that Amberd belonged to Vahram Pahlavuni.

⁶¹⁹ Aristakes Lastiverts'i, p. 57.

⁶²⁰ John Skylitzes, p. 146.

⁶²¹ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 94.

life. We think that Vest Sargis tried to make this situation continuous, but already under his power, especially since he was a holder of high Byzantine titles, and perhaps he convinced the Ani citizens that he could find an understanding with the empire, maintaining the existing status of Ani and there ruling until the end of his life.

The fact that Vest Sargis did not undertake a dynastic change, but only tried to rule Ani temporarily, is also evident from the fact that Gagik II sat on the throne of Ani with the efforts of the Pahlavunis, after a brief conflict with Vest Sargis, who was surprised and did not recognize his authority, he returned the latter to the court, in a very high position. If Vest Sargis had tried to usurp the Bagratids' hereditary right to Ani, that thing would not have been forgiven by either the Ani citizens or even more so by Gagik.

Thus, we believe that from the combination of different historical information, we can conclude that the famous prince of the last period of the Bagratid state, Vest Sargis, was childless, a circumstance that played a certain role in his actions in 1041, as well as in the tolerant attitude towards him in Ani.

When, as a result of the two years of the young and inexperienced Gagik II's rule, the kingdom of Ani was on the verge of destruction and the emperor demanded that he go to Constantinople (1044), one of the people pushing the king to take that step was Vest Sargis, who had regained his position in the court. As Lastiverts'i writes: *"...Gagik, following the provocation of the cunning Sargis, left the city and went to the Greeks on a journey without return."*⁶²² After that, we do not find any evidence about Vest Sargis or his relatives in the primary sources.

⁶²² Aristakes Lastiverts'i, pp. 61-62.

THE CITIZENS OF ANI

The history and cultural heritage of Ani, the capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia, have been thoroughly examined. However, the same level of attention has not been given to the history of Ani's citizens. Ani was undeniably a significant city, often referred to as a "*great capital*," a characterization validated when compared to other cities in Armenia during its existence (Fig. 51). According to the historian Matt'eos Urhayets'i, Ani



*Fig. 51. Double-tiered walls of Ani in the vicinity of the Avag Gate
(photograph from the early 20th century)*

was densely populated, teeming with men and women of all ages, from the elderly to the young, so populous that it impressed the beholders («Էր Անի բազմամբոխ, լցեալ քաղաք բիւրք բիւրոց արանց և կանանց, ծերոց և տղայոց, որ և հիացումն արկանէր տեսողացն»)⁶²³ The city housed the societal elite, ranging from kings and their families to noble houses and high-ranking clergy, including catholicoi, bishops, and priests. However, the most numerous segment of the population was the urban class, predominantly composed of artisans and merchants, along with various smaller groups. A wealth of historical and demographic information has been preserved in the writings of historians, inscriptions, and colophons of manuscripts, providing a richness of detail about the population of Ani that is unparalleled among Armenian settlements of the 11th-14th centuries.

⁶²³ Matt'eos Urhayets'i, p. 160.

The citizens of Ani encompassed both those native to the city and individuals who arrived from other locations to establish residence. The characterization of the citizens of Ani as an urban population becomes particularly relevant from the time the settlement embraced a royalist status in 961, marking a swift transformation into a bustling city. Notably, the substantial growth in the capital's population was not primarily a result of natural increase but rather owed itself to settlers arriving from diverse locales, in particular from Shirak, and extending to various other regions

A wealth of information exists about the elite strata of Ani's society, extensively documented in various historical works pertaining to the city. Diverse studies shed light on the prominent figures in Ani's spiritual and cultural domains, encompassing historians, writers, architects, stone masons, manuscript and inscription scribes, painters, and more. However, there is a noticeable scarcity of references to individual citizens or urban dynasties. Remarkably, Ani stands out as a leader among other cities of Armenia during the 11th-14th centuries due to the abundance of preserved information specifically concerning urban dynasties and large families.

In the inscriptions of Ani and the nearby monasteries, various descriptions are employed to categorize different segments of society. Among these, the most prevalent expressions include *"big and small,"* alongside designations such as *"rich and poor"* and *"natives and newcomers."* The latter classification is particularly significant, given that the declaration of Ani as the capital precipitated a rapid transformation of the once modest settlement into a thriving city. This expansion was predominantly fueled by an influx of people relocating from other regions.

During the 11th-12th centuries, the urban class of Ani underwent significant development, forming its core. This evolution gained momentum notably under the rule of the Shaddadid amirs, commencing in 1124. Despite the repeated captures of the city by Georgian kings within that century, the urban class emerged as a potent and often independent political force. Following the collapse of Shaddadid authority in 1198 and the ascendance of the Zakarids to power in Ani, the city entered a new era of prosperity, marked by a substantial influx of population. Consequently, remarks distinguishing between locals and newcomers are not coincidental in this phase of the city's history. For instance, in 1211, the priest Sahak, a graduate of the Haghbat Monastery, found it pertinent to underscore his origin in the colophon of a Gospel he received: *"Belonging to a nation and clan from the*

great capital of Ani” («ազգաւ եւ տոհմիւ ի մեծ մայրաքաղաքէն յԱնուշ...»)⁶²⁴ It is intriguing that this distinction between natives and newcomers manifested specifically among the priests of Ani, while the city’s bishops deemed it necessary to emphasize in their records that they held a role for all. Furthermore, insights gleaned from inscriptions suggest that the resettled population may have been more numerous, as their names are listed first.

The earliest evidence of such a division within the spiritual class of Ani is found in the 1220 inscription left by Bishop Sargis I on the wall of the Holy Apostles Church. In this inscription, he employs the general formulation “*all the priests of my city*” («զամենայն քաղաքիս քահանայից») into “*prosperous and poor, newcomers and settled ones...*” («զփարթամաց եւ զաղքատաց, զեկաց եւ զբնակաց...»)⁶²⁵ The mention of newcomers, specifically identified as “*own people and newcomers*” («զիւրեանց եւ զեկաց») appears in the 1225 inscription of Marmashen, by Bishop Grigor I of Ani.⁶²⁶ Similarly, in a mid-13th-century inscription left by Bishop Sargis II in the Holy Apostles Church emphasizes the coexistence of newcomers and locals, stating, “*I, Bishop Sargis... I saw the priests who came here and those who lived here...*” («Ես տէր Սարգիս եպիսկոպոս... իրիցանու՝ զեկաց եւ զբնակաց...»)⁶²⁷ It’s noteworthy that in the mid-11th century, when discussing Artsni, Aristakes Lastiverts’i references local priests who held dual responsibilities for both the state and the church, identifying them as “*owners of the community and the church*” («որք վիճակի տէաքք էին և եկեղեցոյ»). He also notes those who came from other places and settled in the city, referred to as “*incomers*” («եկամուտ») ⁶²⁸ with an explanation clarifying them as individuals entering the ranks of the natives from outside («Եկ ոք արտաքուստ մտեալ ի թիւ բնակաց»)⁶²⁹

In the 1220 inscription cited earlier, alongside references to newcomers and native priests, there is also a delineation based on social status, distinguishing between the “*prosperous and the poor*” («զփարթամաց եւ զաղքատաց»). Notably, in 1216, Bishop Grigor I of Ani

⁶²⁴ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 71.

⁶²⁵ CAI, I, p. 17.

⁶²⁶ CAI, X, p. 95.

⁶²⁷ Ibid. p. 25. On a stone fragment discovered during the city excavations, the inscription reads: «զՄարկոս երէց բնական...» (Ibid. p. 56). For more information on this, see Mkh’it’ar Gosh’s *The Lowcode*, p. 36, K. Matevosyan, 1997, p. 123.

⁶²⁸ Aristakes Lastiverts’i, p. 79.

⁶²⁹ *New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*, v. I, Venice, 1836, p. 650.

relinquished the collection of the “soul tax” for the deceased, as documented in the inscription: “*From the beginning, it was decreed that a payment of 11 drachmas be given for every deceased individual, distributed equally among the wealthy and the impoverished*” («ի սկզբանէ սահման էր յամենայն մեռելի ԺԱ (11) դրամ տալ ի փարթամաց եւ աղքատաց առհասարակ միասլես...»)⁶³⁰

In that era, individuals who were neither noble nor wealthy were frequently described as “small” in historical sources. One of the earliest instances of this characterization can be found in the 1028 inscription Hovhannes Smbat’s (1017-1041) wife in Yereruyk’. In this record, she secured an exemption for the settlement from the “*‘astak*” tax, for the wellbeing of her husband and son and at the end she inscribed a curse, declaring that whoever did not comply with this exemption would be subject to a curse: “*Whoever acts in opposition to this writing – whether great or small – shall be anathematised by the 318 Holy Fathers*” («թէ որ այս գրոյս հակառ կա՝ մեծաց կամ ի փոքրաց ՅԺԸ (318) հայրապետացն լնովեալ է»)⁶³¹

In 1198, Mkh‘it‘ar, the abbot of the Horomos Monastery near Ani, faced significant challenges in bringing the “*Spring water*” to the monastery – a task that the kings of Ani had struggled to achieve despite considerable effort. In recognition of the laborers who accomplished this feat, he instituted an annual three-day liturgy. The inscription culminated with the following words: “*Should anyone among the great or the small stand against this water or this writing, let them incur the curse of Cain and be crucified...*” («եթէ որ ի մեծաց կամ ի փոքրոնց հակառակ կա ջրիս կամ գրիս, զաւճին զԿայենին զխաչահանուացն զանէծսն առցէ...»)⁶³²

In the same monastery, in 1234, Zmrukht Khatun donated a watermill to Horomos, receiving masses for it. Concluding the inscription, she made a note: “*Hence, should any person, whether of high or low status, remove our offerings from the holy convent, whether by sale or pledge... they shall be anathematised both in life and death by the 318 Holy Fathers...*” («արդ եթէ որ ի մեծամեծաց կամ ի փոքրոնց զմեր նուէրս հանէ ի սուրբ ուխտէս

⁶³⁰ CAI, I, p. 14.

⁶³¹ CAI, X, p. 18. Previously, the inscription of Queen Katramidé in Khtskonk’, dated 1005 and now destroyed, featured the wording «ի մեծաց կամ ի փոքրոնց» (Krpé, Khtskonk’, “Ethnological Journal,” 1896, I, p. 43).

⁶³² Horomos Monastery, p. 430.

կամ ծախելով կամ գրաւական դնելով... ՅԺԸ (318) հայրապետացն նզովեալ եղիցի մահով եւ կենաւք...»⁶³³

Mkh'it'ar, the son of Grigor Khuts'es, who served as one of the tax collectors in Ani, used a similar expression in his inscription on the wall of the Holy Apostles Church in the 14th century: *"If anyone, whether great or small, disrupts this decree, let that person be anathematised by the 318 Holy Fathers"* («...եթե որ ի մեծաց կամ ի փոքունց զայս արձանս խափանէ, մարդն էն, նզովեալ եղիցի ՅԺԸ (318) հայրապետացն...»)⁶³⁴ There are numerous other examples in various inscriptions,⁶³⁵ but these instances suffice to affirm that during the mentioned period, Armenian society, especially in the region of Ani, was divided into the *"great"* and the *"small"* signifying the distinction between the elite and the ordinary people. Simultaneously, these quotations serve as evidence that not only individuals of noble lineage, status, and wealth but also ordinary people, the small ones, were capable of engaging in inappropriate or harmful actions.

History has retained scant information about these *"small"* or ordinary people, with chroniclers seldom mentioning them. In this context, the other two written sources of Armenian history provide relatively rich insights: inscriptions and colophons. Primarily through donation inscriptions, we will endeavor to showcase the residents of Ani, beginning with prominent families or clans known by distinctive names.

⁶³³ Ibid., p. 448.

⁶³⁴ CAI, I, p. 28.

⁶³⁵ Ibid. pp. 36, 63, 45 (1036), 74, CAI, X, pp. 36, 45, 65; N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 213, 214, etc.

URBAN FAMILIES AND CLANS

In Ani, both among nobles and ordinary citizens, the adoption of surnames ending in “ents’,” “ants’,” and “onts’,” attached to the name (sometimes a nickname) of a notable ancestor was a prevalent practice. For instance, the surname Abulamrenc’, bestowed upon the Pahlavunis and derived from the name of Grigor Pahlavuni’s (Grigor I Hamzé) father, Abulamr. Grigor, who erected Surb Grigor Church in the city at the end of the 10th century, lent his name to the church, known as “Abulamrenc’” among the people of Ani.⁶³⁶ This naming convention extended to other clans in Ani, such as Bekhents’, Khambushents’, Honents’, Tsilents’, Shekhents’, Ch’ech’kants’, and subsequent names. In the following exploration, we delve into the known information about these clans, as well as several other urban families.

Bekhents’

The Bekhents’ family is the only one in Ani for which information is available in the aforementioned three types of sources. We only possess the name of the founder but lack details about any of his descendants. Vardan Arevelts’i, who typically extracted information regarding Ani from Mkh’it’ar Anets’i’s now-lost “*History*,” likely drew from that source when documenting the famine that afflicted the city in 1090, “*there was famine because of locusts and a severe drought, leading to significant distress in Ani. The residents were unable to bury those who succumbed to hunger. However, one individual, demonstrating exceptional courage and a deep devotion to God, buried 6 thousand people. His name was Bekh*” («Յայնմ ժամանակի եղև ի պատճառս մարախոյ և երաշտոյ սով սաստիկ և ի յԱնի նեղութիւն մեծ. ուստի զմեռեալսն թաղել ոչ կարէին ի սովոյն և ոչ օրինացն հաղորդել. որ և այր մի ասեն քաջութիւն ցուցեալ և սէր առ Աստուած՝ թաղեաց վեց հազար անձինս, որում անուն էր Բեխ»)⁶³⁷ Subsequently, the

⁶³⁶ According to one of the inscriptions at Bagnair, an individual named Khach’ot donated his house to the monastery. This property was situated in close proximity to the Abulamrenc’ Surb Grigor Church in Ani. In return for his benevolent gesture, Khach’ot received two masses annually («Ես Խաչոտս, ծառա Քրիստոսի, ետու ի Սուրբ յԱստուածածինս զիմ զգանձագին զտունն մաւտ ի յԱպուղամբենց Սուրբ Գրիգոր...») (N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 180-181).

⁶³⁷ Vardan Arevelts’i, p. 113, (in Modern Armenian, p. 152).

Bekhents' family is referenced in Ani, and the most plausible inference is that the name of the aforementioned individual, Bekh, finds its origin in this clan. Considering the timeframe of the earlier incident (1090), it can be posited that the Bekhents' family was active during the late 11th century and the 12th century. While the name of another member of this lineage has not been preserved, the family name has endured in certain place names. One such instance is commemorated in the 1193 inscription of the Church of the Holy Savior in Ani, where the priest Trdat and his wife Khushush, credited with restoring the church around 1130, possibly after it was damaged by an earthquake, also acknowledged their donations. These included four gardens in Aruch and a house situated in front of the church, adding: "*A large field of Bekhents*".⁶³⁸

Nevertheless, the Bekhents' family in Ani was mostly known for its monastery, referred to as the Bekhents' Monastery, a name documented in two primary sources. In 1215, the renowned wealthy man, Tigran Honents', recorded in the building inscription of the St. Gregory the Illuminator Monastery and the church that he had erected it («...շինեցի զվանքս Սրբոյն Գրիգորոյ») and made numerous donations. He further mentioned repairing and enhancing the Bekhents' Monastery with contributions. Notably, he directed that the individual overseeing the affairs of the St. Gregory the Illuminator Monastery should also take care of the Bekhents' Monastery («Եւ զվանքն Բեխենց կոչեցեալ, զոր եւ շինեցի եւ նորոգեցի, ընծայաւք փարթամացուցի ամէնովն, Սուրբ Գրիգորոյ վանացս հոգացողս՝ հոգայ զորպիսութիւն»)⁶³⁹

For the second time, the name of the monastery is mentioned in a Gospel from the early 13th century, kept in the Matenadaran (MS 5554), on the occasion of the commemoration of its spiritual leader Eghbayrik. On the middle of one of the canon tables of the manuscript is written: "*Remember Eghbayrik of the Bekhents' Monastery in your prayers*" («Եղբայրիկ զհայր Բեխենց վանացն յիշեցէք յաղաւթս»)⁶⁴⁰. On the wings of the rose-shaped decoration in the headpiece of the same canon table, the name "*EGHBA[YRIK]*" is written in a circle with one letter each.⁶⁴⁰ The image of Abbot Eghbayrik is preserved in one of the canon tables of the Haghbat

⁶³⁸ CAI, I, p. 47. The inscription also provides information regarding the irrigation of that field, based on which G. Grigoryan determines the size of the field to be approximately six and a half hectares (G. Grigoryan 2002, pp. 49-52).

⁶³⁹ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

⁶⁴⁰ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 72.

Gospel (MS 6288) of 1211, a manuscript that was illustrated in the Bekhents' Monastery. The artist Margaré wrote next to the image: "*Remember Father Yeghbayrik, Spiritual Leader of the Holy Covenant*" («Հայր Եղբայրիկ առաջնորդ սուրբ ուխտիս յիշեսցիք»)⁶⁴¹ This indicates that at the beginning of the 13th century, under the guidance of Abbot Eghbayrik, the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani had a scriptorium where manuscripts were copied and illustrated. However, during that period, the monastery was already under the patronage of Tigran Honents', who restored and enriched it with donations, fostering its flourishing state.

Examining historical records, it becomes apparent that in 1193, Priest Trdat made a significant contribution by bestowing a sizable field upon the newly renovated Church of the Redeemer. Furthermore, in 1215, Tigran Honents' attested to his earlier refurbishment of the Bekhents' Monastery, merging it with the Saint Gregory the Illuminator Monastery that he had erected. During this period, the Bekhents' family's prominence in the city seemed negligible. One could surmise that by the end of the 12th century, whether due to bankruptcy or other factors, their assets underwent a transfer to new owners, leaving the Bekhents' family with only their original property. The 1215 building inscription of the St. Gregory the Illuminator Monastery states that Tigran Honents' acquired the old chapel of Surb Astvastatsin and its accompanying stone and scrub terrain from previous proprietors. The practice of changing monastery ownership through purchases was commonplace during this era,⁶⁴² and it is conceivable that the Bekhents' Monastery underwent a similar change, falling into the possession of Tigran Honents' through such a way. Despite various speculations, the exact location of the monastery in Ani remains elusive.⁶⁴³

Very recently, the name of Bekhents' has been mentioned in the publication of the Shirak epigraphs volume. A partially preserved donation inscription, believed to have been inscribed on a stone located in the Surb Karapet Church of Hoge Hank' at the outset of the 13th century, begins as follows: "... gave to Bekhents' ... to Hoge Hank' " («...գնւ Բեխենց կոն(ն) ... ի Հոգեհանք...»)⁶⁴⁴ Following this, the name of the local leader, Gēorg, is

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. p. 69.

⁶⁴² CAI, X, p. 45. See also A. Manucharyan, *Epigraphic-Historical Studies of the History of the Armenian Church*, Yerevan, 2019, pp. 123-137.

⁶⁴³ A. Matevosyan, *Glimpses of Writing and Miniature Art of the City of Ani*, "Bulletin of Matenadaran," N 14, Yerevan 1984, pp. 122-125; K. Matevosyan, *Historical-Archaeological Observations*, Yerevan, pp. 60-67.

⁶⁴⁴ CAI, X, p. 27.

mentioned, as well as one of the recipients of the service in return for the donation, Grigor. It is challenging to discern the specific word that preceded the Bekhents' family name – whether it was a personal name or part of a place name.

Here is all the information we have about the Bekhents' family in Ani. According to available data, their activity spans the period from the late 11th century to the early 13th century. Notably, the family name has been retained in several place names.

Honents' (Tigranants')

Tigran Honents', regarded as the most renowned affluent figure in Ani, amassed his wealth through usury, trade, and various other activities. Notably, evidence of him primarily comes from inscriptions, a majority of which were composed by Tigran himself. In a singular instance, found within the extensive building inscription of the magnificent St. Gregory the Illuminator Monastery, erected by him in 1215, Tigran provides insight into his familial background. In this inscription, he acknowledges his family name and his father's name: "*I, Tigran, servant of God, son of Sulem, from the Honents' family...*" («Ես Տիգրան ծառայ Աստուծոյ, որդի Սմբատարենց Սուլեմա, յազգէն Հոնենց...»)⁶⁴⁵

In 1201, Tigran Honents' donated the mill he constructed in Gailidzor (Glidzor) of Ani to the Horomos Monastery. Describing himself, Tigran stated, "*I, Tigran, a servant of God and faithful to my master Zak'aria...*"⁶⁴⁶ Moving ahead to 1213, Tigran undertook the repair of the foundation of the Cathedral of Ani and donated the shop he acquired in Ani, along with three manuscripts and two silver bowls (in the inscription he referred to himself as, "*I, Tigran, a servant of Christ...*" («Ես Տիգրան ծառայ Քրիստոսի...»))⁶⁴⁷ Also in 1213, he made donations to the Khts'konk' Monastery, including an olive mill in Ani and a garden in Marmet.⁶⁴⁸

The inscription of Tigran Honents' in Tsaghkots'adzor written with paint is undated, found in the rock-hewn tomb opposite Gagkashen Surb Grigor Church, but it dates back to a period preceding the death of Amirspasalar Zak'aria in 1212: "*O Lord God, strengthen and exalt Zak'aria and his brother Ivane over the enemies of the cross of Christ, and grant long*

⁶⁴⁵ CAI, I, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁴⁶ Horomos Monastery, p. 440.

⁶⁴⁷ CAI, I, p. 34.

⁶⁴⁸ N. Sargisian, 1964, p. 212.

life to Your servant Tigran and his descendants. Amen” («Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ զաւրացո եւ բարձրացո ի վերա թշնամեաց խաչին Քրիստոսի ամիրս-պասալարն ըզԶաքարիա եւ զԻւանէ գեղբայր իւր, եւ երկար կենդա-նութիւն շնորհեա ծառային քում Տիգրանա եւ որդոց իւրոց. ամէն»)⁶⁴⁹ Notably, this inscription is unique, as it specifically mentions the descendants of Honenets‘. Adjacent to the tomb, there was an inscription written with paint on the plaster of the wall painting,⁶⁵⁰ where the mentioned Shushan is presumed to have had a connection to Tigran Honenets‘: “*Christ, God, have mercy on Your servant, Shushan*” («Զ(րիստո)ս Ա(ստուա)ծ ո-ղորմեա Շուշանա աղախսն քն»),

It is interesting that in the extensive inscription of 1215, which details the construction of the church, the acquisition of the site, and other aspects, the donations made are listed in detail (it is on this basis that researchers gained insight into his immense wealth). Surprisingly, not a word is mentioned about the members of Tigran Honenets‘’s family. Since the aforementioned church passed to the Armenian Chalcedonian community of Ani sometime after its construction, it was adorned with frescoes which also have inscriptions in Georgian. This led to a misconception about Tigran Honenets‘’s religious affiliation, and he was occasionally considered a Chalcedonian.⁶⁵¹ However, this is inaccurate. In the 1215 formula of the curse at the end of the inscription, it is stated for those who disrupt what is recorded: “*The three holy councils... be cursed*” («երեք սուրբ ժողովոցն... նզովեալ եղիցի»)⁶⁵² This wording is specific only to the Armenian Church, which accepted the first three universal councils.

It was evident from Tigran Honenets‘’s donations, both to the churches he constructed and others, that he possessed significant real estate in Ani. Inscriptions hint at a section of the city known as Tigranants‘, likely situated in the southeastern part near the Dvin Gate, where the Honenets‘ Monastery was also founded. In 1221, Shekhents‘ Khach‘ot in Khts‘konk‘ donated his ancestral houses to the monastery, specifying those in front of Gogonts‘ Surb Sargis. At the end of the inscription, he added: “*The houses are in the capital,*

⁶⁴⁹ CAI, I, p. 69.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 71.

⁶⁵¹ H. Acharian, *Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*, v. 5, Yerevan, 1942, p. 151.

⁶⁵² CAI, I, p. 63. For information about the denominational affiliation of Tigran Honenets‘’s church, see P. M. Muradyan, *Construction and Confession of the Church of Tigran Honenets Based on Epigraphic Monuments*, “Historical-Philological Journal,” 1985, N 4, pp. 174-190.

in Ani, near the Tigranants' and the Gate” («տներն ի մայրաքաղաքին է, ի յԱնի, մաւտ ի Տիգրանանց, ի դուռնն»⁶⁵³).

Let us highlight a few additional indirect references to the properties owned by Tigran Honents'. In 1218, Vardeants' Vardachizh, who contributed to Horomos, explicitly mentions donating the shop he acquired in Ani, along with the wine cellar beneath it. This property is situated on Upper Street, adjoining the area owned by Tigran («ես՝ Վարդանիժ Վարդեանց ապաւինեցա ի սուրբ ուխտս, ետու զիմ գանձագին կուղպակն եւ ի ներքեւն՝ տակառք, ի յԱնի ի Վերի փողոցին, քանեկից է Տիգրանա...»⁶⁵⁴). In 1251, the location of the shop donated by Aryuts Hogeveryants to Horomos is specified as being on the Street of Shoemakers in Ani: “... *the stall, which is on the Shoemakers', which is adjacent from the upper part Tigran's...*” («...կուղպակն, որ ի Կաշկակարոցին, քանակից է վերի դեմն՝ Տիգրանա...»⁶⁵⁵). In 1286, Davit's son, Ėroben donated to the Cathedral of Ani an olive mill he had purchased, which was near Tigran's olive mill («մերձ ի [ձիթհա]նից Տիգրանա»⁶⁵⁶).

In 1267, Apulamr, the son of Bishop Grigor I (Magistros), acquired half of the village of Kaghghuts', which belonged to the Tigran Honents' family. Interestingly, in 1215, Tigran Honents', among the numerous donations to the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, specifically mentioned “*Half of the village of Kaghghuts'*” («Կաղղուց (գյուղի) կէսն»⁶⁵⁷). Remarkably, his descendants later sold the remaining portion of the village to Apulamr, who later left an inscription about it at the Bagnair Monastery («գնեցի զկէս Կաղղուցն ի Տիգրանանց...»⁶⁵⁸).

It might be unjust if history failed to record the name of even a single descendant of this wealthy and philanthropic citizen, Tigran Honents'. However, this void appears to be filled with an inscription from the Horomos Monastery dating back to 1280, which was not noticed by researchers before: “*By the will of God, I, Mamk'an, daughter of Abaslav, granddaughter of Tigran, assigned my native share of Tch'okhagomk' village to the St. Hovhannes Church, for the memory of myself and my son, Sark'is, with the promise that my servants will fulfill the annual obligations (5 masses) for me and (2 masses) for Sarkis.*” («ԶԻԹ (1280) կամաւն

⁶⁵³ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 210.

⁶⁵⁴ Horomos Monastery, p. 443.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid. pp. 461-462.

⁶⁵⁶ CAI, I, p. 36. The word was deciphered (restored) by the author (K. M.).

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 63.

⁶⁵⁸ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 33.

Ա(ստուծոյ), ես՝ Մամբան դուստր Աբասլաւին, թոռն Տիգրանայ, ետու զիմ հայրենի բաժինք գեղն՝ զՃոխքագոմն ի ս(ուր)բ Յովանէսի, յիշատակ ինձ եւ որդոյ իմոյ Սարգսի, եւ սպասաւորքս հատուցին տարին Ե (5) պատարագ՝ Բ (2)՝ ինձ, Գ (3)՝ Սարգսի...»⁶⁵⁹).

The woman named Mamk'an, representative of the upper class, who left the inscription, is likely the granddaughter of Tigran Honents'. The inscription's overall style supports this conjecture, especially in the uncommon mention not only of her father but also her grandfather (a rarity for women). Simultaneously, she declares that the village, received as a dowry, was bequeathed to the monastery for her son Sargis. This underscores her family lineage and presumably the property inherited from her grandfather. As mentioned earlier in 1201, Tigran Honents' also made a donation to Horomos. Additionally, it is noteworthy that there is no other instance of the name Abaslav recorded in the sources.

Summarizing the genealogical data from the inscriptions, we can compile the following list of notable members of the Honents' or Tigranants' clan: Smbatorents' Sulem, son: Tigran Honents', son: Abaslav, daughter: Mamk'an, and her son Sargis. It is noteworthy to mention that through his activities and entrepreneurial pursuits, Tigran Honents' emerged as one of the citizens of Ani who, ascending from the "*small*" ranks, successfully transitioned into the ranks of the "*big*" ones.

Ch'ech'kants'

We have both epigraphic and historical data regarding the representatives of this lineage. In the 1233 inscription of the Bagnair Monastery, Vahram mentions his grandfather, Ch'ech'kants' Aveteats'; his father, Mkh'it'ar; his wife, whose name is P'arants' (though misspelled as P'ardzandz at the beginning of the inscription); and his daughter, Mamk'an. Let us mention the important parts from the inscription. "*I, Vahram, son of Mkh'it'ar, grandson of Ch'ech'kants' Aveteats', and spouse of my P'ardzandz, donated my purchased shop on the P'oghots'kter Street, above the shop of the T'oros, and the house near the house of Sevk't' and above which I had built a shop and for this, Father Simēon and the monks granted me two days of masses: eight for Vahram, three for P'arants', and one for Mamk'an*" («Ես՝ Վարհամ, որդի Մխիթարա, թոռն Աւետեացն Չէկանց, եւ զուգակից իմ Փառձանձս, ետու զիմ զանձագին կուղպակն, ի Փողոցկտերն, որ ի Թորոսոնց կուղպակին վերա է, եւ զայն տունն, որ

⁶⁵⁹ Horomos Monastery, p. 469.

Մելքթենց հմնակից է, եւ ի վերայն կուղպակն եմ շինած, եւ սոքա՝ հայր Սիմէոն եւ միաբանքս փոխարենս հատուցին մեզ յամենայն ամի տաւնել երկու աւր պատարագ, զուրն Վահրամա, երեքն Փառանցին, զմինն Մամբանին»⁶⁶⁰).

Vahram's father, Mkh'it'ar, is commemorated in the 1222 colophon of a dream book translated from Arabic to Armenian in Maghasberd near Ani. This translation was carried out by three individuals: Vardapet (church doctor) Arak'el Anets'i, known by the nickname Var; Mkh'it'ar Ch'ech'kants'; and Sheran (likely Sheranik, identified in an inscription from Horomos and the Gospel of Haghbat). The translation and the colophon have been preserved in 17th-century manuscripts (Matenadaran, MS 695; Vienna, MS 88 ; Jerusalem, MS 1605). In the first copy, Mkh'it'ar's family name is incorrectly transcribed as "*Klelkants*" (Կլէկանց), while in the second and third copies, it is more accurately recorded as "*Ech'kants*" («Եչկանց») and "*Ch'ech'kants*" («Չեչկանց»)⁶⁶¹. This name is likely derived from the term "*ch'ech'ot*," meaning a face with many moles, suggesting that it may have originally been a nickname.

Therefore, Aveteats' and Mkh'it'ar (both bearing surname) are commemorated as members of the Ch'ech'kants' family. Mkh'it'ar, was also as a translator. Then we have the name of his son Vahram, his wife P'arants' and their daughter Mamk'an.

Hogevoreants'

We have three inscriptions documenting the history of this family, all inscribed in the name of Aryuts, son of Sargis, consistently emphasizing his Hogevoreants' lineage. The initial inscription, dated 1251, originates from the Horomos Monastery. It recounts Aryuts' restoration of the water conveyance, disrupted by Mongol-induced destruction. Additionally, Aryuts donated his patrimonial shop in Ani, specifying its precise location on the Shoemakers' Street, along with a garden. The inscription includes essential details about Aryuts' family, and let us quote its principal segment: "*I, Aryuts Hogevoreants', and my spouse Seda, became affiliated to Surb-Yovanēs, under the prelacy of Tēr Barsegh, (and) I (restored) the water conveyance which had been ruined because of the Tartars, and I gave, (as*

⁶⁶⁰ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 28.

⁶⁶¹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., pp. 131-132. See also K. Matevosyan 2010, p. 228.

a) present, my patrimonial shop in the neighbourhood of the Shoemakers' – its upper side is close enough to Tigran's interior pavement – and I laid out anew the garden of K'eghut. In exchange, the (priests) in charge of this holy congregation rewarded us with 12 days of masses every year, during the Octave of the Cross: 4 days for me, 2 for Seda, 2 for my father Sargis, 2 for my mother Hrip'simé, one for Nurst'i, one for Grigor" («ես՝ Առիւծս Հոգեւորեանց եւ ամուսին իմ՝ Սեդա միաբանեցաք Սուրբ Յովաննիսի յառաջնորդութեան տէր Բարսղի, բերի զջուրս, զոր տաթարովս խուսանեալ էր եւ տվի ընծա զհայրենի զիմ կուղպակն, որ ի Կաւշկակարոցին՝ քանակից է վերի դէսն Տիգրանա, ներքին՝ Սլքերոյն, եւ զպահեզն ի Բեղուտի նորից կանգնեցի եւ փոխարէն հատուցին մեզ սպասաւորք սուրբ ուխտիս յամէն ամի ի Խաչին ութաւրացն ԺԲ (12) աւր ժամ. Դ (4) աւրն ինձ, Բ (2) Սեդաի, Բ (2) իմ հաւրն Սարգսի, Բ (2) իմ մաւրն Հռիփսիմի, Ա (1) Նուրսթ, Ա (1) Գրիգորոյ...»)⁶⁶²

The subsequent reference is once again from Horomos, dated 1277, and pertains to the establishment of a “*nshkharatun*” within the monastery using the contributions of Aryuts and his wife. This is a large arched structure, and at its centre, an inscription featuring the name of the master builder has been retained: “*By the power of God, I, Master Frer, from the city of Karin*” («Աստուծոյ կարողութեամբ վարպետ Ֆրերս՝ Կարն քաղաքացի»)). The beginning of Aryuts's inscription reads: “*In the year 726 (=1277 A.D.) by the will of God, I, Aryuts Hogevoresants', son of Sargis, and my consort, Seda, built from our lawful incomes this nshkharatun at the door of our zhamatun, for the memory of our parents*” («Թվին ՉԻԶ (1277) կամաւն Աստուծոյ ես՝ Առիւծս Հոգեւորե[ա]ն[ց], Սարգսի որդիս եւ կենակից իմ Սեդա շինեցաք ի մեր հալալ արդեանց զնշխարատունս ի մեր ժամատան դուռս, յիշատակ ծնողա[յ]ց մերոց»)⁶⁶³

Another account of this family has been preserved in Ani, documenting their involvement in the paving of the “*zhamatun*” of the episcopal Holy Apostles Church («ի յառաջնորդութեան քաղաքիս Անտէր Սարգսի, եւս Առիւծս Հոգեւորեաց... սալեցի զժամատունս... յիշատակ...»)⁶⁶⁴ Regrettably, the inscription has been only partially preserved and lacks a date. However, it does make reference to Sargis II, the bishop of Ani, a name that appears in other inscriptions during the years 1245-1262.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶² Horomos Monastery, pp. 461-462.

⁶⁶³ Ibid. p. 478.

⁶⁶⁴ CAI, I, p. 20.

⁶⁶⁵ K. Matevosyan, 1997, pp. 107-108.

As evident, Aryuts Hogevoeants‘ was notably affluent and generously contributed to the church. The existing records reveal additional prominent members of this family, including Sargis and his wife Hrip‘simé, their son Aryuts Hogevoeants‘, Aryuts‘ wife Seda, Nurst‘é, likely their daughter, and their son, Grigor.

Horomeants‘

Information about this clan is derived from inscriptions by the priest Hovhannes, son of the priest Horomeants‘ Kostand, dating back to the years 1213 at the Arjoarich Monastery and 1215 at the Bagnair Monastery. At Arjoarich, Hovhannes made a donation to the monastery under the leadership of Apulamr’s son, Grigor. Unfortunately, due to the imperfect preservation of the inscription, the specifics of his purchase and donation remain unknown. However, it is known that in return for his contribution, Hovhannes was granted a noteworthy number of masses – 40 in total («Ի ՈԿԲ (1213)... ես՝ Յոհաննէս քահանայ, որդի Կոստանդի քահանայ, միաբանեցա սուրբ ուխտիս եւ գանձագին արարի... եւ ընծայեցի յԱրջուառնի, ի Ս(ուրբ) Ա(ստուա)ծածինս, ի ձեռն տ(է)ր Գրիգորի որդոյ Ապուղամրի, փոխարեն ինձ (հա)տուցին յամէն ամի Խ (40) ար ժամ անխափան՝ Ի (20) ինձ, Ե (5) Սիսվարդին, Դ (4) Իսաչերեսին, Ե (5) իմ ծնողաց, Բ (2) Խոցադեղին, Գ (3) Միխայիլ, Ա (1) Կատային...»):⁶⁶⁶

The inscription from Bagnair reveals that Grigor, the son of Apulamr, who had assumed the role of bishop of Ani at that time, sold half of Gailarich village to Hovhannes («գնեցի գԳայլառնի կեսն»). Subsequently, Hovhannes donated this portion to the Bagnair Monastery. In return for his contribution, Grigor received 40 masses, with 20 designated for himself and the remaining 20 allocated for his relatives («ՈԿԴ (1215) ի յամս աստուածապատիւ հոգեւոր տեսոն Գրիգորոյ՝ որդոյ Ապուղամրի, ես Յոհաննէս քահանայ որդի Կոստանդի Հռոմեանց գնեցի գԳայլառնի կեսն ի տէր Գրիգորոյ, որդոյ Ապուղամրի եւ ետու ի Սուրբ Աստուածածինս...»):⁶⁶⁷ Following this, the inscription enumerates the beneficiaries of the masses without providing specific details about their exact kinship («...փոխարեն ինձ հատուցին յամէն ամի Խ (40) ար

⁶⁶⁶ N. Sargisian, 1864, pp. 190-191.

⁶⁶⁷ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 22.

պատարագ՝ Ի (20) ինձ Յոհաննիսի, [2] (6) Միսկարդին, Բ (2) Կոստանդի, Բ (2) Տիրամարն, Բ (2) Խոցադեդին, Բ (2) Միխելա, Գ (3) Խաչերեսին, Բ (2) Կատսին, Ա (1) Տալիթիա տիկնոջն...»⁶⁶⁸

By comparing the data from the inscriptions written two years apart, it can be inferred that Sisvard is likely Hovhannes's wife. In the second inscription, Kostand and Tiramayr are identified as Hovhannes's parents. Additionally, among the mentioned individuals, Khach'eres appears to be Hovhannes's eldest son, as he is consistently accorded more masses than the others. The subsequent individuals receiving masses are Khots'adegh, Mikhayil (Mikhel), and Kata, who are presumably Hovhannes's other children. Lastly, Mrs. Talit'ia is mentioned as a relative (potentially Sisvard's mother).

Khot'ents'

Mkh'it'ar, a representative of this dynasty, constructed one of the wall towers of Ani, commemorated by an accompanying inscription. While the inscription lacks a specific date, it likely falls between 1212 and 1227, postdating the demise of Amirspasalar Zak'aré in 1212 and predating the passing of his brother Ivané in 1227. Despite its brevity, the inscription provides sufficient information about Mkh'it'ar: *"I, Mkh'it'ar Kho'tents', servant of Christ, and my consort Mamsah, have left this inscription in memory of myself and my parents – Eghbayrkan and Mamer."* («...ես՝ Միխթար Խալթենց, ծառա Քրիստոսի եւ զիւզակից իմ Մամշահ շինեցաք զարձանս ի յիշատակ ինձ եւ ծնողացն՝ Եղբայրկան եւ Մամերոյն»)⁶⁶⁹ Thus, from this family, we know the names of Mkh'it'ar Khot'ents' parents: Eghbayrik and Mamer. His wife was Mamshah.

Shekhents' (Shekheants')

The 1221 inscription of Shekhents' Khach'ot in the Khts'konk' Monastery provides evidence of this family. It is topographically rich, so let us quote a relatively substantial portion: *"I, Khach'ot Shekheants', and my*

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid. pp. 22-23. Regrettably, the inscription has not been preserved, and no photo is available. However, the publication mentions *"...To (20) Sisvard"* («...Ի (20) Միսկարդին»). If we consider that 20 out of the total 40 masses were designated for Hovhannes, then the remaining 20 would need to be distributed among the other recipients. Given that, apart from Sisvard, the mentioned individuals have a total of 14 masses, it can be reasonably assumed that 6 masses were intended for him (14 + 6 = 20).

⁶⁶⁹ CAI, I, p. 4.

wife Avagtiġin, have united in the holy congregation from Khats ‘kavnits’ and have given our ancestral homes, which are against the holy church of St. Sark ‘is of Gogonts’, and the stall, which is on Tsrazukak, and the priest Yovhannes and archimandrite Polos, my teachers, and other holy brethren confirmed this with seven years of holy mass – three for Khachot, three for Avagtiġin, and one for Apirat... The houses are in the capital, Ani, near the gates of Tigran.” («Ես՝ Խաչոտս Շեխեանց եւ ամուսին իմ Աւագտիկին միաբանեցաք սուրբ ուխտիս Խժկաւնից եւ տուաք զմեր հայրենի տներն, որ ընդդէմ Գոգոնց սուրբ Սարգսի է, եւ զկուղպակն, որ ի վերա Ծռազուկակին է, եւ հայր Յովհաննէս եւ Պաւղոս վարդապետս եւ այլ սուրբ եղբարքս հաստատեցին ի տարին Է (7) աւր պատարագ՝ Գ (3) աւր Խաչոտին առնեն, Գ (3) աւր Աւագտիկնա, Ա (1) աւր՝ Ապիրատին... տներն ի մայրաքաղաքին է, ի յԱնի, մաւտ ի Տիգրանանց, ի դուռնն»):⁶⁷⁰ Hence, it is revealed that Shekhents’ Khach’ot and his wife, Avagtiġin, donated their patrimonial houses to Ani. These residences stood before Gogonts’ Surb Sargis (the sole mention of this church’s name in the inscription), near the Tigranants’ district and one of the city gates. Additionally, they donated a shop located on the narrow Tsrazukak street. The Apirat referenced in the inscription likely was the son of this couple.

Tsilents’

The inscription on a wall tower next to the entrance on the road from the Akhuryan valley to the city via the bridge mentions Sargis Tsilents’, the tax collector of Ani: “I, tax collector Sargis Tsilents’, left the tax of the St. Gregory of Arjoarich.” («Ես՝ Սարգիս Ծիլենց բաժարս, թողի զԱրջուառնո Սուրբ Գրիգորո զբաժն...»):⁶⁷¹ No further details are known.

T’orosonts’

Vahram Ch’ech’kants’ mentions in the 1233 inscription that he purchased a shop on the P’oghots’kter streets of Ani, which was likely a street with two-story stalls: “That is above the Torosonts’ stall.” («որ ի Թորոսոնց կուղպակին վերա է»):⁶⁷² Fortunately, a representative of this dynasty left a brief dedication inscription in Bagnair: “I, Tororsonts’ Mkh ‘it ‘ar [Mkh ‘it ‘ar from the kin of Toros] gave my house and I was given

⁶⁷⁰ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 210.

⁶⁷¹ CAI, I, p. 3. The inscription is undated, but judging by its content, it was written in the year of Shahinshah I’s death (1261) or shortly after.

⁶⁷² S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 28.

(2) masses.” «Ես Թորոսնց Մխիթար ետու զիմ տունն եւ ետուն ինձ Բ (2) աւր պատարագ.».⁶⁷³

Other References to Surnames

Some surnames of the residents of Ani are preserved only in the names of their churches or properties. For example, one of the churches in Ani is known as Surb Astsvatsatsin, but in the 1054 inscription of Soghomon's son Hovhannes, it is referred to as Khambushents': "... gave (20) *dahekans* to the St. Astvatsatsin of Khambushints'." «...ետու ի Սուրբ Աստուածածինս Խամբուշինց դահեկանք Ի (20)...».⁶⁷⁴ Gogonts' Surb Sargis of Ani is mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Khats'konk'.⁶⁷⁵ In the 1215 inscription of Tigran Honents', among the properties donated to the Saint Gregory the Illuminator Monastery, is mentioned "4/6th part of the Papents' guest house and the shop next to the gate, all the houses of the Hatetsonts' **zusak** (alley)..." («Պապենց խանարարն Դ (4) դանգն ու դռան կուղպակն, բոլոր տներ Հատեցոնց զուկակի...»⁶⁷⁶). Additionally, in 1201, Honents' mentions the location of his mill donated to Horomos: "I gave my mill which I had built in Glidzor neighboring Gunitch'ants' from the lower side «...ետու զիմ զջաղացն, որ ի կորդո շինեալ էի ի Գիճորին, հմնակից է ներքի դեհն՝ Գունիճանց...»».⁶⁷⁷ Astvatsatour's son, Aryuts, mentioned in Horomos: "In the Boun street of Ani, with its wall neighboring the Aveteats'." «ի յԱնո Բուն փողոցին, որը պատակից է Աւետեացն»».⁶⁷⁸

From the Tonkats' lineage was the priest Sargis Vardapet, who likely lived in the 13th century and is referenced in the title of one of the treasures he authored: "...Philosopher Sargis from the Tonkats' [kin] of Ani preached a sermon." «...քարոզ ասացեալ Սարգիս փիլիսոփայի Տաւնկաց Անեցոյ»⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷³ Ibid. p. 24.

⁶⁷⁴ CAI, I, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁵ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 201.

⁶⁷⁶ CAI, I, p. 63. "*Khanapar*" denotes a large guest house-shop, while "*zusak*" refers to a narrow street or alley (S. Avagyan, *Word Analysis of Inscriptions*, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 86, 116). It is plausible that the name "*Hatets'onts*" originated from a trade associated with cutting, carving, or grinding operations, as the names of Ani's streets often correlate with crafts.

⁶⁷⁷ Horomos Monastery, p. 440.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 453.

⁶⁷⁹ A. Kyoshkerian, 1971, pp. 202-203.

In Bagnair, in 1233, the “*Sevk’t’ents*”⁶⁸⁰ house in Ani is mentioned (likely a name derived from a nickname). Another undated stone inscription refers to the purchase of “*the guest-house called Pich’arents*”⁶⁸¹ for 800 “*spitaks*” (silver coins), which was then returned to the monastery. Shapadin, son of Hovhannes, records in Ani that he gifted half of the garden with a cross to the Holy Apostles Church, a plot he acquired from Hovt’t’vants’ («...նոռու զխաչով պահեզի կեսն, որ ի Հովթըթվանց գնել էի...»)⁶⁸². In 1234, Zmrukht Khat’un donated to the Horomos Monastery mills in the Kamurj valley, known as “*Abeleants*” («նոռու ի սուրբ ուխտս ի վանքս Հոռոմոսի... ակն մին ջաղաց՝ բոլորն ի Կարմնջին ձորին, որ Արելանց կոչի»⁶⁸³). In 1253, Hovhannes Ark’aun, the son of Aprkan, gifted two houses he purchased in Ani to Horomos, which were called Akurnats’ («սվաք Բ (2) տուն իմ զանձագին, որ Ակուրնաց կոչի»⁶⁸⁴). In the same monastery, likely beneath the row of cross stones crafted in the 13th century, there is an inscription that reads: “*These crosses are from Bakhtiarents*” («Այս խաչերս Բախտիարենց է»⁶⁸⁵).

Citizens of Ani are also referenced in an inscription from Horomos dating back to the first decades of the 13th century («Ի յԱրուն փոքր այգիք են վանացս՝ Եկեղեցականին, Քաւշուտին, Լապաստակայն, Հանկանն, Առեւծկանն, Աղպետեաւցն, Թուխայրեանցն, Խաչեղբարն եւ պատարագ ի Բրիստոս յանուն սոցա ի Խաչին ութարէքն՝ Ի (20)»⁶⁸⁶). The names of the small monastic gardens of Aruch in Horomos are mentioned here, derived from the names of their donor owners or their clans. This is why at the conclusion of the inscription, it is noted that 20 liturgies should be offered for them. It is natural that the majority of those mentioned were citizens of Ani.

Let us discuss a few more prominent families of Ani, which, while not mentioned by a distinct family name, are of some interest.

⁶⁸⁰ S. Karapetyan, 2013, p. 28.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., p. 31.

⁶⁸² CAI, I, p. 29. The continuation also mentions “*one stall that I had bought from Amir Hasan, located opposite the entrance of the marketplace of Gdakkarots*.”

⁶⁸³ Horomos Monastery, p. 448.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 464.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 479.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 455.

The Family of Bl (Abl) Hasan Hek'im

In Ani, on the eastern side of the citadel, a stone with a donation inscription of *hek'im* Zak'aré was found in 1893. This stone belonged to one of the churches («ես՝ Չաքարէ հեքիմ որդի Բլ Հասանա վասն երկարկենդանութեան Շահնշահին եւ ծնողաց իմոց ետու զԲագ փողոցի տունս, կուղպակովս...»⁶⁸⁷). The inscription is undated, but it likely references Shahنشah I, who died in 1261, indicating that it was written before that time. This dating is further supported by the 1273 donation inscription of *hek'im* Zak'aré's son, Abl Hasan Hek'im, which is preserved in Horomos («ես՝ Աբլ Հասան հեքիմ, որդի Չաքարիաի հեքիմի սպաւինեցա ի սուրբ Յովաննէս, ետու ընծա յԱպրնուց ձորին Դ (4) բաժին ջաղաց՝ ետու սուրբ յուխտս փոխարէն հատուցին Ե (5) ար պատարագ Բ (2)՝ Չաքարի, Ա (1)՝ Շուշկան, Ա (1)՝ Ջալալին, Ա (1)՝ իմ պապին՝ Բլ Հասնա»⁶⁸⁸). As evident, the profession of a physician was passed down from generation to generation in this family. Bl Hasan is mentioned, whose correct name is Abl Hasan (meaning “father of Hasan” in Arabic), a naming tradition we see in the name of his grandson. It is noteworthy that, according to the inscription of the latter, no mass was offered for him, but only for his father Zak'aré Hek'im, his mother Shushik, likely his brother Jalal, and finally his grandfather Bl Hasan.

The Family of Romanos from Ani

Romanos and his wife Kata's family history is documented in the primary and minor colophons of the manuscript commissioned by their son Sahak, a priest who studied in Haghbat. This manuscript, known as “*Gospel of Haghbat*” (Mat. MS 6288), stands as one of the renowned monuments of Armenian manuscript culture, named after the place of its creation. However, the manuscript's primary value lies in its miniatures, infused with a worldly spirit, painted by the artist Margaré at the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani in the year 1211. The primary colophon within the manuscript details the history of its creation, highlighting that the artist is a native of the city of Ani («ազգաւ և տոհմի ի մեծ մայրաքաղաքէն յԱնույ...»). It further mentions that after its completion, the manuscript was donated to the church constructed by Sahak's family in the Arjoarich Monastery located near Ani («գրովանդակ գոյք ծնողաց մերոց և եղբարց ծախեցաք և շինեցաք

⁶⁸⁷ CAI, I, p. 68.

⁶⁸⁸ Horomos Monastery, pp. 434-435.

գաստուածաբնակ սուրբ եկեղեցիքս և աւանդեցաք զսուրբ Աւետարանս յԱստուծոյ սուրբ եկեղեցիս, որ շինեցաւ ի մենջ, ի վանս Արջուառնի...»⁶⁸⁹).

The name of Sahak's father, Romanos, who received the manuscript, is mentioned as "*Rovmanos*" in the main colophon, and "*Rimanos*" in the records of the canon tables. The mother's name is Kata, which could be a shortened form of the names Katarine or Katramidé (the name of Queen Katramidé, who built the Cathedral of Ani, is also abbreviated to "*Kata*" in the inscription of Marmashen, left by her granddaughter Mariam).⁶⁹⁰ Sahak's brothers, Ipatos, who is said to have died young, and layman Arak'el, as well as sisters Zarha and Horom Tikin, are also mentioned. The inscription also notes that they had children.

An exceptional phenomenon in Armenian art is the depiction of the members of this family from Ani by the artist Margaré in the "*Entrance to Jerusalem*" miniature. In this scene, the head of the household, Romanos, is portrayed at the entrance of the building, while his wife, Kata, is seated by the window. The two daughters are shown on the balcony, and the three sons are depicted on the trees.⁶⁹¹ Additionally, Sahak and Arak'el are featured in a donation miniature, standing on either side of Christ (Col. fig. 44).

The Family of Brothers Uk'an K'arimadin and Papk'an Vakhradin

The names of the members of this family are first mentioned in a 1252 inscription from Metsiranits' Surb Hakob, one of the ancient monasteries of Arts'akh («ես Ուքան ու Պապքան՝ որդիք Սարգսի՝ Հոգո որդոյն, միաբանեցաք ս(ուր)բ նշանիս՝ ընծայիւք...»⁶⁹²). This inscription indicates also their brother Merch'o or Merch'i, the latter mentioned posthumously. The inscription records that Uk'an and Papk'an arranged a 10-hour liturgy for their deceased brother («Ժ (10) ժամ տվին մեր եղբարն Մերչո

⁶⁸⁹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., pp. 69-71.

⁶⁹⁰ CAI, X, p. 97.

⁶⁹¹ K. Matevosyan, *The Gospel of Haghat*, pp. 19-25.

⁶⁹² Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions (CAI), vol. 5, Arts'akh, compiled by S. Barkhudarian, Yerevan 1982, p. 15. A colophon written in Sebastia in 1211 mentions Uk'an and Papk'an, men of wisdom, benevolence, and goodwill («պարոն Ուքան եւ Պապքան, այր իմաստունք, բարերարք եւ բարեմիտք...») (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 75). However, it is not possible to identify them with the namesake brothers remembered in Arts'akh and Ani, as the known years of their intensive activity pertain to a later period, specifically 1252-1274.

մեծին... »⁶⁹³). The inscription also mentions their grandfather named Hogi. From this inscription, it is plausible to infer that this family originally hailed from Arts‘akh and later relocated to Ani.

The brothers are mentioned once again in 1268, this time in the Khorakert Monastery in the north of Armenia. Here, they received the liturgy of the Feast of the Epiphany by the order of Vardan Vardapet or Vardan Arevelts‘i («Մեր՝ Ուրանս եւ Պապքանս՝ որդիք Սարգսի, թոռն Հոգոյն, միաբանեցաք ս(ուր)ք ուխտիս...»⁶⁹⁴). At the end the inscription reads: “... congregants served mass for Hogi in every church, now it is the hour of Amentikin, and after our death, may we be received anfailingly.” («...միաբանքս ետուն մեզ զՀոգոյն զալստեան աւրն յամէն եկեղեցիքս ժամն է Ամէնտիկնա եւ յետ մեր մահուանն՝ մեզ առնեն անխափան»)⁶⁹⁵. The name “*Amēntikin*” mentioned here was misread as “*ĒMĒN TIKNA*” in the Corpus of Armenian Inscription, likely due to the first four letters being written in monogram, as clarified by the drawing. It should be noted that this is one of the earliest mentions of this name, as its first appearance in H. Acharian’s “*Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names*” dates back to 1327.⁶⁹⁶ While not explicitly stated in the inscription, from the context, it can be inferred that Amēntikin was the mother of Uk‘an and Papk‘an.

A year later, in 1269, we find Uk‘an as one of the patrons of the city, alongside Sahip Divan (Muhammad Shams ed-din) and Sahmadin. In the inscription documenting this, he is mentioned solely by the name K‘arimadin. As we will observe below, he is later referenced by two names: Uk‘an K‘arimadin («...մեր՝ տաղմաճիքս... վասն պատրոնաց մերոց՝ Սահիպ Դիվանին եւ Զարիմադիին եւ Սահմադիին, բարձաք ի յԱնն իրիցանուս զբաժն...»⁶⁹⁷). The subsequent prosperity of his family in Ani can be attributed to the high position held by K‘arimadin.

In subsequent inscriptions, the brothers were referred to by two names: Uk‘an K‘arimadin and Papk‘an Vakhradin. Additionally, we read Dapta Khat‘un’s name, whom Uk‘an refers to as his bride. They are collectively mentioned in three locations: in Ani, in the Red Monastery on the coast of Akhurian (1271), and in the Horomos Monastery (1274).

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions (CAI), vol. 9, Lori Region, compiled by S. Barkhudarian, K. Ghafadarian, S. Saghumian, Yerevan, 2012, p. 265.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁶ H. Acharian, *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names*, v. 1, Yerevan, 1942, p. 118.

⁶⁹⁷ CAI, I, p. 24.

In Ani, within the structure known as the “*K’arimadin*” church (the original name of this ancient church in the city remains unknown; it was assigned a provisional name during the excavations in Ani, based on the first name found in the inscription), a bell tower was constructed («ես Ուքան Քարիմասին եւ Պապքան Վախրասին եւ հարսն իմ Դապտա Խաթուն շինեցաք զանգակատունս»)). At the end of the undated inscription, masses are requested, stating: “...for our father, Sargis, and St’ē, and Sargis Ark’aun, and Merch’é...” («...մեր հաւրն՝ Սարգսի եւ Սթէ եւ Սարգսի Արքաունին եւ Մերչէ...»)).⁶⁹⁸ From the other inscriptions, we can deduce a potential connection between St’ē and Sargis Ark’aun with Uk’an and Papk’an.

The 1271 inscription of the Red Monastery is more extensive («ես Ուքան Քարիմադինս եւ եղբայր իմ Պապքան Վախրադինս, որդիք Սարգսի, թոռն Հոգոյն եւ հարսն իմ Դապտայ Խաթունս գնեցաք զվանքս իւր ամենայն սահմանաւքս, հողով եւ ջրով, եւ շինեցաք ի կորդոյ եւ զարդարեցաք սպասիւք եւ գրեւաւք...»⁶⁹⁹). They mention the numerous donations in remarkable detail,⁷⁰⁰ followed by the number of masses the abbot Sargis and the congregation will offer («հայր Սարգիս եւ այլ եղբարքս փոխարեն հատուցին յամենայն շաբաթն աւր Գ (3) խորանն մեր հաւրն՝ Սարգսի եւ Սիթէ եւ Մերչէ պատարագն, եւ Դ (4) աւր Սարգիս Արքաունի: Որք հակառական ընծաիցս, դատին ի Զ(րիստոս)է, ամեն: Միսիթարիչ գրիչ»)).⁷⁰¹

As we can observe, the individuals listed in the preceding inscription are also mentioned here. Following the name of the donor’s father, Sargis, a woman named St’e or Sit’é is mentioned. It is presumed that she is the mother of those referenced in the earlier inscription of 1268 under the name Amentikin, as the name St’é or Sit’i means “*Tikin*” (Lady).⁷⁰²

The fifth inscription attributed to this family indicates their ongoing rise in influence, particularly within the church sphere, as in 1274 they acquired half of the renowned Horomos Monastery near Ani. The beginning of the inscription documenting this has some damaged parts; according to the latest edition, it reads as follows: “In 1274, through the grace of Christ,

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁹⁹ J. Orbeli, *Selected Works*, 1963, p. 474.

⁷⁰⁰ The donors first mention acquiring one-sixth of the guest house-shop in Ani or its revenue (see S. Avagyan, *Lexical Analysis of Inscriptions*, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 64-66), the precise location of which is described in remarkable detail. Subsequently, other donations are detailed (J. Orbeli, *Selected Works*, p. 474).

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² H. Acharian, *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names*, v. 4, Yerevan, 1948, p. 491.

I, Ukan Karimatin... and Papk'an Varkhatis, son of Sargis, grandson of Hogi, and my wife, Dapta Khathun, daughter of Sargis Ark'aun, purchased half of the Horom Monastery, with our lawful funds, according to its boundaries." («ՉԻԳ (1274) շնորհիւն Քրիստոսի եւ Ուքան Քարիմատին... եւ Պապքան Վարխատինս որդի Սարգսի, թոռն [Հոգոյն եւ ամուսին իմ Դապտա Խաթունս Սարգ[սին դուստր Արքաուն]ին գնեցաք Հոռոմի վանացս կէսն ի սահմանով լե...նէն ի մեր հալալ ընչից... »).⁷⁰³ Since the inscription has not been preserved (no photo exists), it is challenging to determine whether the editors, J.-P. Mahé and S. Karapetyan, based their restoration of Sargis Ark'aun's name as: "*Dapta Khat'un, daughter of Sargis Ark'aun.*" («Դապտա Խաթունս Սարգ[սին դուստր Արքաուն]ին») on solid grounds, because to express the same idea, it should have read: "*Dapta Khat'un, daughter of Sargis Ark'aun.*" («Դապտա Խաթունս դուստր Սարգսի Արքաունին»). However, it is plausible that Sargis Ark'aun, also referenced with this family in the inscriptions of Ani and the Red Monastery, was indeed the father of Dapta Khat'un, especially given the latter's influential and affluent status, as evidenced by his two inscriptions at Sanahin and Haghbat. In Sanahin, during the abbacy of Avetis Anets'i (1240-1250s), he generously donated 500 "*spitak*" (silver coins) to the monastery and received 3 masses. Similarly, during the same period at Haghbat, under the leadership of the renowned Bishop Hamazasp Anets'i, he supported the monastery with an unspecified donation and received the mass of Surb Hakob's Day in all churches.⁷⁰⁴ The epithet "*Ark'aun*" indicates Sargis's close ties with the Mongols.

Returning to the inscription of Horomos, it is worth noting that Uk'an K'arimadin, Papk'an Vakhradin, and Dapta Khat'un mention number of donations made to the monastery. As previously mentioned, in the inscription of 1268, Uk'an and Papk'an once again received the liturgy of the Feast of the Epiphany in all churches. This may suggest a special significance attached to this holiday by these individuals, possibly due to their grandfather's name – Hogi, whose name is notably commemorated in almost all inscriptions (appearing in four out of five inscriptions).

It is intriguing that in so many inscriptions, the name of any child of Uk'an K'arimadin and Dapta Khat'un, as well as Papk'an Vakhradin, is notably absent, even in a general mention (without mentioning any name).

⁷⁰³ Horomos Monastery, p. 476.

⁷⁰⁴ CAI, X, pp. 95, 188.

However, given the uncommonness of the name Papk'an, it is plausible to assume that in the early 14th century, the tax collector named Gēsh, who left the tax known as “*k'asanik*” in Ani for Aghbugha's well-being and in memory of Zaza, was the son of Papk'an Vakhradin. In the inscription found in the *gavit* of the Holy Apostles Church, he declares: “*I, Gēsh, son of Papk'an...*”⁷⁰⁵

Another inscription preserved in Ani is likely related to this family. On the northwestern side of the city, at the aforementioned “*K'arimadin*” church, during excavations, a house belonging to a wealthy family was unearthed, with the name “*Papk' (Papk'an)*” inscribed near the window of one of the rooms. According to N. Marr, this is the same Papk'an (Uk'an's brother) remembered in the adjacent church as one of the builders of the bell tower.⁷⁰⁶ However, what is particularly intriguing is that on the wall of the largest room inside that house, there was an inscription, unique in its kind: “*Whoever tells lies, speaks ill of another, or deceives a guest shall not be my child.*” («Զայն, որ սուտ ասէ, կամ մարդոյ գէշ ասէ, կամ հիւր խաբողախէ, այն իմ որդի չիմի»)⁷⁰⁷ It is challenging to discern the story hidden behind these lines. However, it is worth noting that the name of Gēsh, son of Papk'an, mentioned earlier, aligns with the identical adjective used in this inscription.

The Family of Grigor Khuts'es

The name of Grigor Khuts'es is mentioned in the colophons and inscriptions left by his three sons, Asil, Paron, and Mkh'it'ar. The name of Grigor's wife, Shnafor, is mentioned in Paron's colophon as his mother. In the same colophon, dating from the 1330s and 1340s of the 14th century, which references the restoration of the Bagnair Gospel (Mat. MS 1519), there is an indication of Grigor Khuts'es' position in Ani at the beginning of the 14th century («բարեպաշտ ոմն՝ Պարոն անուն, ի մայրաքաղաքէս Անոյ, որդի Գրիգորոյ մականուն Խուցէս, որ էր առաջնորդ եւ հիմն քաղաքիս»)⁷⁰⁸ Perhaps this position also included judicial functions, as in the continuation of the colophon, Paron mentions his brother Asil, who succeeded their father's position in Ani («Յիշեցէք եւ զկենդանիս Պարոնին, զբարեպաշտ եւ զաստուածասէր զեղբայրն՝ զԱսիլն, որ է

⁷⁰⁵ CAI, I, p. 30.

⁷⁰⁶ N. Marr, 1934. p. 108.

⁷⁰⁷ CAI, I, p. 66.

⁷⁰⁸ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., I, p. 149.

առաջնորդ եւ հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար եւ արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»): In the continuation of the colophon, he mentions Asil's wife and also notes his eldest son («զկենաց կցորդն Ասիլին՝ զընուզ Խաթունն, զմայրն եւ զպատվադիրն ամենայն եկեղեցոյ եւ քահանայից... եւ զանդրանիկ զաւակ սոցայ՝ զԲէտուշինն պահեսցէ Քրիստոս Աստուած անվորձ»):⁷⁰⁹

His wife, Ulu, and his eldest son, Davit', who had passed away at that time, are also mentioned in Paron's colophon, along with his younger sons («յիշեցէք զվորք պատանեկեր Պարոնին, զՍէթն եւ զՔամար զարի, որ առանց մէրական [խնա]մոց սնան»):⁷¹⁰

The eldest son of Grigor Khuts'es was likely Asil, who in 1342 reconstructed the dome of the Church of the Redeemer at Ani upon the order of *At'abek Vahram Zak'arian*, as evidenced by the inscription still preserved at the site («...Ես Ասիլ, որդի Գրիգորո, առաքեցա պատրոնին հրամանաւն՝ աթարակ Վարիամա, եւ եկեալ կատարեցի մեծ ջանիւ եւ աշխատութեամբ՝ զհրամանեալս ինձ...»):⁷¹¹ Based on the inscription, Asil, who served the Zak'arians, appears to have settled in Ani from that time onward and acquired a position. The 1357 colophon offers abundant details about his activities and family, found within a Gospel (Mat. MS 7664) commissioned by Queen Keran and which reached Ani from Cilicia. Asil and his wife purchased, restored, and gifted this Gospel to the Holy Apostles Church.

This comprehensive colophon, penned by the scribe Nerses, recounts the tragic events that unfolded in Ani during the 1350s, thus holding significant historical value⁷¹² («Արդ, յայս դառնութեան ժամանակիս... Ասիս և բարի լծակիցն իւր ընուզ Խաթունն բարեպաշտութեամբ իւրեանցն լցին զՏուն Շիրակա և մայրաքաղաքին Անոյ շինուածօք և արդար դատաստանօք և տրօք տնանկաց և այլ ամենայն ընձայիւք զվանս և զեկեղեցիս զարդարեցին որպէս օրէն է աստուածասէր քրիս-

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ CAI, I, p. 44.

⁷¹² The colophon provides a brief account of the events in Ani: in the midst of the 1350s, the city's capture and destruction by the invading Muslim army, along with the flight of the rightful owner of Ani, Zakarid Shahنشah III, are historical facts known primarily through this record. This is why excerpts from the mentioned colophon were published by scholars such as Gh. Alishan, G. Hovsepyan, H. Manandyan, and L. Khachikyan. For the complete edition, refer to K. Matevosyan's work, "14th-Century Colophons about the City of Ani and the People of Ani," published in the "Historical-Philological Journal," 1985, N. 3, pp. 112-113.

տոնէից: Մանաւանդ ևս առաւել ստացան զիրաշափառ և զսուրբ Աւետարանս... Եւ ուրախ արասցէ Տէր Աստուած զստացող սորայ զպարոն Ասիլն, զի բազում վիշտ և տրտմութիւնս կրեաց վասն աւերման մայրաքաղաքին Անոյ: Զանգի իբրև զտղայս ծնողաբար սնուցեալ էր զնոսայ և հաւատարիմ կացեալ ի վերայ տանն պատրոն արթապակ Շահնշահին և ամենայն կազմութեան տան իշխանութեան նորայ... Արդ, մեք... Ասիլս և ամուսին իմ Ըռուզ Խաթունս... ստացաք զսուրբ Աւետարանս և տուաք զսայ ի մեր սեփական հայրենի եկեղեցին՝ ի յԱնոյ Սուրբ Առաքեալքն՝ յիշատակ մեզ և ծնողաց մերոց և զաւակաց մերոց Բետունհինին, Խութթուպուղին, Թայիկին, Էսլունին և այլ ամենայն արեան մերձակայից՝ կենդանեաց և ննջեցելոց»⁷¹³).

At the conclusion of the colophon, Asil's two sons, Besuchin and Khut'lapugha, as well as his two daughters, T'ayik and Eslun, are mentioned (the names of other relatives are not provided).

The third son of Grigor Khuts'es, Mkh'it'ar, was a tax collector, as mentioned in an inscription from the Holy Apostles Church where he left taxes in Ani for the soul of Zaz. Describing himself, he states: "...*I, Mkh'it'ar, son of Grigor Khuts'is, who was the tax collector of Ani...*" («...ես Մխիթար, որդի Գրիգոր Խութիսին, որ Անոյ տաղմանի էի...»)⁷¹⁴.

Judging by the activities of Grigor Khuts'es' affluent urban family, particularly through the endeavors of his son Asil, they can also be categorized as petty nobility. They were instrumental in executing the legal authority of the Zak'arians in Ani.

It is worth mentioning that the nickname of Grigor Khuts'es (as noted in Paron's colophon: "...*Grigor, nicknamed Khuts'es*" «...Գրիգորոյ՝ մականուն Խութես») likely originates from the Georgian word "*khuts'esi*," meaning priest. It is probable that he, much like his son Asil, had connections with the Zakarids and Georgian circles, and acquired this nickname under certain circumstances. In Ani, as well as in other places, individuals with very common names often had a nickname to differentiate them from others sharing the same name (such as Hovhannes, Grigor, Gevorg).

Priestly Houses

In the history of the city of Ani, preserved accounts of priestly clans (houses) are of particular interest. Priestly families were widely dispersed in medieval Armenia. For instance, there is mention of Catholicos Mashtots' I

⁷¹³ Ibid.

⁷¹⁴ CAI, I, p. 28.

Yeghivardets'i (897-898) as *"He was a priest from the village of Yeghēvard..."* («Սա էր ի սոհմէ քահանայական ի գեղջէն Եղեվարդայ...»⁷¹⁵), and Hovhannes Sarkavag is noted to have hailed *"from the province of P'arisos, from a priestly clan"* («ի գաւառէն Փարիսոսայ, ի քահանայական սոհմէ»⁷¹⁶). Additionally, there is a remarkable testimony to the existence of numerous priestly houses in Armenian society found in a Georgian text.⁷¹⁷

It appears that in the city of Ani, not only the episcopal seat and several churches were dynastic, but there were also priestly houses whose members served in various churches for generations. The oldest extant evidence of such hereditary service dates back to 1035. The Marzpan Ablgharib Pahlavuni, who constructed the Church of the Holy Redeemer at Ani, includes at the end of the construction inscription after the *"curse formula,"* *"And whoever removes the sons of Grigor Yerets' from the service of the church, deserves to be cursed, while those who fulfill this decree, may they be blessed"* («...եւ որ գԳրիգոր իրիցու որդիքս յեկեղեցապանութենէ հանէ, կրկին անիծիցդ պարտական լիցի, իսկ կատարիչ գրիս՝ արիննայ լիցի...»⁷¹⁸). In essence, Ablgharib stipulates that the ownership of the church he constructed will belong to the sons of the elder priest Grigor and their descendants. Two years later, Ablgharib entrusted the priesthood of the Surb Hakob Church, constructed by his mother Shushan Pahlavuni, to the elder priest Gēorg («...ես Ապղարիպ մարգպան ետու զՍուրբ Յակովբ Գեորգ իրիցու՝ որդեցէ յորդիս...»⁷¹⁹).

In 1236, Nats'ual, who donated a Gospel to the Kat'oghiké Church of Ani, mentions the three servants of the church in the colophon: the priests Dasapet, Gersam, and the deacon Sargis. He informs that the manuscript was given to them *"to the sons of son"* («որդիցէ յորդիք»),⁷²⁰ suggesting that they were likely relatives, indicating that we are dealing here with the same priestly house.

Descendants of the Chronicler Samvel Anets'i

A record about the descendants of Samvel Anets'i, a renowned 12th-century chronicler and the senior elder of the Kat'oghiké Church, was

⁷¹⁵ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V-XII cc., p. 41.

⁷¹⁶ Vardan Arevelts'i, p. 125.

⁷¹⁷ L. Melik'set'-Bek, 1934, p. 104.

⁷¹⁸ CAI, I, p. 46.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁷²⁰ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIII c., p. 198.

preserved in the donation inscription left by his grandson, the elder priest Abraham, at the Khts‘konk‘ Monastery in 1233. In the inscription, Abraham remembers his father, the priest Sarkavag, and his illustrious grandfather, dedicating two of the six liturgies he received for the donation to the memory of the latter («Ի ՈԶԲ (1233) թուիս շնորհիւն Քրիստոսի, եւ Արքահամ երէց, որդի Սարկաւագ քահանայի, թոռն Սամուէլ երիցոյ Անեցի ետու զիմ զանձագին Բ (2) տուն նորաշէն եւ ի վերէն Բ (2) ի սուրբ ուխտս ի Խծկաւնս... եւ փոխարէն հատուցէն մեզ յամենայն ամի Չ (6) ար պատարագ՝ Դ (4) Արքահամու եւ Բ (2) տէր պապ երիցու...»⁷²¹). Thanks to this record, we learn that the priest son of Samvel Anets‘i was named Sarkavag. It is worth noting that Anets‘i was once an apprentice to the esteemed teacher Hovhannes Sarkavag, leading us to assume that Samvel named his son Sarkavag in honor of his teacher.

It is quite possible that Samvel’s son, Sarkavag, was the one who repaired the Surb Sargis Church in Ani in 1151, which is occasionally referred to as the Church of Sarkavag in literature («Ի թուին Ո (1151) եւ Սարկաւագ քահանա զայս ծերացեալ տաճարս Սըրբոյն Սարգսի վերլստին նորոգեցի ի հրմանէ ի յիմոց զուց. Որք ի ներկայդ էք զիս եւ ծնաւդս յիշեսցիք ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս»⁷²²). This inscription stands as the earliest known construction certificate from the Caliph period of Ani, and it is indeed unique. It is worth noting that during this time, the conditions for church construction were not favorable, and such projects could only be undertaken by someone with a strong position and support in the city. Samvel Anets‘i, who served as the senior elder of the Kat‘oghiké Church of Ani during these years, had direct connections with the Armenian Catholicos of the time, Grigor III Pahlavuni, on whose orders he wrote his “*Chronicle*.” Thus, he held significant authority and could have acted as the guarantor for his son, Sarkavag, in this endeavor, providing both material and moral support. The conclusion of Sarkavag’s inscription seems to hint at this reality, aimed not at future generations, but at the present visitors who came to witness the “old” temple thoroughly renovated («Որք ի ներկայդ էք զիս եւ ծնաւդս յիշեսցիք...»).

It is uncertain whether this priestly lineage continued after the elder priest Abraham, the grandson of Samvel and the son of Sarkavag. In the 1233 inscription from Khts‘konk‘, Abraham mentioned several of his deceased relatives (Khots‘adeg, elder priest Hovhannes, Tirants‘i, and

⁷²¹ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 211.

⁷²² CAI, I, p. 56.

Shahmam), who were already interred near the Surb Sargis church of the monastery at that time.⁷²³

Thus, we can affirm that the preserved evidence of three generations of Samvel Anets'i's family is a remarkable fact. In this sense, the chronicler stands out as perhaps the only one among Armenian medieval historians to provide such a detailed account of familial lineage.

Two Expelled Families from Ani in Sultania

In the 14th-century migration section of the city, we encounter two priestly families from Ani who settled in the newly constructed city of Sultania (near Tabriz) in Iran. Among the most renowned figures from these houses were Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, a celebrated scribe, painter, and bookbinder, and his spiritual mentor, the priest Grigor. Mkh'it'ar, who copied numerous manuscripts in Sultania, mentions in the colophon of the Gospel of 1334



Fig. 52. Scribe and miniaturist Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, artist: Avag (Jerusalem, MS 1941).

(Jerusalem, MS 1941) that he was encouraged to undertake the work by the artist Avag and Grigor Anets'i («բազմերախտ հոգևոր հայրն մեր, ստոյգ քարտուղարն եւ անհաս ընթերցողն՝ Գրիգոր երեց Անեցին»⁷²⁴). In that manuscript, Avag also portrayed Mkh'it'ar Anets'i in the lower part of the miniature depicting the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 52).

In the colophon written at the end of the manuscript, Mkh'it'ar refers to Grigor as a teacher and instructor («յիշեսցիք... գրազմերախտսն մեր, զուսուցիչսն մեր եւ զխրատիչսն, զհոգևոր հայրն մեր զԳրիգոր քահանայ Անեցի եւ... զԱվագ...»). The scribe also recalls another of his teachers, *“Priest Chan Yakob”* («Ճան Յակոբ քահանային»). Mkh'it'ar then proceeds to mention his family members («...յիշել աղաչեմ... զՄիսիթար մեղօք մեռեալ ոգի, անարժան զծող տրին... նաեւ զծնօղսն

⁷²³ N. Sargisian, 1864, p. 211.

⁷²⁴ Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts, compiled by Bishop Norair Bogharian, v. 6, Jerusalem, 1972, p. 484.

իմ ըստ մարմնոյ, զհայրն իմ՝ զտէր Յակոբ քահանայ եւ զմայրն իմ՝ զՍեդա խաթուն եւ զհարազատ եղբարսն իմ՝ զԳրիգոր քահանայ եւ զԳէորգ քահանայ եւ զքոյրն իմ՝ զԶալալն...»⁷²⁵

Thus, it is revealed that the priest Hakob had three priest sons: Grigor, Mkh'it'ar, and Gēorg. Mkh'it'ar, expressing his longing for his hometown in the colophons of the Bible copied in 1338 (Mat. MS 4429), mentions his relatives once more, noting that they have already passed away:

“I recall the land of my homeland
The steadfast capital, Ani.
And those who gave me life in body,
Lord Jacob and Seda.
My kindred brothers, Georg and Gregory,
And my sister, Jalal,
Who now rest within the tomb.”

«Յիշեմ զգաւառն իմ հայրենին,
Զմայրաքաղաք ամուր Անին,
Եւ ըստ մարմնոյ իմ ծնօղին՝
Տէր Յակոբա եւ Սեդային,
Եւ իմ եղբարցն հարազատին՝
Գէորգա եւ Գրիգորին,
Նայ եւ քվերն իմ Զալալին,
Որք են ննջեալ ի տապանին...»⁷²⁶:

In this colophon, Mkh'it'ar particularly emphasizes his elder brother as his teacher, suggesting that also the latter was a scribe.⁷²⁷

Mkh'it'ar Anets'i also remembers his fellow countryman Grigor Anets'i and Grigor's son Paron, who was likely a friend or classmate from his youth:

“To my fellow countryman,
Grigor the priest,
And my companion at the table, Baron.”

«Մեղաւորիս զաւառակցին՝
Գրիգորու քահանային,
Սընընդակիցն իմ Պարոնին»⁷²⁸:

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., I, p. 327.

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

⁷²⁸ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., I, p. 326. In the volume of colophons, Paron's name is written in lowercase letters. However, as seen from Grigor Anets'i's

In the same colophon, Mkh'it'ar mentions his four students: Arasbul, T'at'os, Sayinbek, and Grigor.

Let us delve into the family of Grigor Anets'i. It appears that he too was the child of a priest, having a priest brother and son. In 1326, Grigor Anets'i commissioned the scribe Karapet in Sultania to copy Ignatios's Commentary of the Gospel of Luke (Jerusalem, MS 453), in which his relatives, as well as Mkh'it'ar Anets'i, are mentioned («Արհնեսցէ Քրիստոս Աստուած ստացող սուրբ գրոցս զԳրիգոր քահանայ եւ զհայրն իւր զԵփրեմ քահանայ եւ զմայր իւր զԱւագ տիկին եւ զեղբայրն իւր Սարգիս քահանայ եւ զամուսին իւր Տիկնացն եւ զանդրանիկ որդին իւր Միխթար, զփոխեալն ի Քրիստոս, եւ զարքասնեալ շառաւիղն լուսոյ եւ զժառանգն արքիմուրթեան զորդեակն իւր զՊարոն, զոր Տէր Աստուած ընդ երկայն աւուրս արասցէ: Նա եւ զհոգեւոր եղբայրն մեր՝ զՄիխթար Անեցի՝ զերախտաւորն մեր...»):⁷²⁹

In the same colophon, the scribe Karapet, undoubtedly at the request of the commissioner, mentions the reason why Grigor and his family emigrated from Ani and came to Sultania («Եւ ունէր սա զքնակութիւնս իւր ի մայրաքաղաքն Անի: Արդ, վասն աւերման աշխարհին իւրեանց, եւս առաւել՝ վասն մայրաքաղաքին Անոյ, եկեալ բնակէր ի տեղիս յայս...»):⁷³⁰ Grigor Anets'i commissioned a Bible (Venice, MS 935/8) from the same scribe Karapet in Sultania in 1341 and presented it to his son, the priest Ep'rem. It is evident that Grigor referred to his son as a priest following his father's tradition. In the colophon, it is noted that he received the manuscript *“as a legacy of his son, the honorable priest Ep'rem”* («ի ժառանգութիւն զաւակի իւրոյ՝ պատուական քահանային Եփրեմի») and the latter donated the manuscript to Varagavank' in 1354, leaving a corresponding colophon («Ես նուաստ Եփրեմ քահանայ, որ ունէի զգիրքս Աստուածաշունչ ի հօրէ իմմէ ի Գրիգոր քահանայէ, նուիրեցի եւ ետու զսա ուխտիս Վարագայ Սուրբ Նշանին...»):⁷³¹

Thus, the mentioned colophons introduce us to the representatives of an exiled segment of Ani's clergy, who at the beginning of the 14th century, like numerous inhabitants of Ani, were compelled to depart from their hometown. It is noteworthy that the citizens migrated in clans and families, including priestly households among them.

1326 colophon, it is clear that the latter's son's name was Paron, and Mkh'it'ar Anets'i is undoubtedly referring to him.

⁷²⁹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., I, pp. 11-12.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, XIV c., p. 328.

LIST OF ANI CITIZENS AND RELATED PERSONS

When compiling the list of names, we considered the so-called Greater Ani, which encompassed not only the city itself but also the surrounding major monasteries like Horomos, Bagnair, Arjoarich, and the Red Monastery along the Akhurian coast. These were integral parts of the city in terms of ecclesiastical, administrative, and spiritual aspects. The vast majority of individuals mentioned in inscriptions and manuscript colophons from these monasteries were residents of Ani. The names of Ani residents are also frequent in the inscriptions of the Khts'konk' Monastery, and some even appear in inscriptions from as far as Arts'akh.

We provide concise mentions of famous figures whose names can be found in encyclopedias and other publications, focusing on their activities in Ani.

As for the persons related to Ani, which are few in number in the list, then the people who lived there for some time or who left a certain mark in construction, donation, literary and epigraphic works were taken into account.

Namesakes are listed chronologically, and each name's primary source or bibliographic reference is provided at the end of the article. This list comprises a total of 785 names.

ABAS (ԱԲԱՍ) – Bishop Abas, the abbot of Khts‘konk‘, mentioned in inscriptions from 1233 and 1240, as well as in the colophon of a Gospel illustrated by Ignatios Horomosts‘i and donated to Khts‘konk‘ in 1236. The colophon was written on behalf of Abas and other monks (Sargisian 1864, 211, 13, 194-195).

ABAS BAGRATUNI (ԱԲԱՍ ԲԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆԻ, son of King Smbat I) – king of Armenia from 928 to 953. In one of the manuscripts of Step‘anos Taronets‘i or Step‘anos Asoghik’s *History*, in the section related to his activities, the scribe Yohan added: “*He built the Small Kat‘oghiké (Church) of Ani...*” («սա շինէ եւ զՓոքր Կաթողիկէն Անւոյ...»). Ani’s rise began during his reign, and it became the Armenian Kingdom’s capital in 961 during his son Ashot the Merciful’s rule (Asoghik 1885, 172, Matevosyan 1997, 157-158).

ABASLAV (ԱԲԱՍԼԱՎ, son of Tigran) – mentioned in the 1280 donation inscription left by his daughter Mamk‘an in the Horomos Monastery, he is likely the son of the famous Tigran Honents‘ (Horomos 2015, 469).

ABDLMSEH (ԱԲԴԼՄՍԵՀ) – in the 13th century, donated a house in Ani to the Arjoarich Monastery and was rewarded with three days of masses (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

ABEL (ԱԲԵԼ) – a miller from Ani, whose mill near the Dvin Gate in Glidzor was known as “*Spring water of Abel*” («զԱբելի ակն, որ ի Դվնա դռանն») and is so mentioned in the inscriptions of the subsequent owners of the mill (Garegoyn, Hazarpek, 1269, Horomos). Perhaps the same Abel or his family also owned another mill near the Horomos Monastery, which is mentioned in the donation inscription of Zmrुकht Khat‘un dating from 1234: “*...in the mill of Karmnji Gorge which is called “mill of the Abelents”*” («եսու ի սուրբ ուխտս ի վանքս Հոռոմոսի... ակն մին ջաղաց բոլորն ի Կարմնջին ձորին, որ Աբելեանց կոչի») (Horomos 2015, 448, 468).

ABISOGHOM (ԱԲԻՍՈՂՈՄ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) from Ani, in the two inscriptions of the Palace Church of the city he calls himself a builder: “*I, vardapet Abisoghom, built the church...*” («ես Աբիսողոմ վարդապետ շինեցի զեկեղեցիս...»). Most likely, this is about renovation (CAI, I, 8).

ABL HASAN HEK‘IM (ԱԲԼ ՀԱՍԱՆ ՀԵԶԻՄ, son of the *hek‘im* Zak‘aré) – The Medieval Physician, in 1273, he made a donation to the

Horomos Monastery; the inscription mentions his father (there is an inscription at Ani mentioning his name), his grandfather Bl-Hasan, his mother Shushik and his sister Jalal (CAI, I, 68, Horomos 2015, 434-435).

ABLGHARIB (ԱԲԼՂԱՐԻԲ, son of Hasan Magistros) – brother of Bishop Barsegh II Anets‘i. It is known that he was captured by the amir (governor) of Kars in 1165 along with his elder brother, Prince Apirat (Short Chronicles 1956, 502).

ABLGHARIB PAHLAVUNI (ԱԲԼՂԱՐԻԲ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ, son of Grigor) – a prince, marzipan of the Armenians. In 1035, he built one of the large churches of Ani, the Church of the Redeemer (the architect is probably Trdat: his name “*Trdat*” is preserved on one of the walls). Ablgharib left three inscriptions on the walls of the church, the first of which states that he travelled to Constantinople as the ambassador of King Hovhannes Smbat and purchased the relic of the Holy Cross at a high price and brought it to Ani and placed it in the church. In the inscription, the prince orders the priests to “*hold a night service for him on Sundays until the coming of Christ,*” at the same time, he specifies that he hands over the ministry of the church to the sons of the elder priest Grigor. In the second inscription (1036), he mentions the gifts he donated to the church: shops (3 in number), an oil-mill, a garden, lands, precious dishes and manuscripts (Gospel, *Tonakan* (Festals)), telling also about the preparation of a source water near the church, “... *I put a log near the Church of the Redeemer*” («...կանգնեցի միլ առ Սուրբ Փրկիչս»). Another inscription dating from 1040 mentions about building an “*inn*” for the church. In the same year, Ablgharib built two chapel-tombs near Surb Grigor Church (Abulamrenc‘) of the Pahlavuni family: St. Step‘anos, for his father and mother, and St. Christopher, for his deceased sister and brother, Seda and Hamzé (CAI, I, 33, 43-48).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ) – a monk at Horomos and a binder. In 1211, by the order of the priest Sahak from Ani, he bound the Gospel of Haghbat which had been copied in Haghbat and illustrated at the Bekhents‘ Monastery of Ani; in the marginalia of one of the canon tables, the artist Margaré depicted the binder’s portrait (Mat. MS 6288, 13th century, 69, 72).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ) – a priest at the Cathedral of Ani, whose tombstone with his name on it was found on the east side of the church in 2004 (Karapetyan 2011, 194, 196, 257).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ) – Dean of the Bagnair Monastery, mentioned in the inscriptions of 1262, 1266, and several undated ones (Sargisian 1864, 186-187).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ) – in 1160, he built one of the wall towers of Ani. The inscription also mentions *vardapet* Arak‘el (CAI, I, 2).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ) – in the 13th century, he donated his garden located in Ani and called “*Homeland*” to Horomos («Արքայաւանսն եւ պարտէզ բերդին առաջի՝ Հայրենիք է անունն»); for this he was rewarded with three days of masses (Horomos 2015, 457).

ABRAHAM (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ, son of the priest Sarkavag) – elder priest from Ani, the grandson of historian Samvel Anets‘i. In 1233, he donated his two newly built houses bought by treasures and the two shops above it to Khts‘konk‘. He was rewarded with six days of masses: four for him, two for his grandfather. The inscription mentions also the names of his relatives: Khots‘adegh, elder priest Yovhannes, Tirants‘i, Shahmam, who were deceased at that time and buried in Khts‘konk‘. At the end, he mentions two more people: Grigor and Rimanos («Գրիգոր աշխատող եւ զՌիմանոս»), who were possibly the scribe of the inscription and his assistant (Sargisian 1864, 211).

ABRAHAM GANDZAKETS‘I (ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄ ԳԱՆԶԱԿԵՑԻ) – in 1215, his brother, Mkh‘it‘arich‘ Gandzakets‘i, built one of the wall towers of Ani by the means of Abraham (CAI, I, 2).

ABULAMR (ԱԲՈՒՂԱՄՐ, father of Azatshah) – mentioned in the inscription of the gravestone of his son Azatshah’s long-dead son, Gail (CAI, I, 56).

ABULAMR (ԱԲՈՒՂԱՄՐ, son of Grigor I Magistros) – brother of Bishop Sargis II and Vahram from Ani. In 1262, he donated half of Kaghghuts‘ village to Bagnair in memory of his mother, Mamk‘an, who probably died at that time. The inscription of the same monastery from 1267 states that he bought the other half of Kaghghuts‘ from the inheritors of Tigran Honents‘ («ի Տիգրանանց») and donated it to the monastery in memory of his brother Prince Vahram («զմեցի զկէս Կաղղուցն ի Տիգրանանց եւ ետու ի Ս(ուր)բ Ա(ստուա)ծածինս, ի մեր սուրբ ուխտս, որ զփոխարէնն՝ մաւտ ի Քրիստոս, ի Վարդաւանս»).

իշխանն ի յիմ եղբայրն վնարէ»)). The inscription on his gravestone in Marmashen reads: “*This is the gravestone of Abulamr, son of Magistros*” («Այս հանգիստ է Ապուղամրի, որդոյ Մաքիստրոսի») (Karapetyan 2013, 31, 33, CAI, X, 98, 103).

ABULAMR PAHLAVUNI (ԱԲՈՒՂԱՍՐ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ, the youngest son of the prince of princes, Vahram) – in 1031, he donated the land of Kaghnut to the Church of the Holy Apostles at Ani for the health of his elder brother Grigor. A few years later, for the salvation of the latter’s soul, his father made a donation to the Church of St. Gregory of the Abulamrenc’ (CAI, I, 12, 32).

ABUKHANM (ԱԲՈՒԽԱՆՄ / Ապուխանմ) – a prince, most likely lived in the eleventh century, who made a monetary donation to the six-apsed church located at the foot of Ani Citadel, called Church of Abukhanm («Աբուխանմի եկեղեցի»). He was rewarded with eleven days of masses: four for him, four for Vasil and three for Snekit. It is likely that his name was mentioned on the fragment of another inscription in the form of Apulanm («Ապուղանմ») (CAI, I, 34, 71).

ABULASVAR (ԱԲՈՒԼԱՍՎԱՐ, son of Manuch’é) – Shaddadid amir in Ani (1110-1124). Unlike his father, he had tense relations with the Armenian residents of the city, as a result of which in 1124 they summoned David the Builder, the king of Georgia, and handed over Ani to him. Abulasvar was captured and taken to Georgia where he died (Matevosyan 1997, 59-60).

ABULET ABULETSIDZE (ԱԲՈՒԼԵԹ ԱԲՈՒԼԵԹՍԻԶԵ, father of Ivané) – Georgian prince; David IV the Builder, king of Georgia, entrusted the protection and rule of Ani to him and his son Ivané in 1124-1126. The information provided by Samvel Anets’i reveals that they did not live in the city all the time but when necessary they came with troops and defended the city from Muslim attacks (Anets’i 2014, 207, Vardan Arevelts’i 2001, 123, 124).

AGHADOVLES (ԱՂԱԴՈՎԼԵՍ) (son of Smbat) – In 1247, he donated the house with a plot of land, which was probably located in the suburbs of Ani and once belonged to Gishuk, to the Horomos Monastery («Ես՝ Աղադովլես որդի Սմբատա, ետու ի Դիասպարի գԳիշկոյն տունն իւր հողովն, ոնց Գիշուկն ունեցեալ է Հռոմի վանիցս...») (Horomos 2015, 420).

AGHBERIK (ԱՂԲԵՐԻԿ) – mentioned in the inscription of a *khach 'k'ar* found near Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Aghberik) in Ani, which was erected as an intercessor for him, Siret' and Khorasu (CAI, I, 67).

AGHBEROS (ԱՂԲԵՐՈՍ, son of Gēorg Nersisants') – his brother, Paron, paid 600 *spitak* (silver coins) in 1308 to ransom the Gospel of Bagnair and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. His mother's name was Mamakhat'un (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).

AGHBRATS' (ԱՂԲՐԱՅ, wife of Vardan) – together with her husband, they made a donation to Horomos and received a grave site (Horomos 2015, 480).

AGHBUGHA (ԱՂԲՈՒՂԱ, son of Ivané Zak'arian and grandson of Shahnshah I) – in 1301, he freed people from three taxes, leaving a record about it in the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 28).

AGHBUGHA (ԱՂԲՈՒՂԱ, son of Shahnshah I Zak'arian) – In 1289, together with Mr. T'amar, they eased the taxes of the clergy in Ani, leaving a record about it in the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 22).

AGHVORSHAH (ԱՂՎՈՐՇԱՀ, father of Aziztikin) – his daughter was mentioned in the inscription of a *khach 'k'ar* of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Ani, stating that she had done a lot of things for the church (CAI, I, 30).

AHARON-GRIGOR (ԱՀԱՐՈՆ-ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor), in 1292, due to persecution, he moved to Ani from Yertzinka and took refuge in the church of the old priest Grigor, where with the support of the priest Sarkavag and the monk Simeon Marndunets'i he completed the copying of a manuscript he had started in Yertzinka and had left unfinished (XIII, 673).

AIKHAT'UN (ԱԻԽԱԹՈՒՆ) – a family member or a relative of Sharapshah for who two masses were offered, as states the donation inscription of 1234 from the Bagnair Monastery (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

AK'EGH (ԱԶԵՂ, father of Ignatios) – in the 13th century, he and his wife Mamer made a donation to Horomos. Since the name "*Ak'egh*" is not found elsewhere, it is possibly a distorted form of Aghek'/Alek' (Horomos 2015, 428).

ALĒK'S (ԱԼԷԶՍ, son of Ghazar) – a merchant, who in 1266 donated the stall he had bought on Tsrazukak Street in Ani to Horomos («Խ՛

Ալէքս որդի Ղազարա եւ ամուսին իմ Սլըքսթի միաբանեցաք Սուրբ Յովանէսի եւ զնեցի կուղպակ ի Ծռագուկակին եւ էտու ընծա ի սուրբ ուխտս»): Fifteen masses were offered – five for him and five for his wife Melik‘st‘i (Melik‘tikin, “*Melek‘st‘i*”), three for the elder priest Avet and one each for his father Ghazar and mother Vardtikin. The inscription also mentions a man named Amid without any notice about offering a mass. In 1271, Alēk’s donated a shop on Bazaz Street in Ani and a silver bowl to the Bagnair Monastery. Twelve masses were offered for ten people («եւ՝ Ալէքս վաճառական, որդի Ղազարու... էտու նվեր ի Բազազ փողոցին կուղպակ մի, սկի մի արծաթի... փոխարէն հատուցին ի տարին ԺԲ (12) պատարագ. Ա (1)՝ Ղազարու, Ա (1)՝ Խոցաղեղին, Ա (1)՝ Թէտեցն, Ա (1)՝ Թամամին, Ա (1)՝ Թագերոյն, Ա (1)՝ Վարդէտիկնա, Ա (1)՝ Էբրիանոսի, Գ (3)՝ Խոցաղեղին, Ա (1)՝ Սի...») (Horomos 2015, 467, Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

AMID PARON (ԱՄԻՐ ՊԱՐՈՆ) – mentioned in the merchant Alēk’s’ donation inscription of Horomos dating from 1266 (Horomos 2015, 467).

AMIR (ԱՄԻՐ, son of P‘akhradin) – is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript copied at Ani in 1298 as one of the lords of Arjoarich, together with lord Yohanis from the Magistros’ family (XIII, 818).

AMIR ERKAT‘ (ԱՄԻՐ ԵՐԿԱԹ) – see Erkat‘.

AMIR HASAN (ԱՄԻՐ ՀԱՍԱՆ) – was the owner of a shop at Ani in the early 14th century. In 1348, Shapadin bought his shop and donated it to the Holy Apostles Church in Ani. The inscription also mentions the exact location of the shop («մէկ կուղպակ, որ իյԱմիր Հասանա գնել էի՝ Գղակկրոցի խանապարի դռանն դիմաց է») (CAI, I, 29).

AMIR HASAN (ԱՄԻՐ ՀԱՍԱՆ, son of Grigor Hejub) – mentioned in the donation inscription of 1201 of Horomos. His mother’s name was Khat‘un (Horomos 2015, 421).

AMIR SMBAT (ԱՄԻՐ ՍՄԲԱՏ, son of Jaj) – in 1347, he, together with his father, donated to the Horomos Monastery a gospel with a silver binding prepared by the goldsmith Grigor. Their names are mentioned in the colophon of the silver binding («եւ Ջաջս եւ որդի իմ Ամիր Սմբատ...») (Matevosyan 1997, 284).

ANANÉ (ԱՆԱՆԷ) – a scribe, who carved the inscription of Nuraydin K‘ot‘it‘ on the wall of the *gavit‘* (narthex) of the Holy Apostles Church in 1280 (CAI, I, 23).

ANANÉ (ԱՆԱՆԷ) – son of Petros Getadardz’s sister, served in the Catholicate of Ani (Urhayets‘i 1991, 114).

ANANIA (ԱՆԱՆԻԱ) – Abbot of the Horomos Monastery, the inscription of 1013 mentions the works he did with the support of Gagik I, in particular, about making the place or settlement called K‘egharagom (which was probably a place with a strong position not far from the monastery) the property of the Horomos Monastery («անի եւ գԶեղարագոմն իւր ամենայն գոյիւ... վասն ապաւինի տեղի լինելոյ՝ ի փախստեան ժամանակի, եւ այլ բազում ինչ աւգտի՝ փայտի եւ խոտի...»). In another, undated inscription of Horomos, Anania calls himself “*bishop of Arsharunik‘ and Chakatk‘ and the district of Ayrarat*” (Horomos 2015, 396-397, 407).

ANANIA SHIRAKATS‘I (ԱՆԱՆԻԱ ՇԻՐԱԿԱՏԻ, son of Yovhannes of Shirak) – a prominent 7th-century scholar, mathematician and pedagogue. He was probably born in Ani, or more precisely, in the village of Ani or Anania, on which he left a colophon in 661 («Անանիէ Շիրակացի ի գեղջէ Անենից...»). In the early 10th century, the catholicos-historian Hovhannes Draskhanakertts‘i referred to Shirakats‘i as “*Anania Anets‘i.*” It is worth noting that during this period, Ani was neither the capital nor a famous settlement, making it unlikely for the historian to arbitrarily link Shirakats‘i’s name with Ani (V-XII, 17-21, Matevosyan 1997, 349).

ANDREAS (ԱՆԴՐԷԱՍ) – Abbot of Arjoarich, mentioned in the 1289 donation inscription of the elder priest Vordek (Vordiak) Koghbats‘i (Sargisian 1864, 192).

ANDREAS (ԱՆԴՐԷԱՍ) – Abbot of Horomos, a *vardapet* (church doctor). His name was mentioned in the donation inscriptions of Bishop Grigor I Magistros of Ani and Khut‘lu Khat‘un (10s of the 13th century) (Sargisian 1864, 151, 160).

ANTON (ԱՆՏՈՆ) – in 1298, he left a donation inscription on the wall of Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents‘) Church (partially preserved) (CAI, I, 53).

APAHERT‘ (ԱՊԱՀԵՐԹ, father of Grigor) - in the 13th century, his son donated a house on the north side of Kat‘oghiké Church to the

Arjoarch Monastery, and four masses were offered for him, his father, and his relatives (K‘alant‘ar 2007, 143).

APIRAT (ԱՊԻՐԱՏ, son of Hasan Magistros) – a prince, the brother of Bishop Barsegh II Anets‘i and father of Bishop Sargis I of Ani. He was captured by the amir of Kars in 1165, along with his other brother Ablgharib and his son-in-law, amir Hasan. However, thanks to the intercession of Barsegh Anets‘i and the request of King George III of Georgia he was ransomed and returned to Ani in 1174 («ել ի քանսէն Կարուց մեծ իշխանն Ապիրատն և եկն ի յԱնի, սա էր եղբայր եպիսկոպոսի քաղաքին տեառն Բարսեղի») (Vardan Arevelts‘i 2001, 133, Short Chronicles 1956, 502).

APIRAT (ԱՊԻՐԱՏ, son of Khach‘ot Shekhents‘) – in 1221, his parents made a donation to the Khts‘konk‘ Monastery from what they had in Ani. Mother’s name was Avagtikin (Sargisian 1864, 210).

APLHASAN (ԱՊԼՀԱՍԱՆ, brother of Vest Sargis) – made a donation to Surb Sargis Church in Khts‘konk‘ and mentioned about it in the inscription of 1033. He had a prematurely deceased son named Hajaj, who was buried in Khts‘konk‘ in 1034 (Sargisian 1864, 209, 213).

APLJAHAP (ԱՊԼՋԱՀԱՊ, son of Grigor Apirat Magistros) – after his father’s death (1021) in Ani, King Hovhannes Smbat became the guardian of him, his brother (Vasak) and sister (Tiknats‘tikin). His wife was the daughter of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (her name is unknown). He moved to Mesopotamia with his father-in-law in 1045, his eldest son was named Apirat, whose children were the catholicoi Grigor III Pahlavuni and Nerses IV Shnorhali.

APLJAHAP (ԱՊԼՋԱՀԱՊ, son of Prince Vasak) – a prince in Ani in the 11th century, brother of Prince Grigor and Barsegh I Anets‘i. When the latter was ordained a Catholicos in Haghbat in 1081 and came to Ani, his father and three brothers, Hasan, Grigor, and Apljahap, came to greet him (Urhayets‘i 1991, 238).

APRIK (ԱՊՐԻԿ, father of Yohannēs Ark‘auni) – in 1253, his son made donations to the Horomos Monastery, including two houses in Ani. Ten masses were offered during the feast of Khach‘goyt, from which three for his father, Aprik, and three for his mother, St‘erhi («հատուցին ինձ յամէն ամի Ժ (10) ար պատարագ՝ զտան Խաչգոյտին, Գ (3) ար իմ հարն՝ Ապրկան, Գ (3)՝ իմ մարն Սթերիէն») (Horomos 2015, 464).

ARAIN (ARON, magister AHARON, ԱՌԱԻՆ, ԱՌՈՆ, ԱՀԱՐՈՆ մագիստրոս) – Byzantine governor in Ani, who strengthened the walls of the city and brought drinking water to the citadel in 1056 (CAI, I, 38).

ARAK'EL (ԱՌԱԶԵԼ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) from Ani, who is mentioned in the inscription of a wall tower built by Abraham in 1160 (CAI, I, 2).

ARAK'EL (ԱՌԱԶԵԼ, father of Yohanes) – in the 13th century, his son donated half of his mill of Glidzor in Ani to Bagnair, which was called “*Hatorhnik*” («Հատորհնիկ») (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

ARAK'EL (ԱՌԱԶԵԼ, son of Rovmanos) – his brothers were the priest Sahak and Ipatos (prematurely deceased). He is mentioned in the colophon of a gospel of 1211 commissioned by Sahak (Gospel of Haghbat), which was donated to the church built by this family in the Arjoarich Monastery. Sahak and Arak'el are depicted on either side of Christ in the dedication miniature of the manuscript (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69-71).

ARAK'EL ANETS'I (ԱՌԱԶԵԼ ԱՆԵՑԻ) – a *vardapet* (nickname: Var), who in 1222 in Maghasberd near Ani, together with Mkh'it'ar Ch'ech'kants'i and Sheran, translated an Interpreter of dreams from Arabic into Armenian. He is believed to have translated other works as well (XIII, 131).

ARAM (ԱՐԱՄ, son of K'urt') – one of the donors of the Horomos Monastery. In 1285, he donated to the monastery the patrimonial vineyard which his grandfather Smbat had planted with his own hands (Horomos 2015, 413).

AREWIK (ԱՐԵՒԻԿ, fiancé of Grigor's daughter) – in 1218, he and his fiancée (her name was not preserved, she was Grigor's daughter) erected a *khach'k'ar* (cross-stone) near Kat'oghiké Church for themselves and also for the forgiveness of sins (CAI, I, 40).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ) – in 1222, he built one of the wall towers of Ani (CAI, I, 7).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ) – in the 13th century, he donated his house in Ani to the Bagnair Monastery “*which was near the Church of K'ahanents*” («որ ընդդէմ Քահանէնց եկեղեցոյն»), and a mass was offered for him (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ) – mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani (CAI, I, 11).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ, husband of Shushik) – in the 13th century, he and his wife donated to the Arjoarich Monastery their house, probably located in Ani, and six days of masses were offered for them and their relatives («Կամաւ բարերարին Ա(ստուծոյ) մէք Առիւծս եւ Շուշիկս միաբանեցաք ի Ս(ուր)բ ուխտս Արջուառնի եւ տուաք զմեր զանձագին տունն որ ի Ս(ուր)բ ... ի կալին եւ հայր Վարդան եւ այլ միաբանքն հատուցին զմեզ Զ (6) աւր ժամ... Շուշկան, Ա (1)՝ Ազգին, Ա (1)՝ Ասթերին, Ա (1)՝ Տիկնչն, Ա (1)՝ Կարապետին» (Sargisian 1864, 191).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ, son of Astvatsatur) – in the 13th century, he donated to the Horomos Monastery the shops he bought and repaired on Boun Street in Ani, which he describes in remarkable detail («եստու ի յԱնն Բուն փողոցին զիմ զանձագին կուղպակն, որ շինեցի՝ ներքի դեհն քանակից է Աւետեացն, Բ (2) կուղպակ ի կտերն, մէկն՝ ի վերա կուղպակին է եւ մէկն իւրենն դիմաց, որ դաղայն է ներքեւ»). He made this donation in memory of his wife, Hamavor (Horomos 2015, 453).

ARIWTS (ԱՌԻԻԾ, son of the tanner Mkh‘it‘ar) – he made a donation to the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century («ես Առիւծս որդի Մխիթարա ճոնին ետու զիմ հայրենի Բ (2) արտերն»). Once a year a mass was offered for him and his wife, Nurst‘é (Sargisian 1864, 192).

ARIWTS HOGEVOREANTS՝ (ԱՌԻԻԾ ՀՈԳԵՎՈՐԵԱՆՅ, son of Sargis) – a wealthy person and philanthropist from Ani in the 50s and 70s of the 13th century. An undated inscription mentions that he paved the floor of the Holy Apostles’ Church in Ani («ես Առիւծս Հոգեւորեաց... սալեցի զժամատունս»). In 1251, he restored the water conveyance of the Horomos Monastery, which had been ruined because of the Mongols, and donated to it his patrimonial shop in the neighborhood of the Shoemakers and a garden. The inscription mentions the names of his father Sargis, mother Hrip‘simé, wife Seda, daughter Nurst‘é and son Grigor (this and the next inscriptions mention their family name as Hogevoeants՝). In 1277, he and his wife built a *nshkharatun* (a place for making wafers) in the Horomos Monastery by the hand of Master Frer from the city of Karin. It is a

quite a large vaulted structure. His family name is mentioned in all inscriptions (CAI, I, 20, Horomos 2015, 461-462, 478).

ARK‘A (Ark‘ayut‘iwn) (ԱՐՔԱ) (Արքայութիւն) – mentioned in Khach‘eres’ donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1209. He donated to the monastery seven shops he had bought in Ani, for which two days of masses were offered for him. Most likely, he was the son of Khach‘eres (Karapetyan 2013, 21).

ARK‘A (ԱՐՔԱ) – he donated 10 *dehakans* (monets), which was the “portion of his spirit” («նqn քաժիւ»), to Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents‘) of Ani, on which he mentioned in an undated inscription (CAI, I, 50).

ARK‘A (ԱՐՔԱ) – together with Tikin and Aveteats‘, he ordered the painter Khach‘atour to illustrate the Gospel copied in 1298 at Ani and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. For this a mass was offered for each of them (XIII, 181).

ARSHAK (ԱՐՇԱԿ) – in the first half of the 13th century, together with Vardaryuts and Khoren, they donated to Bagnair the garden called “*Vardenats‘ nork‘*” («Վարդէնաց նոք»), and each were rewarded with four days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

ARTAMSHAH (ԱՐՏԱՍԾԱՀ, son of Mamukst‘i) – in 1266, his mother made a donation to their burial house in Horomos, and one day of masses rewarded on this occasion she offered for her son Artamshah («Արտասձիւն») (Horomos 2015, 466).

ARTASHIR (ԱՐՏԱՇԻՐ) – the mayor of Oshakan. In 1211, he donated his garden called “*Ashotonts‘*” («Աշոտնոց») to the Bagnair Monastery and was rewarded with eight days of masses for him and his relatives: three days for Artashir, two for Abas, two for Sis and one for Gntut («Գ (3) Արտաշրիւն, Բ (2) Աբաս, Բ (2) Սիս, Ա (1) Գնտուտիւն») (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

ARTAVAZ (ԱՐՏԱՎԱԶ, father of spat‘arkankitat Sargis) – his son was one of the patrons of Ani during the Byzantine rule (1045-1064) who left out taxes in the city in 1060 (CAI, I, 37).

ARUS KHAT‘UN (ԱՐՈՒՄ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ) – her name is preserved on a stone with a partially saved donation inscription found near Kat‘oghiké Church of Ani, where a certain Grigor is also mentioned (CAI, I, 41).

ARUT‘ (ԱՐՈՒԹ, father of Avetik‘) – mentioned in an undated inscription of a wooden desk found in Ani: “*carpenter Avetik‘, son of Arut‘*”

(«Արութի որդի տիրկեր Աւետիքի»), which was donated to Surb Karapet Church (Ani, objects 1982, 150-151).

ASHOT III THE MERCIFUL (ԱՇՈՏ Գ ՈՂՈՐՄԱԾ, son of Abas Bagratuni) – King of Armenia (953-977). Under King Ashot III, Ani became the capital of the Bagratid kingdom in 961, where he organized a large event and received royal consecration. He built the small wall of Ani in the narrow part of the Akhurian gorge and Tsaghkots‘adzor, which is recorded by historian Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i («Աշոտ Ողորմածն որդի Աբասայ, թագաւորէ յԱնի ամս ԻԵ (25) և շինէ զՓոքր քաղաքն»). After his death, he was buried in the Horomos Monastery, which thus became the resting place (burial place) of the kings of Ani. His tombstone with epitaph was preserved until the beginning of the 20th century: wife: Khosrovanuysh, sons: Smbat, Gagik, and Gurgen (Urhayets‘i 1991 , 9, Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i 1983, 67).

ASHOT THE IRON (ԱՇՈՏ ԵՐԿԱԹ, son of King Hovhannes Smbat) – mentioned in the inscription of 1028 of her mother, T‘aguhi, “*I, the pious T‘aguhi, the daughter of Abas, the wife of Smbat shahanshah and the mother of Ashot...*” («Ես բարեպաշտ Թագուիս, դուստր Աբասա, Սմբատ շահանշահի կինս եւ Աշոտոյ մարս...»). Historian Aristakes Lastiverts‘i writes the following about Hovhannes Smbat: “*his son, Yerkat‘ (the Iron), died early*” («որդին նորա՝ Երկաթ, վաղ վախճանեցաւ»). The prince, as one can see, was called after his renowned ancestor, King Ashot Yerkat‘ (914-928) (CAI, X, 18, Lastiverts‘i 1963, 32).

ASIL (ԱՍԻԼ, son of Grigor Khuts‘esi) – in the 20s-40s of the 14th century, his father was mentioned as the “*leader and founder of the city*” («առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս»), and after some time, his position was inherited by his son, Asil, who in the colophon of a manuscript he had commissioned in 1357 was called “*...leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city*” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»). In 1342, at the behest of Vahram Zak‘arian, he restored the dome of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani, on which is mentioned in the inscription. In 1357, he acquired a Cilician royal Gospel and donated it to the Holy Apostles Church of Ani, which he calls their “*own native church*” («սեփեական հայրենի եկեղեցին») in the

colophon. His wife's name was Ėruz Khat'un, the children's names were Besuch, Khut'lubugha, T'ayik, Eslun (CAI, I, 44, Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

ASILOTS' (ԱՍԻՐՈՅ, son of Mamukst'i) – in 1266, his mother made a donation to their burial house in Horomos, for which masses were offered and one of them was offered for Asirots' (Horomos 2015, 466).

ASLAN (ԱՍԼԱՆ, son of Sheranik) – in 1231, he and his wife Asushah made a donation to Horomos: *"I, Aslan, son of Sheranik, and my consort Asushah, gave our real estate, bought with money, a twelfth of income of Godis, soil and water..."* («ես՝ Ասլանս որդի Շերանկանն եւ զիւգակից իմ Ասուշիս տուաք զմեր զանձագին հայրենիքն զԳողեցն զկէս դանգն իւր հողովն եւ ջրովն...»), and they were rewarded with four masses (Horomos 2015, 424).

ASLANBEK (ԱՍԼԱՆԲԵԿ, son of Paron) - in 1308, his father paid 600 *spitak* (silver coins) to ransom the Bagnair Gospel and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. His mother's name was P'oqrtikin (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 147-148).

ASLANKHAT'UN (ԱՍԼԱՆԽԱՏՈՒՆ, wife of Mankasar) – her husband was one of the masters of the Horomos Monastery. They are mentioned in the colophon of the binding of a Gospel donated to the Horomos Monastery by Jaj in 1347 (Matevosyan 1997, 284).

AST'ER (ԱՍԹԵՐ) – mentioned in the 13th-century donation inscription of Aryuts and his wife Shushik from the Arjoarich Monastery. He was their relative and a mass was offered for her (Sargisian 1864, 191).

ASTVATSATOUR (ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՏՈՒՐ) – a priest at the Arjoarich Monastery, who got his education in the same monastery and in 1236-1236 donated a Gospel to it. The colophon mentions that he has donated the Gospel in memory of him, his parents, his brothers and church doctors («...նուստ եւ անարժան քահանա, աշակերտ եւ [սպասաւոր սուրբ] ուխտիս Արջուառնո, որ ի դրան մայրաքաղաքիս Անյ, որ աւանդեցի զսուրբ [Աւետարանս] ի նորին յուխտս յիշատակ ինձ եւ ծնողաց մերոց եւ եղբայրց եւ վարդապետաց...»).

His son's name is Manuil («Մանուի») (XIII, 197).

ASTVATSATOUR (ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾԱՏՈՒՐ, father of Aryuts) – his son donated to the Horomos Monastery the shops bought and repaired on Boun Street (Main Street) of Ani (Horomos 2015, 453).

ASTVATSATOUR (ԱՍՏՈՒՎԾԱՏՈՒՐ, father of Khach'eghbayr) – his son, along with his wife Sismam, built a chapel in Bagnair and donated to it a two-story house (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

ASTVATSATOUR (ԱՍՏՈՒՎԾԱՏՈՒՐ, son of Shahpatin) – in 1342, his brother, the elder priest Kirakos, commissioned a *Chashots'* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).

ASUSHAH (ԱՍՈՒԾԱՀ, wife of Aslan) – in 1231, she, along with her husband, made a donation to Horomos for which they were rewarded with four masses (Horomos 2015, 424).

AT'ANAS (ԱԹԱՆԱՍ) – in 1231, he donated his house to Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents') of Ani and a mass was offered for him on the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ (Vardavar) (CAI, I, 51).

AWAGTIKIN (ԱՎԱԳՏԻԿԻՆ, daughter of Gorgik) – in the 20s of the 13th century, she donated to the Bagnair Monastery half acre of the oil field she had received from her parents and was rewarded with three days of masses: for her, her father, and T'acher (Karapetyan 2013, 29-30).

AWAGTIKIN (ԱՎԱԳՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Khach'ot Shekhents') – in 1221, together with her husband, they donated their patrimonial houses, which were in front of Surb Sargis Church at Ani, as well as a shop on a small street called Tsrazukak to the Khts'konk' Monastery, for which they were rewarded with seven days of masses: three for each of them and one for Apirat (Sargisian 1864, 210).

AWAGTIKIN (ԱՎԱԳՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of the priest Ep'rem) – mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript commissioned by her son, priest Grigor, in 1326 in Sultania (XIV, I, 11-12).

AWAK'KHAT'UN (ԱՎԱԶԽԱՏՈՒՆ, daughter of Grigor) – in the 13th century, her father donated to the Horomos Monastery his house with two rooms built by him and the three shops, for which he was rewarded with three days of masses: one for him and two for his daughter (Horomos 2015, 430).

AWAK'KHAT'UN (ԱՎԱԶԽԱՏՈՒՆ, wife of Shapadin) – in 1348, her husband made a donation to the Church of Holy Apostles in Ani and for this he was rewarded with twelve days of masses, four from which were offered for Awak'khat'un (CAI, I, 29).

AWET (ԱՎԵՏ) – an elder priest, who was mentioned in the donation inscription of Aleks, son of Ghazar, and his wife (1266, Horomos).

Most likely, he had relations with this family as three from the fifteen days of masses rewarded to the donors were offered for him (Horomos 2015, 467).

AWETEATS' (ԱԲԵՏԵԱՅ) – together with Tikin and Ark'a, he ordered the miniaturist Khach'atur to illustrate the Gospel copied in 1298 in Ani and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery, for which each of them were rewarded with a mass (XIII, 181).

AWETEATS' CH'ĒCH'KANTS' (ԱԲԵՏԵԱՅ ՉԷՉԿԱՆՅ, father of Mkh'it'ar Ch'ēch'kants') – mentioned in the donation inscription of 1233 left by his grandson Vahram in the Bagnair Monastery, where the latter calls him “*grandson of Aweteats' Ch'ēch'kants'*” («ժոռոն Աւետեացն Չէչկանց») (Karapetyan 2013, 33).

AWETIK' (ԱՎԵՏԻԹ) – a bishop and abbot of Hormos, who is mentioned in an inscription of 1756 (Horomos 2015, 486).

AWETIK' (ԱԲԵՏԻԹ) (son of Arut') – a carpenter, who was mentioned in an undated inscription of a wooden desk found in Ani («Արուրի որդի տիրկէր Աւետիքի»), which was donated to Surb Karapet Church (Ani, objects 1982, 150-151).

AWETIS (ԱԲԵՏԻՍ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) from Ani, the abbot of the Sanahin Monastery, mentioned in several inscriptions of the monastery. In 1250, he made a donation to the Horomos Monastery: the inscription reads: “*I, vardapet Awetis, prelate of the holy congregation of Sanahin, (originating) by my family from this metropolis of Ani*” («Ես՝ Աւետիս վարդապետ, առաջնորդ սուրբ ուխտին Սանահինին, ազգաւ ի մայրաքաղաքէս Անո»)). He was rewarded with three days of masses during the feast of the Holy Cross: two days for him and one for Votnamur (Horomos 2015, 451).

AWETIS (ԱԲԵՏԻՍ) – in the 13th century, together with Hazardegh, they donated a garden to the Bagnair Monastery, for this each of them was rewarded with a mass (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

AWETIS (ԱԲԵՏԻՍ) (Aweteats', son of Khach'eghbayr) – in 1201, he and his father donated to the Horomos Monastery their patrimonial estate, called Marants' Marg, and in 1249, he donated a Gospel purchased by him to the same monastery. In the colophon of this manuscript, he called himself “*old*” «ծեր» (Horomos 2015, 441, XIII, 252).

AYTSEAM (ԱՅԾԵԱՍ) – a heroic woman from Ani, who demonstrated courage during the siege of the city by Amir Patlun I in 1124. Samvel

Anets'i wrote about her courageous behavior («Եւ յայսմ պատերազմի առաքինացաւ կին մի ի վերայ պարսպացս, առնացի ստացեալ սիրտ հալածականս առնէր քարամբք զմարտուցեալսն, յեկանել ընդ պատուարն՝ առ ոչինչ համարեալ զխոցուածս նետիցն, զոր վիրաւորէին արտաքուստ, եւ էր անուն նորա ըստ արժանի արագութեան նորա, Այծեամն կոչեցեալ»). Aytsemluk version has been used as her name in literature. (Anets'i 2014, 207).

AZATSHAH (ԱԶԱՏՇԱՀ, son of Abulamr) – together with his wife Menik, they erected a tomb near the shrine of their prematurely deceased son Gail (20-year-old) at Ani, leaving an inscription about it, probably dating back to the 13th century. It is one of the earliest uses of the name Azatshah (CAI, I, 56).

AZIZ (ԱԶԻԶ) – his name has been preserved on the *khach'k'ar* (cross-stone) found near K'arimadin Church (CAI, I, 65).

AZIZ (ԱԶԻԶ) - in 1145, he built the small church of Bagnair, Surb Grigor Church, in memory of his son Grigor («Ի ՇՂԴ (1145) թվ(ին) եւ Ազիզս մեղուցեալ աղախին Քրիստոսի աւ(ր)հնեցի զեկեղեցիս զՍուրբ Գրիգոր ի յիշատակ որդւո իմո Գրիգորո») (Karapetyan 2013, 31, 34).

AZIZ (ԱԶԻԶ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “they made donations” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

AZIZ (ԱԶԻԶ) – the relative of Aryuts and his wife Shushik. Their names are mentioned in a 13th-century donation inscription of the Arjoarich Monastery. A mass was offered for Aziz (Sargisian 1864, 191).

AZIZTIKIN, MAM (ԱԶԻԶՏԻԿԻՆ, ՄԱՄ, daughter of Aghvorshah) – the inscription of a *khach'k'ar* (cross-stone) of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Ani mentions about her death: “*this is the grave of Mam whose name was Aziztikin*” («այս է հանգիստ Մամին, որ անուն էր սորայ Ազիզտիկին»). It also says that she did a lot of things for the church (CAI, I, 30).

BAGARAT VKHKATS'I (ԲԱԳԱՐԱՏ ՎԽԿԱՏԻ) – a catepan and magister of Armenian and Iberian armed forces. In 1060, he left an inscription about leaving out taxes in the city on the wall of the Kat'oghiké Church of Ani. He received the administration of Ani from the emperor Constantine Doukas, refusing to receive wages from the

empire for soldiers, saying that he would receive money on the spot, and at the same time reducing the number of troops. According to historians, he led the Byzantine army incompetently during the siege of the city by the Seljuks in 1064, resulting in the city's capture (CAI, I, 37, Urhayets'i 1991, 160-161, 500).

BAGRAT (ԲԱԳՐԱՏ, son of Zarop Ark'auni) – in the 13th century (after 1215), he built one of the gates of Ani, the road leading to the Surb Grigor (Tigran Honents') Monastery (CAI, I, 8, Basmadjian 1931, 123-124).

BAILÉ APRISHMAGORTS (ԲԱԻԼԷ ԱՊՐԻՇՄԱԳՈՐԾ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani, who in 1276, together with his friends, abolished the tax of half a silver in the city, which was levied in the case of an empty carrier. He left an inscription about it on the wall of the *gavit* (narthex) of the Holy Apostles Church. An unusual name form for that time, most likely: Pavlé (Pavel-Poghos). It was also mentioned that he was a silkworm maker (Basmadjian 1931, 90, Matevosyan 2021, 135).

BAKHTAGHEK (ԲԱԽՏԱԳԷԿ) – the relative of the priest Khach'ut, whose name is mentioned in the inscription in memory of the latter at the Surb Grigor (Khachut or Bakhtaghek) Church of Ani after the names of her two brothers: “...and Bakhtaghek and...” («...ևս և Բախտաղէկ և...») (is a female name) (CAI, I, 61).

BAKHTIAR (ԲԱԽՏԻԱՐ) – in the 13th century, he donated to Bagnair his garden which was called “*Tap'kents*” («Տափկենց») and was rewarded with four days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

BAKHTIAR (ԲԱԽՏԻԱՐ, father of Grigor) – most likely in the 13th century, his son donated to the Horomos Monastery the house with two rooms he had built in Ani and the three shops, for which he was rewarded with three days of masses: one for him and two for his daughter Avak'khat'un (Horomos 2015, 430).

BARSEGH (ԲԱՐՍԵԳ) – one of the disciples of Grigor Magistros, whom and whose brother Yeghisé the latter sent to Ani to be taught by Petros Getadardz and to serve at the Catholicate (Magistros 1910, 15-18, Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

BARSEGH BASHKHATETS'I (ԲԱՐՍԵԳ ԲԱՇԽԱՏԵՏԻ) – served at the Catholicate of Ani in the first half of the 11th century (Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

BARSEGH I ANETS'I (ԲԱՐՍԵՂ Ա ԱՆԵՑԻ, son of Prince Vasak) – Bishop of Ani and Shirak since 1072 (he was ordained by his uncle, Grigor II V kayaser), he was ordained a Catholicos in 1081 at Haghbat and served at Ani (considered an assessor) and since 1105 he has become the Catholicos of All Armenians and died in 1113. After the fall of the Bagratid Kingdom, he restored the catholicate in Ani. In 1090, he visited Seljuk Sultan Melikshah and received privileges for the Armenian Church. During his time as Catholicos, the *vardapetaran* (school) of Hovhannes Sarkavag functioned in Ani, and spiritual and ecclesiastical life began to rise (Urhayets'i 1991, 227, 236-238, Matevosyan 1997, 48-58, 103).

BARSEGH II ANETS'I (ԲԱՐՍԵՂ Բ ԱՆԵՑԻ, son of Hasan Magistros) – Archbishop of Ani and Shirak. First mention on this position dates back to 1160, the last one: 1199. He is mentioned in many primary sources, from 1195 also as a Catholicos. In 1184, he erected a magnificent *khach'k'ar* (cross-stone) at the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 31, Matevosyan 1997, 58-70, 103-104).

BARSEGH III (ԲԱՐՍԵՂ Գ, son of Amir Erkat') – Archbishop of Ani and Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in many inscriptions of Ani and Horomos dating from 1229 to 1253 (Matevosyan 1997, 106-107).

BEKH (ԲԵԽ) – a brave man from Ani, who, according to Vardan Arevelts'i, in 1090, buried six thousand people who died of starvation in Ani according to Christian rites. The Bekhents' clan, mentioned later in Ani, most likely originates from the name of this Bekh (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 113).

BENÉ (ԲԵՆԷ) – the scribe of the building inscription of the Kat'oghiké or Cathedral of Ani. At the end of the inscription, he left the date (1010 or 1012) and the mention of his name in an unusual wording for such writings: "*the inscription is written by my Bene's hand*" («գրեցաւ յիշատակարանս ի ձեռն իմ Բենէ») (CAI, I, 35).

BENIAMIN (ԲԵՆԻԱՄԻՆ) – a scribe at the royal court or the Catholicate, who, in 1001, wrote the text of Queen Katramidé and Catholicos Sargis Sewants'i stating about the construction of the Kat'oghiké Church (Cathedral) of Ani, which was engraved on the southern wall of the church by the scribe Bené about ten years later. Benjamin's name appears as a monogram at the beginning of the inscription (Basmadjian 1931, 16, CAI, I, 35).

BESUCHIN (ԲԵՍՈՒՃԻՆ, son of Asil) – his father was mentioned as the “*leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city*” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»). In 1357, he and his wife Ėruz Khat’un acquired a Cilician royal Gospel and donated it to the Holy Apostles Church of Ani, which he calls their “*own native church*” («սեփիական հայրենի եկեղեցին») in the colophon. Their children’s names were also mentioned: Besuch, Khut’lubugha, T’ayik, Eslun. The name of Besuch was also found in the colophon of his uncle Paron (XIV, I, 149, Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

BL (ABL) HASAN HEK’IM (ԲԼ (ԱԲԼ) ՀԱՍԱՆ ՀԵՔԻՄ, father of the *hek’im* (physician) Zak’aré) – mentioned in the inscriptions written by his son until 1261 and by his grandson, the *hek’im* Abl Hasan, in the Horomos Monastery in 1273 (CAI, I, 68, Horomos 2015, 434-435).

BRNAVOR (ԲՐՆԱՎՈՐ) - in 1236, he, along with his wife Tghatikin, commissioned the renowned scribe and miniaturist of the Horomos Monastery, Ignatios, to copy and illustrate a Gospel. In this Gospel, their portraits were included as commissioners. Since they were childless, they donated the manuscript to the Khts’konk’ Monastery as their “*spiritual child*.” This information is found both in the colophon of the manuscript, which also contains details about the Mongol capture of Ani in that year, and in an inscription from Khts’konk’ that also references their donation of a garden in Mren (New Julfa, MS 36, XIII, 193-195, Sargisian 1864, 211).

BUBARAK’ (ԲՈՒԲԱՐԱԶ) – in 1342, he left two commemorative inscriptions on the walls of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani (on the window frame), and since according to another extensive inscription, the dome of the church was repaired in that year, it is possible that he was the restorer (Basmadjian 1931, 110-111).

BULKHAR (ԲՈՒԼԽԱՐ) – a *vardapet* at the Catholicate of Ani in the first half of the 11th century. Most likely he is mentioned with his nickname (Urhayets’i 1991, 114).

BUNIK (ԲՈՒՆԻԿ) - in the 13th century, together with Mkh’it’arich’, they donated to Arjoarich a jewelry stall in Ani and the house on its lower floor («փողկարարոց կուղպակն եւ տունն ի ներքեւն»), for this they were rewarded with six days of masses, three for each («Գ (3) արք Բունկանն եւ Գ (3) Մխիթարչին») (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

BURHAN AL-DIN (Burhan al-Din al-Anavi) (ԲՈՒՐՀԱՆ ԱԼ-ԴԻՆ) (Բուրհան ալ-Դին ալ-Անավի) – born in Ani in 1143, a Muslim noble. In 1161, during the capture of the city by George III of Georgia, he was captured and taken to Tpkhis (Tiflis), where the king, learning that he knew Georgian, Armenian, and the Bible, set him free. From there he went to the Sultanate of Rum and had good connections with the ruling circles. Sultan Izz al-Din appointed him as Kadi of Malatya. On the order of the same sultan, he wrote a poem in Persian in the genre of “*prophetic stories*” under the title *Anis al-Kulub*. The last chapter of the book is the very brief “*history*” of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, then the Seljuks, enriched with some autobiographical information, especially regarding Ani (Matevosyan 1997, 206, some additions were made by Gagik Danielyan).

CH‘ARUKH (ՉԱՐՈՒԽ) – left an inscription on the wall of a chapel adjacent to the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator or Church of Tigran Honents‘ in Ani (CAI, I, 64).

CH‘ORTVANIK (ՉՈՐՏՎԱՆԻԿ, father of Yovan) – his son erected a cross-stone near the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator or Church of Tigran Honents‘ in Ani (Basmadjian 1931, 118).

CH‘UTAS (ՉՈՒՏԱՍ) – one of the benefactors of the Horomos Monastery, whose donation record from 986 is the monastery’s oldest undated inscription. It attests to Ch‘utas’ donation of the Horomdean garden in Mren: “...in the year of the Armenians 435 (=986 A.D.), I, Ch‘utas, gave to Abbot Sghomon, in the monastery of Horomos, for the souls of my parents, my patrimonial vineyard of Horomdean in Mren...” («...ի ՆԼԵ (986) թուականիս Հայոց, ետու ես՝ Չուտաս զիմ հայրենի այգին զՀորոմնդեան, որ ի Մրեան՝ ի Հորոմնոսի վանս, ի հայր Սողոմոն, վասն իմ ծնողաց հոգեաց...»)). The second part of the inscription reads: “I, Abbot Sghomon, am obliged, during all my time to reserve one quarantine every year for the parents of Ch‘utas.” It also states that “...he generously granted many benefits to the church” («...բազում բարությունս շնորհէր էկեղեցոս առատաձեռն»)). According to another inscription, Grigor, grandson of Ch‘utas, made a donation to the church of Nakhijevan village in Shirak in 1035 (Horomos 2015, 396, Sargisian 1864, 215).

CHARCHAR (ՃԱՐՃԱՐ) – his tombstone has been preserved near Surb Hakob Church or Church of Shushan Pahlavuni in Ani. The inscription

- on it reads: “*May God have mercy on Charchar*” («Ա(uunnւա)ծ
նդորմի ճարճարին») (CAI, I, 49).
- CHOKH (ՃՈԽ, Vard’s wife) – she and her husband donated to Surb
Astvatsatsin (Khambushents’) Church forty ducats and each of them
was rewarded with three hours of a mass. This is testified by an
undated inscription (CAI, I, 50).
- DANIEL (ԴԱՆԻԵԼ) – *vardapet* Tigranakertts’i, restored the abandoned
Horomos Monastery in 1685 (Horomos 2015, 484).
- DAPTA KHAT’UN (ԴԱՊԿՍԱ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, daughter of Sargis Ark’auni) –
wife of one of the patrons of Ani, Uk’an K’arimadin, who, together
with her husband and her brother Papk’an, are mentioned in the
building inscription of the bell tower of the so-called “*K’arimadin*”
Church in Ani, as well as in the inscriptions of Karmir Vank’ or the
Red Monastery (1271) and the Horomos Monastery (1274). Her father
was a wealthy man, in the years 1240-50 he made donations to the
monasteries of Sanahin and Haghbat (CAI, I, 65, Horomos 2015, 476).
- DASAPET (ԴԱՍԱՊԵՏ) – a priest at the Cathedral of Ani, mentioned in
the colophon of a Gospel donated to the church in 1236 (the name is
mentioned for the second time as “*Dasakan*”) (XIII, 197-198).
- DATI (ԴԱՏԻ) – a scribe in Bagnair, he wrote the donation inscription of
Mangtavag Mshets’i in 1242 and left his name at the end: “*scribe
Dati*” («Դատի գրիչ») (Basmadjian 1931, 181).
- DAWIT’ (ԴԱՒԻԹ) – a priest, left a commemorative inscription in
Horomos in 1305 where he indicated his name: “*Ter Dawit’*” («տէր
Դաւիթ») (Horomos 2015, 470).
- DAWIT’ (ԴԱՒԻԹ) - Bishop of the Chalcedonian community of Ani in the
early 13th century. In 1223, Queen Rusudan of Georgia sent him as a
delegate to the Pope. His name is preserved at the end of the letter
written to the Pope: “*To our beloved Dawit’, the bishop of Ani, who
brings this letter, trust in everything as you would when hearing it
from our mouth.*” (Muradyan 1977, 63, Matevosyan 1997, 200).
- DAWIT’ (ԴԱՒԻԹ) – his name was preserved on a fragment of an
inscription found in Ani (CAI, I, 76).
- DAWIT’ (ԴԱՒԻԹ, son of Yohan) – his son’s name was Roben, in 1286,
he donated the mill he had bought to the Cathedral of Ani and was
rewarded with 5 days of masses for his father. The inscription reads:
“*I, Roben... son of Dawit’ and grandson of Yohan*” («Ես
Րոբոբեն...որդի Դաւիթի եւ թոռն Յոհանա») (CAI, I, 36).

DEOSKOROS (ԴԵՍԿՈՐՈՍ) – he was the Catholicos from 1037 to 1038. Following King Hovhannes Smbat's decision, a church assembly was summoned in the capital, which declared Peter I Getadardz deposed and appointed Deoskoros, Abbot of the Sanahin Monastery, as Catholicos. Historians speak about him mostly with words of praise. However, the traditionalist Armenian clergy rebelled against the decision made in Ani, and the court was forced to give in. After one year and two months as a Catholicos, Deoskoros was deposed and returned to Sanahin, and in 1038, Petros was restored as a Catholicos (Anets'i 2014, 185, Urhayets'i 1991, 86).

DĖVAL (ԴԵՎԱԼ, father of Mkh'it'ar) – in 1201, his son donated to Bagnair his property located on the alley of the Holy Apostles Church of Ani (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

DINARIK (ԴԻՆԱՐԻԿ) – mentioned in Khach'eres' donation inscription of Bagnair from 1209 (she donated to the monastery seven shops she had bought in Ani). She was rewarded with three days of masses («Գ (3)՝ Դինարկանն»). Most likely, she was Khach'eres' mother (Karapetyan 2013, 21).

ĖBRIANOS (ԷԲՐԻԱՆՈՍ) – a relative of the merchant Alēk's, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair (1271). He was rewarded with a mass (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵԴԲԱՅՐԻԿ) – a cross-stone master, most likely from the 13th century, left a sculptural inscription of his name on the pedestal of a large cross-stone near the Horomos Monastery: “*Eghbayrik (is) the designer of this cross*” («Եղբայրիկ նկարող խաչիս») (Horomos 2015, 486).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵԴԲԱՅՐԻԿ) – a family member of Apahert's son, Grigor, who in the 13th century donated a house near the Cathedral of Ani to the Arjoarich Monastery and was rewarded with four days of masses for him and his relatives, including “*I (1) Eghbayrik*” («Ա (1) Եղբայրկանն») (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵԴԲԱՅՐԻԿ) – a monk from Ani, who in 1298 copied a Gospel at the Inner Fortress (Aghjkaberd) by order of the priest Hakob. The Gospel was donated to the Arjoarich Monastery (XIII, 817).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵԴԲԱՅՐԻԿ) – Abbot of the Bekhents' Monastery in Ani, mentioned in the Gospel of Haghbat produced in 1211 and in another manuscript from the scriptorium of the Bekhents' Monastery: there is

a note on the rim of a canon table: “Remember Fr. Eghbayrik, Abbot of this holy congregation” («Հայր Եղբայրիկ՝ առաջնորդ սուրբ ուխտիս, յիշեցիք») (Mat. MS 6288, 5554, XIII, 69, 72).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵՂԲԱՅՐԻԿ) – in 1222, he built one of the wall towers of Ani. He was one of the officials of Tigran Honents‘, the inscription states: “I, Eghbayrik, the servant of my master Tigran, built this construction with his mercy, in memory of us, our parents and children” (CAI, I, 7).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵՂԲԱՅՐԻԿ) (husband of Mamer) – his son, Mkh‘it‘ar Khot‘ents‘, built one of the wall towers of Ani between 1212 and 1227 (CAI, I, 4).

EGHBAYRIK (ԵՂԲԱՅՐԻԿ, brother of Shah) – his brother donated to the Horomos Monastery his shop and a hall located in Tsaravan, near Ani. For this he was rewarded with four days of masses offered for him, his father Gabr and brothers Karapet and “Eprik” («Եպրկա»), i.e. Eghbayrik. There was very little space left on the stone at the end of the inscription, so the latter’s name was written in abbreviated form (Horomos 2015, 460).

EGHBAYROS (ԵՂԲԱՅՐՈՍ) – a scribe who in 1218 wrote the inscription of Vardachizh in Horomos and mentioned his name at the end: “Remember me, Eghbayros, in Christ” («զԵղբայրոսս յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս») (Horomos 2015, 443).

EGHISÉ (ԵՂԻՍԵ) – one of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni’s students. The latter sent him and his brother Barsegh to Ani to study under Petros Getadardz and serve at the Catholicate. Later, he became Bishop of Sebastia (Magistros 1910, 15-18).

EHAN (ԵՀԱՆ) – his name was preserved on the wall of the Palace Church of Ani (CAI, I, 9).

ENOK‘ (ENOVK‘) (ԵՆՈՒԶ (ԵՆՈՎԶ) – *avardapet* (church doctor) at the Catholicate of Ani in the early 11th century (Lastiverts‘i 1963, 26).

EP‘REM (ԵՓՐԵՄ) – a priest at the Catholicate of Ani in the first half of the 11th century (Urhayets‘i 1991, 114).

EP‘REM (ԵՓՐԵՄ, husband of Avagtikin) – a priest from Ani, who migrated to Sultania in the early 14th century. He is mentioned, together with his wife and other relatives, in the colophon of a manuscript commissioned by his son, priest Grigor, in 1326 (XIV, II, 11).

EP'REM (ԵՓՐԵՄ, son of the priest Grigor) – a priest (grandson of the previous Ep'rem). He received a Bible from his father as a gift illustrated by the painter Avag in 1341, which he eventually donated to Varagavank' (XIV, II, 372).

EREMIA ANDZREW (ԵՐԵՄԻԱ ԱՆԶՐԵՒ) – studied under Yovhannes Sarkavag in the *vardapetaran* (school) of Ani together with Samvel Anets'i and is mentioned in the Additions of the latter's Chronicle (Anets'i 2014, 209).

ERKAT' (ԵՐԿԱԹ, father of Bishop Barsegh III) – amir (governor) of Ani, mentioned in the inscription of Bishop Sargis I from 1220 («կամակ-ցութեամբ ամիրայիս Երկաթա»), as well as in the inscriptions of Ani and Horomos left by his son Barsegh, in which the latter calls him “*son of Amir Erkat*” («որդի Ամիր Երկաթայ») (CAI, I, 17, Matevosyan 1997, 106).

ĖRUZ KHAT'UN (ԸՌՈՒԶ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, Asil's wife) – together with her husband, who is mentioned as “...leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»), obtained a Cilician royal Gospel in 1357 and donated it to the Church of the Holy Apostles of Ani, which they call their “*own native church*” («սեփական հայրենի եկեղեցին») in the colophon, mentioning also their children: Besuch, Khut'lubugha, T'ayik, and Ėslun. She is also mentioned in the colophon of her husband's brother, Paron, being characterized as “*the mother and patron of all churches and priests*” («զմայրն եւ զպատվադիրն ամենայն եկեղեցոյ եւ քահանայից») (XIV, I, 149, Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

ĖSLUN (ԷՍԼՈՒՆ, Asil's daughter) – her father is mentioned as: “...*leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city*” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»). In 1357, he and his wife, Ėruz Khat'un, donated a Gospel to the Church of the Holy Apostles of Ani. Ėslun's brothers were Besuch, Khut'lubugha, sister: T'ayik (Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

ETIP'AN or ETIP'ANOS (ԵՏԻՓԱՆ, Եպիփանոս) – a Georgian catholicos, who in 1218 left an extensive inscription on the wall of the “*Georgian*” church of Ani, settling some taxes for the city's Chalcedonian community. At the same time the inscription reads that

he had come to anoint some churches («սույնը ես՝ Եսիփան կաթողիկոսս իմ ձեռքով եմ գրել, երբ Անիում եկեղեցիներ էի օծում...») (Muradyan 1977, 43).

ĒZATDIN USUP՝ (ԷԶԱՏԳԻՆ ՈՒՍՈՒՓ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani, who in 1276, together with his friends, abolished the tax of half a silver in the city which was levied in the case of an empty carrier. He left an inscription about this on the wall of the *gavit*՝ (narthex) of the Church of the Holy Apostles. He had two names: Izaddin and Usup՝ (Usep՝-Hovsep՝) (CAI, I, 22, Matevosyan 2021, 134).

FRER (ՖՐԵՐ) – an architect from Karin, who built a *nshkharatun* (a place for making wafers) in 1277 in the Horomos Monastery at the request of Aryuts Hogevoresants՝ and his wife Seda. It's a rather large arched structure with the master builder's inscription preserved in the garret-like centre section: “*By the power of God, I, Master Frer, From the city of Karin*” («Աստուծոյ կարողութեամբ վարպետ Ֆրերս՝ Կարին քաղաքացի») (Horomos 2015, 478).

GABR (ԳԱԲՌ, father of Shah) – his son donated to the Horomos Monastery his shop and a hall located in Tsaravan (near Ani), for which he was rewarded with four days of masses offered for him, his father, and brothers: Karapet and Yeprik (Horomos 2015, 460).

GADO (ԳԱԴՈ, grandfather of Paron) – his grandson made a donation to Horomos in the 13th century. The inscription mentions his grandfather: “*I, Paron, grandson of Gado*” («Ես՝ Պարոնս, թոռն Գադոյն») (Horomos 2015, 439).

GAGIK I BAGRATUNI (ԳԱԳԻԿ Ա ԲԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆԻ, son of Ashot III the Merciful) – king of Armenia from 989 to 1017. In 1001, he built the Surb Grigor (Gagkashen) Church in Ani, similar to Zvart՝nots՝ Cathedral of Vagharshapat. The kingdom flourished under his reign. His wife: Katramidé, sons: Hovhannes Smbat, Abas, Ashot, daughter: Khushush.

GAGIK II BAGRATUNI (ԳԱԳԻԿ Բ ԲԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆԻ, son of Ashot IV Bagratuni) – king of Armenia from 1042 to 1045. The last king of Ani, who was tricked by the Byzantines to Constantinople and was never allowed to return to Ani. He was given estates in Cappadocia. There he showed irreconcilable behavior towards the Greeks and was killed by them in 1076.

GAMAGHIEL (ԳԱՄԱԳԻԵԼ) – a monk and *vardapet* at the Bagnair Monastery, mentioned in an 13th-century inscription of the monastery (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

GANGAT (ԳԱՆԳԱՏ) – in the 13th century, he donated two houses and a house site, which he calls Aygedem, located in Ani or the suburbs to the Arjoarich Monastery, for this he was rewarded with three days of masses («Եզեղիմին Բ (2) տուն եւ տան տեղ մի, Գ (3) ար ժամ Գանգատին») (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

GAREGOYN (ԳԱՐԷԳՈՅՆ) – he donated his purchased piece of land to Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents‘) in Ani (CAI, I, 51).

GAREGOYN (ԳԱՐԷԳՈՅՆ) – mentioned in the 1269 inscription of Horomos, as the owner of the grindstone of Abel, at the Dvin Gate, which Hazarpek, son of T‘aik-T‘aguhi, had redeemed from pawn by paying 700 silver coins (Horomos 2015, 468).

GAREGOYN (ԳԱՐԷԳՈՅՆ, son of the elder priest Mankik) – an elder priest, who donated Noraboyrik village he had bought, a *Tonakan* (Book of Feasts) copied on parchment, and a Gospel with a golden binding to the Bagnair Monastery in 1262 («եսու զիմ զանձագին գեղն զՆորադրոյրիկ, իւր ամենայն անդաստանաւքն, որ բնական լեալ է, մի Տաւնական մակաղաթ, մի Աւետարան ոսկէտուփ»). For this, Abbot Abraham and the key-holder Hovsep‘ offered six days of masses: two for Garegin and two for his wife Mariam, and two for their parents: Mankan and T‘acher («Մանկանն ու Թաներուն») (Karapetyan 2013, 34).

GAYIANÉ (ԳԱՅԻԱՆԷ, wife of the elder priest Kirakos) – in 1342, she and her husband commissioned a *Chashots‘* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).

GAYL (ԳԱՅԼ, son of Azatshah) – died at the age of 20 and his parents, Azatshah and Menik, erected a monument to him in Ani, leaving an inscription about it, which probably dates from the 13th century (CAI, I, 56).

GAZAN ANETS‘I (ԳԱԶԱՆ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – an architect, who in the years 1224-1237 built the Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church in Nor Varagavank and wrote his name “*Vardpet Gazan Anets‘i*” («Վարդպետ Գազան Անեցի») near the cross bas-relief on the upper part of its dome. His name is also preserved in an inscription of

- approximately the same period testifying to the construction of the wall towers of Kars (Sargisian 1864, 104).
- GELAN (ԳԵԼԱՆ, father of the scribe Step'anos) – in 1308, his son left a colophon on the release of the manuscript from bail in Bagnair (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a donor of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Ani, mentioned in a poorly preserved inscription (CAI, I, 13).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a monk and elder priest at Horomos, who in the 13th century donated his patrimonial houses in Ani to the monastery («Գեորգ ծեր երեց վանացս ետ զիւր հայրենի տներն մաւտ ի Կարուց դուռն, Սուրբ Ստեփանոս ընդդէմ») and was rewarded with three days of masses (Horomos 2015, 457).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a monk at Horomos (he was the second person after the abbot), mentioned in King Yohannēs Smbat's inscription dating from 1036 in Surb Gevorg Church of the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 401).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a scribe, book-binder, most likely one of the servants of the Catholicate of Ani. In 1046, he copied a manuscript at the behest of Petros Getadardz and wrote an extensive colophon, part of which was on behalf of the commissioner (V-XII, 94).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a scribe, who in 1035 carved Ablgharib Pahlavuni's building inscription of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani, leaving his name at the end («Գեորգ գրիչ յիշեալ Զրիստոս») (CAI, I, 46).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – a *vardapet* at the Bagnair Monastery, mentioned in the inscription of the merchant Alēk's from 1271. In 1278, he commissioned a manuscript in Bagnair (Nerses Shnorhali's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*) and wrote a colophon (Karapetyan 2013, 33, XIII, 488).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – an elder priest from Ani, mentioned in the *marzipan* Ablgharib Pahlavuni's inscription of 1037 on trusting him and his sons («որդեցէ յորդիս») the ministry of Surb Hakob (of Shushan Pahlavuni) Church of Ani (CAI, I, 49).
- GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – his father or mother (name is not preserved) donated to the Cathedral of Ani a garden located in Tsadnots' (most likely it was a settlement near Ani inhabited with “*tsads*” («ծաղեր») of different belief). As a reward, a mass was offered for her son (CAI, I, 39).

GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) – in the 13th century, he and “*Shnahuorik*” («Շնահուորիկ») donated the shop on the street of the Saddle-makers of Ani to Arjoarich («Ասոան փողոցին կուղպակն»). He was rewarded with four days of masses, two for each («Բ (2) ար Շնահուորիկանն եւ Բ (2)՝ Գէորգա») (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ) (Julhakordi) – one of the servants of the Catholicate of Ani, who accompanied Catholicos Petros I when the latter was leaving Ani in 1046. The historian wrote about him: “*Gēorg, son of a weaver*” («Գէորգ՝ ջուլիակ ձագն») (Urhayets‘i 1991, 114).

GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ, father of Sargis) – in 1206, his son built one of the wall towers of Ani (CAI, I, 5).

GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ, son of Martiros) – his father donated his shop in Ani to the Horomos Monastery for the salvation of his son’s soul («Էտու զիմ կուղպակն ի տիեզերահոշակ վանս Հոռոմոսի վասն հոգոյն Գէորգի, որդի իմն»). He was rewarded with three days of masses. The inscription is preserved on the wall of Surb Gevorg Church and was probably written in the first half of the 11th century (Horomos 2015, 404).

GĒORG (ԳԷՈՐԳ, son of the priest Yacob) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in the colophons of 1334 and 1338 written by his brother, Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, in Sultania (near Tabriz). His mother’s name is Seda (XIV, II, 201, 327).

GĒORG ANETS‘I (ԳԷՈՐԳ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – a poet, most likely from the 13th century. The first letters of the only preserved poem by him give his name: Gēorg Anets‘i («Գէորգ Անեցի») (Kyoshkerian 1971, 204).

GĒORG MANKIK (ԳԷՈՐԳ ՄԱՆԿԻԿ) – a 6th-century scribe, who is mentioned in a colophon cited by Zak‘aria K‘anak‘erts‘i, as someone who was born in Ani (V-XII, 10).

GĒORG NERSISANTS‘ (ԳԷՈՐԳ ՆԵՐՍԻՍԱՆՏ) – in 1308, his son Paron ransomed the Bagnair Gospel by paying 600 *spitak* (silver coins) and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. His wife’s name was Mamakhat‘un, the other sons: Mkh‘it‘ar, Aghberos, Sargis (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).

GERSAM (ԳԵՐՍԱՄ) – a monk at the Arjoarich Monastery (early 13th century), mentioned in the inscription of Bishop Grigor I (Sargisian 1864, 191).

GERSAM (ԳԵՐՍԱՍ) – a priest at the Cathedral of Ani, mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript donated by Nats‘ua in 1236 (XIII, 197).

GĒSH (ԳԷՇ, son of Papk‘an) – a tax collector in Ani in the early 14th century. For Mr. Aghbugha’s health and Zaza’s memory, he left out a tax called “*k‘asanik*” in the city, leaving an inscription on it in the Holy Apostles Church (CAI, I, 30).

GHARIB (ԴԱՐԻԲ) – see Kharip‘ Magistros (Խարիփ Մագիստրոս).

GHAZAR (ԴԱԶԱՐ, father of Alēk‘s) – in 1266, his son donated to Horomos the shop he had bought on Tsrazukak Street in Ani. His wife’s name: “*Vardētikin*” («Վարդետիկին»). Their son mentioned their names also in the donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1271 (Horomos 2015, 467, Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

GHAZAR (ԴԱԶԱՐ, father of the elder priest Poghos) - his son donated his flower garden and the winepress in Ashnak to the Bagnair Monastery. In exchange, he was rewarded with ten days of masses: four of which were offered for his father (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

GHEVOND (Levon) (ԴԵՎՈՆԴ) (Լևոն) – a *vardapet*, one of the intimates of Ashot III the Merciful, whom he sent in 974 to negotiate with Byzantine emperor Hovhannēs Ch‘mshkik in Taron. According to Urhayets‘i, the *vardapet* then left for Constantinople, from where he returned “*to the great House in Shirak*” («ի մեծ Տունն Շիրակայ») in Ani, to Ashot (Urhayets‘i 1991, 22, 23, 34).

GHIMĒT‘ (ԴԻՄԷԹ, wife of Mkh‘it‘ar) – in 1293, she and her husband donated to the Cathedral of Ani a quarter of their garden near the Kars Gate of the city («...տվաք զմեր պահեզն, ի Կարուց դռան է, Ա չարեկ») and a chasuble. In exchange, each of them was rewarded with a mass (CAI, I, 28, Grigorian 2002, 71-72).

GISHUK (ԳԻՇՈՒԿ) – most likely, in 1247, Adadovles donated to the Horomos Monastery his house with a plot of land located in the suburbs of Ani («ես՝ Ադադովլես... ետու ի Դրասպարի գԳիշկոյն տունն իւր հողովն, ոնց Գիշուկն ունեցեալ է Հոռոմի վանիցս...») (Horomos 2015, 420).

GISHUK (ԳԻՇՈՒԿ, son of Grigor) – in 1206, he donated two fields to the Bagnair Monastery for which he was rewarded with three days of masses: one for him, one for his father and one for his brothers (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

- GIWTIK (ԳՅՈՒՏԻԿ) (Գիւտիկ) – a monk, who donated to the Horomos Monastery his patrimonial house located in Ani or nearby: “*gave his patrimonial house on the cliff*” («էտ զիւր հայրենի տունն ի Քարափանն» (Horomos 2015, 457).
- GOGOR (GRIGOR) ԳՈԳՈՐ (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – one of the builders of wall towers of Ani in 1231 (CAI, I, 5).
- GOHAR (ԳՈՀԱՐ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K‘alant‘ar 2007, 143).
- GOHAR KHAT‘UN (ԳՈՀԱՐ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, daughter of Mamukst‘i) – in 1266, her mother made a donation in their burial house of Horomos and one of the masses rewarded on this occasion was offered for her daughter, Gohar Khat‘un («Գոհար խաթուն») (Horomos 2015, 466).
- GOHAR KHAT‘UN (ԳՈՀԱՐ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, wife of the priest Sargis) – mentioned in an undated inscription from Surb Sargis (Sarkavag) Church of the city, which states that she and her husband were rewarded with a mass (CAI, I, 56).
- GOHARIK (ԳՈՀԱՐԻԿ) – in the 13th century, she donated to the Bagnair Monastery her houses in Ani and was rewarded with two days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).
- GORG (ԳՈՐԳ) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in Ani, on a fragment of an inscription (CAI, I, 73).
- GORG (ԳՈՐԳ) – mentioned in an inscription of Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani (CAI, I, 11).
- GORG ANETS‘I (ԳՈՐԳ ԱՆԵՑԻ) – lived in the early 12th century. Historian Matt‘eos Urhayets‘i called him “*a glorious man from Ani*” («զոմն Անեցի այր փառաւոր»). In Antioch, he was robbed and insulted by having his beard cut off. Deeply offended by this, he returned with 500 mercenary Turks to exact brutal vengeance on the inhabitants of Antioch (Urhayets‘i 1991, 242-243).
- GORGİ (K‘orgi) ԳՈՐԳԻ (Քորգի) – in 1291, together with his wife, St‘é, built a church hollowed out in stone in Ani (CAI, I, 68).
- GORGİK (ԳՈՐԳԻԿ, father of Avagtikin) – in the 20s of the 13th century, his daughter donated to the Bagnair Monastery half acre of the oil field she had received from his parents (Karapetyan 2013, 29-30).

GORGIK (ԳՈՐԳԻԿ, father of Juhal Karëts‘i) – in 1235, his son made a donation to the Cathedral of Ani (CAI, I, 35-36).

GREGOR SPAT‘ARKANKITAT (ԳՐԵԳՈՐ ՍՊԱՏԱՐԿԱՆԿԻՏԱՏ, son of Lapastak) – one of the landlords of Ani during the Byzantine rule (1046-1064 թթ.), who, in 1060, left out taxes in the city recording it on the wall of the Cathedral of Ani (CAI, I, 37).

GRIGOR (APIRAT) MAGISTROS (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ (ԱՊԻՐԱՏ) ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ, son of Hasan) – one of the main Bagratid princes during the reign of Gagik I. In an inscription dating from 1001, he is recorded with the title of Magistros, after the name of the king (Arzakan), and in 1003 he built Surb Grigor Church of Kech‘aris. His brother, Prince Georg, was the owner of Keghi Fortress, he built the Katoghiké Church of the Havuts‘ T‘ar Monastery (1002). Sons: Apljahap and Vasak, daughter: Tiknats‘tikin (wife of the renowned prince of Ani, Vest Sargis). Vasak and his son Prince Grigor had a leading role in Ani during the rule of amir Manuch‘é. Unlike the three inscriptions from the 11th century, historians refer to Grigor Magistros as Apirat; he most likely had two names: Grigor Apirat. During the throne dispute between King Hovhannes Smbat and his brother Ashot IV, he was one of Ashot’s subordinate princes and did not carry out Ashot’s command to execute Hovhannes Smbat, whom he captured in T‘alin and returned to Ani in 1021. In the same year, he was assassinated by the Amir of Dvin, with whom he sought refuge after fleeing Ashot IV. Sari, the prince’s general, then brought his wife and children from Dvin to Ani, where Hovhannes Smbat took over their guardianship (Matevosyan 2015, 7-35).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a goldsmith from Ani. A Gospel copied earlier was made with the silver cover made by him, which was donated to the Horomos Monastery in 1347 (now kept in the Hermitage Museum, East-834). The cover, decorated with scenes of the Christological cycle, has the date of its preparation: 1347, the names of the donors and Abbot Step‘anos, there is also the goldsmith’s note: “*Remember me, the sinful goldsmith Grigor*” («Զմեղուցեալ ոսկերիչս Գրիգոր յիշեցեք») (Matevosyan 1997, 285).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a mister, mentioned in the inscription of 1272 of a wooden desk found in Ani which he had prepared for himself (Ani, objects 1982, 150-151).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a monk at Horomos (from Akna village), copied a manuscript here in 1782 (Jerusalem, MS 2025).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a priest from Ani, the elder priest of the city's "Chess" («Շախմատային») Church (it was conventionally called so because of the arrangement of two-colored stones) (11th century). His name is mentioned in an inscription, where the recorder (name is not preserved) writes about the construction of the church and the books he donated («Մաշտոց, Ընթերցուած, Կցո[ւրդ]»). For this the priest Grigor offered ten days of masses for him each year (CAI, I, 57).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a priest from Ani, the servant of Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents') of the city, mentioned in an undated inscription (CAI, I, 52).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a priest, who in 1292 sheltered *vardapet* Aharon-Grigor deported from Ye'rzinka in his parish church of Ani, and is mentioned in the latter's colophon as priest "Old Grigor" («Գրիգոր ծեր») (XIII, 673).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a priest, who, together with the monk Mkrtich', son of Rat, repaired the wine pressers of Horomos in Aruch and P'arpi in 1258. They were rewarded with four days of masses: two for their father Rat and the other two for their mother Khots'adegh (Sargisian 1864, 157).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – a relative of T'aik T'aguhi, whom the latter rewarded with two days of masses, as recorded in the inscription of Bagnair from 1262 (Karapetyan 2013, 30-31).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – Abbot of Arjoarich and a *vardapet* (church doctor), mentioned in an inscription of Bishop Grigor I (early 13th century) (Sargisian 1864, 191).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – Abbot of Harich, who repaired the monastery in the 1160s. He died in 1188 and was buried in this monastery. In 1181, ordered the key-holder of the Cathedral of Ani to write a history book. From one of Grigor's preserved letters it becomes clear that he once was taught by Yovhannes Sarkavag in the school of Ani (Mkh'it'ar Anets'i 1983, 61, Mat. MS 2680).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – an elder priest at the Cathedral of Ani (probably the same as the previous one). Due to an incident that occurred in 1128 after the pilgrimage to the Khor Virap Monastery, Amir P'atlun tried to put pressure on him, but to no avail (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 124).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – an elder priest from Ani, whose name is preserved in the inscription of Surb Hovhannes Church of Avan in Yerevan (14th century): “Remember me, the sinful elder priest Grigor from Ani” («Գրիգորս անեցի մեղաւոր էրեց յիշեայ ի Տ(է)ր») (Ghafadarian 1975, 225).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – an elder priest from Ani, whose sons, at the behest of Prince Ablgharib Pahlavuni, became the churchwardens of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani in 1035 (CAI, I, 46).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – his name is preserved on the stone with the incompletely preserved donation inscription found near the Kat‘oghiké Church of Ani, where Arus Khat’un is also mentioned (CAI, I, 41).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – in 1058, he erected a cross at the Holy Apostles Church of Ani and donated a Gospel he had bought for 400 *drams*, for which he was rewarded with three days of masses (CAI, I, 13).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – in 1218, his daughter (name is not preserved) and her fiancé Arevik erected a *khach‘k‘ar* (cross-stone) near the Cathedral of Ani (CAI, I, 40).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – in 1249, left a commemorative inscription in Ani (location is unknown): “*ill-fated Grigor*” («Ամբախստ Գրիգոր») (CAI, I, 64).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – made a donation to Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents‘) in Ani (the inscription is not preserved completely) (CAI, I, 54).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – the spiritual leader, bishop of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in the colophon of Catholicos Sargis III from 1485 (XV, III, 70).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) – was one of the students of Yovhannes Sarkavag at the school of Ani, the classmate of Samvel Anets‘i, who is mentioned in the supplement to his Chronicle (Anets‘i 2014, 209).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, father of Lusot) – his son, Lusot, built one of the wall towers of Ani in the 13th century (CAI, I, 6).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ) (Pahlavuni, the elder son of Vahram Pahlavuni, Prince of Princes) – for the first time his name appears in the inscription of 1031 on the wall of the Holy Apostles Church in Ani left by his younger brother Abulamr. During a Byzantine raid against the amir of Dvin in 1045, he and his father were killed (CAI, I, 12).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of Bakhtiar) – most likely in the 13th century, he donated to the Horomos Monastery the house with two rooms built by him and the three shops above it («Եւ Գրիգոր որդի Բախտիարին, Ետու ընծա ի Սուրբ Յովանէս Բ (2) տուն եւ ի վերէն Գ (3) կողակ զոր իմ հալալ արդեամբ շինել եմ յիշատակ ինձ եւ զաւակի իմն Աւաթ խաթունին... »). For this he was rewarded with three days of masses, one for him and two for his daughter Avak‘khat‘un (Horomos 2015, 430).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of the priest Ep‘rem) – a priest from Ani, commissioned a manuscript in 1326 in Sultania (Jerusalem, MS 453), where he had migrated from Ani. In 1334, his name was mentioned also by the scribe Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i. His mother’s name is Avagtikin, wife: Tiknats‘, sons: Mkh‘it‘ar, Paron, priest Ep‘rem (XIV, I, 11-12).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of the priest Yacob) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in the colophons of 1334 and 1338 written by his brother, Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, at Sultania. His mother’s name is Seda (XIV, II, 201, 327).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, brother of Vahan) – brother of Abbot Vahan of Horomos, who made a donation to the monastery in 1286 in memory of his brother Grigor (Horomos 2015, 476-477).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, father of Gishuk) – in 1206, his son donated two fields to the Bagnair Monastery (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, husband of Sit‘é Pahlavuni) – his wife repaired Surb Sargis Church of Ani in memory of her husband in around 1225-1226, judging by the inscription’s mention of their relative Gharib Pahlavuni, who died in 1225 (CAI, I, 55).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of Apahert‘) – in the 13th century, he donated to the Arjoarich Monastery his house on the northern side of the Cathedral of Ani and was rewarded with four days of masses for him and his relatives («Գրիգոր որդի Ապահերթի Ետ տուն վանիցս՝ մաւտ ի Ս(ուրբ) Կաթողիկէ, ի հիւսիս կոյս, եւ առ ժամ ի տարին Ա (1)՝ իւր հաւրն, Ա (1)՝ Մարեմկանն, Ա (1) Եղբայրկանն եւ Ա (1) իւրն անխափան») (K‘alantar 2007, 143).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of Aryuts Hogevorants‘) – mentioned in the inscription of Horomos left by his father in 1251. His mother’s name was Seda (Horomos 2015, 461-462).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of Aziz) - his mother built the small church of Bagnair in 1145, called Surb Grigor, in memory of her son Grigor (Karapetyan 2013, 31, 34).

GRIGOR (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ, son of Vasak, grandson of Grigor (Apirat) Magistros – an 11th-century prince, brother of Catholicos Barsegh I Anets‘i. Amir Manuch‘é invited him to Ani. According to the historian: *“Manuch‘é brought all the other princes to the city and, meeting them with great solemnity, he brought into the city Grigor, the son of Vasak and the grandson of Aprirat... because many troops and nobles were under his rule”* («գՄանուշէ... ած ի քաղաքն զամենայն մնացեալ իշխանսն, որպէս և մեծաւ հանդեսիւ ընդ առաջ ելեալ մուծանէր ի ներքս զԳրիգոր զորդին Վասակայ, թոռն Ապիրատին... զի տէր էր մեծ զօրաց և բազում ազատաց»)). Having entered the military service with Manuch‘é, he saved his life and died in the battles near Kaghzvan in 1199, after which he was buried in the Kech‘aris Monastery founded by his grandfather (Vardan Arevelts‘i 2001, 108, 113-114).

GRIGOR AGHA (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԱՂԱ) – one of the rulers of Ani in the first half of the 14th century, whose name is mentioned in the inscription of the Avag Gate (Avag dur in Armenian) of Ani, which is on the rebuilding the city and tax relief. The inscription also mentions Yovannis («ի տերութեան քաղաքիս աստուածասէր պարոնացն Գրիգոր աղին եւ Յովաննիսի») (CAI, I, 1).

GRIGOR ANETS‘I (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – in a manuscript restored and bound in 1447 (Relic of the Old Testament) there is a note probably made in the 15th century: *“Grigor Anets‘i”* («Գրիգոր Անեցի») (Mat. MS 141, 301v).

GRIGOR ANETS‘I (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – the tombstone with an inscription dated 1235 was found in the Khts‘konk‘ Monastery («ԹՎ ՈՁ (1235) այս է հանգիստ անեցի Գրիգորո եւ աւթեւան...») (Sargisian, 1864, 213).

GRIGOR HAMZÉ PAHLAVUNI (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՀԱՄՉԵ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ, son of Abulamr) – prince of princes, at the end of the 10th century, he built one of the oldest churches of Ani, Surb Grigor Church, also known as *“Abulamrenc‘.*” The building inscription is undated but the donation inscription of his wife, Shushan, dates back to 994. Grigor Hamzé was the father of Vahram, Vasak and Ablgharib Pahlavuni who

played a significant role in the history of Ani. In one of his letters, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, their grandson, writes about the donations Grigor Hamzé and his wife made to the church (CAI, I, 31-32, Magistros 1910, 42-43).

GRIGOR HEJUB (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՀԵՃՈՒՊ, son of Hasan) – one of the patrons of Horomos, the inscription of 1198 reads: “*the lordship, over this monastery, of the Christ-loving patrons, Grigor Hechup and Smbat*” («ի տէրութեան վանաց ք(րիստո)սասէր պատրոնաց Գրիգոր Հեճուպին եւ Սմպատա»)). In 1201, he donated Erd village to Horomos: “*gave my village of Erdk‘, which I had bought, which is properly ours*” («եսու զիմ զանձագին գելն զերդս ի մեր սեպիական ուխտս»)). The inscription reads the names of his grandfather Ishkhan, wife Khat‘un, son Amir Hasan. He was rewarded with forty days of masses, twenty for him and twenty for his wife. Another inscription of Horomos from 1215 mentions Vahram, along with the names of Grigor and Smbat: “*Under the patriarchate of Ter Sargis and the lordship, over this monastery, of Grigor, Smbat, Vahram and their brothers...*” («Ի հայրապետութեան տ(է)ր Սարգսի եւ ի տէրութեան վանաց Գրիգորոյ, Սմբատա, Վահրամա (եւ) եղբարց իւրեանց...»)), and the inscription from 1227 mentions Ishkhan (son of K‘urd). In 1228, they left an extensive inscription in the monastery, stating in a strict tone that if any of the patrons of the monastery lets himself be bribed to install the abbot, or if the abbot, along with the “*other administrators*”, sells part of the livelihood of this monastery or embezzle part of the “*belongings*” of this monastery be anathematized in life and in death (Horomos 2015, 418, 421, 430-431, 444, 470).

GRIGOR I MAGISTROS (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ Ա ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ, son of Abulamr) – Bishop of Ani, brother of Kharip‘ (Gharib) Magistros. They claimed themselves to be descendants of the Pahlavuni family, particularly Vahram Pahlavuni. He is mentioned in numerous inscriptions of Ani and of the Marmashen Monastery (from 1213 to 1233), which they restored. After his brother’s death in 1225, Bishop Grigor began to call himself Magistros, and he is mentioned with this title in a number of sources. According to some sources, he was married, the eldest son’s name was Abugham (after his grandfather), the others were Sargis, who became the Bishop of Ani, and Vahram (the sons are mentioned

together in an inscription from Marmashen). His wife's name was Mamk'an, who is mentioned by her son Abulamr. When mentioning their father, the sons used to write "*the son of Magistros*" («որդի Մագիստրոսի») in the inscriptions (CAI, I, 17, CAI, X, 103, XIII, 179, Matevosyan 1997, 77-86, 104-105, Matevosyan 2015, 84-103).

GRIGOR II (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ Բ) – Bishop of Ani, mentioned in the inscription of 1277 and other undated ones (Matevosyan 1997, 108).

GRIGOR II VKAYASER (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ Բ ՎԿԱՅԱՍԵՐ, son of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni) - secular name: Vahram, Catholicos of Armenia in 1066-1105. He succeeded Khach'ik I Anets'i as Catholicos, but his seat was not in Ani. However, when he arrived in Ani in 1072, he ordained his sister's son, Barsegh (Barsegh I Anets'i), as bishop of the city, who was later consecrated at Haghbat with his agreement (Urhayets'i 1991, 227, 236-238). According to Grigor Vkayaser's will, he was succeeded by Grigor III Pahlavuni, the son of the latter's other sister - son of Apirat (1113-1166).

GRIGOR KHUTS'ES (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԽՈՒՏԵՍ, wife of Shnafor) – a high-ranking official in Ani, sons: Asil, Paron, and Mkh'it'ar. He is mentioned as "*the leader and founder of the city*" («ստաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքի») in the 20s-40s of the 14th century, and after some time, his position, which also included the duties of a judge, was inherited by his son Asil. Paron, the other son, restored the Bagnair Gospel and mentioned his mother's name as well in the colophon. Mkh'it'ar the tax collector, the third son, left out taxes in Ani for the salvation of Zaza's soul at the beginning of the 14th century, leaving an inscription on it on the wall of the Holy Apostles Church (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 149, CAI, I, 28).

GRIGOR MAGISTROS PAHLAVUNI (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ, son of Vasak) – a renowned prince, who was probably born in 990 in Ani. He was a multifaceted person: a theologian-philosopher, writer, translator, and teacher. After his father died in 1021, he became prince of the Pahlavunis branch of Bjni, and in 1031 he constructed Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church here and in the commemorative inscription, Catholicos Petros I also declared the foundation of the Diocese of Bjni, defining its boundaries. At the time of Hovhannes Smbat, being one of the principal princes of Ani, Grigor had close relations with Catholicos

Petros I Getadardz whose seat was in Ani (a number of letters addressed to him by the prince have been preserved). In 1042, he was one of the supporters of Gagik II's accession to the throne (presumably the crowner), but he soon clashed with the king and left for Bjni. After the fall of the Bagratid kingdom in 1045, he handed over his estates to Byzantium and moved to Taron. At that time, he received the title of *magistros* (master) from the emperor (as well as several other titles), later being mentioned in sources as Grigor Magistros (Magistros 1910, 1-34, Lastiverts'i 1963, 62, Matevosyan 2015, 36-83).

GRIGOR MURGHANETS'I (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՄՈՒՐՂԱՆԵՑԻ) – a skilled scribe, who copied manuscripts from the depository of King Gagik in the first half of the 11th century. This is testified by the scribe Vardan Urhayets 'i who mentioned about this in the colophon of a manuscript he copied in 1259 («գրեցաւ... մատեանս... յընտիր եւ լաւ արինակէ, որ կոչի Գրիգոր Մուրղանեցոյ գրչի ճարտարի, որոյ առեալ էր զարինակն ի զանձատանէն Գագկայ թագաւորին Հայոց»). According to his provided information, the skilled scribe Grigor Murghanets'i copied the manuscripts of King Gagik's depository in Ani, and most likely, he carried out this work right in the court (XIII, 296).

GRIGOR TSAGHKAN (ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԾԱՂԿԱՆ) – in 1042, he donated his shops bought in Ani to the Bagnair Monastery for the forgiveness of his sins and soul salvation, as well as “*for the wellbeing of Vasil and his sons*” («վասն Վասիլին արեւշատութեան եւ իւր որդեացն»). Every year on the feast of Paul and Peter, a mass was offered for him and his brother Mukat'l («ամենայն ամի զՊաւղոսի եւ զՊետրոսի տաւնին արն պատարագն»). According to the style at the beginning of the inscription, he was most likely a member of the elite («ի հայրապետութեան տ(եառ)ն Պետրոսի Հայոց կաթաղիկոսի եւ թագաւորութեանն Գագկա շահանշահի որդո Աշոտոյ, կամ եղեւ իմ՝ Գրիգորո ծաղկանս եւ իմ որդեացս, որ տուի զիմ զանձագին կուղպականին...») (Karapetyan 2013, 20).

GRIGORIS (ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻՍ) – Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in a donation inscription from 1218 (Sargisian 1864, 152).

HAJAJ (ՀԱՋԱՋ, son of Aplhasan) – the prematurely deceased cousin of Vest Sargis who in 1034 was buried in the Khts'konk' Monastery (Sargisian 1864, 209, 213).

HAMAWOR (ՀԱՄԱՎՈՐ, wife of Aryuts) – her husband donated to the Horomos Monastery the shops he had bought and repaired on Boun Street in Ani in memory of his wife (Horomos 2015, 453).

HAMAZASP (ՀԱՄԱԶԱՍՊ) – a bishop from Ani and a prolific abbot. For the first time he was mentioned in the inscription dating from 1242. He built the large *zhamatun* of the monastery, as well as the famous belfry. He was also known for his love of literature.

HASAN (ՀԱՍԱՆ) - a family member or relative of Sharap'shah, a patron of the Bagnair Monastery. The donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1234 states that he received a mass (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

HASAN (ՀԱՍԱՆ, son of Prince Vasak) – son of a prince in Ani in the 11th century, brother of Prince Grigor and Barsegh I Anets'i. When the latter was ordained a Catholicos in Haghbat in 1081 and came to Ani, his father and three brothers, Hasan, Grigor, and Apljahap, came to greet him (Urhayets'i 1991, 238).

HASAN MAGISTROS (ՀԱՍԱՆ ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ, son of Prince Grigor, grandson of Prince Vasak) – a prince in Ani in the 12th century, father of Bishop Barsegh II Anets'i, Prince Apirat, and Ablgharib (Matevosyan 1997, 110).

HAYRAPET (ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏ) – a *vardapet*, who lived in the 13th century and copied Samvel Anets'i's *Chronicle* where he added a number of precise details about Ani and the city structures (certain information was taken from inscriptions), which indicate that he had been in Ani for some time and was probably a local resident. The colophon also mentions his brothers Karapet and Khach'atur (Mat. MS 1897, Anets'i 2014, 39, XIII, 905).

HAYRAPET (ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏ) – brother of the priest Khach'ut who is mentioned in the latter's commemorative inscription in Surb Grigor Church of Ani (Church of Khach'ut or Bakhtaghek) (CAI, I, 61).

HAYRAPET (ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏ) – in 1165, he restored the church of Karmir Vank' or the Red Monastery located not far from Ani on the shore of Akhuryan gorge (Basmadjian 1931, 40-41).

HAZARDEGH (ՀԱԶԱՐԱԴԵԴ) – in the 13th century, he donated a house to the Arjoarich Monastery and was rewarded with two days of masses on the Feast of Surb Gevorg («Ես Հազարադեդս միայրանեցայ ս(ուր)բ ուխտիս եւ ետու ընծայ տուն Ա (1) նոր դռ... եւ սպասաւորք տրայ հատուցին ինձ Բ (2) պատարագ ի տաւնի սուրբ Գեորգին») (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

HAZARDEGH (ՀԱԶԱՐԴԵՂ) – in the 13th century, he and Awetis donated a garden to the Bagnair Monastery and each of them was rewarded with a mass (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

HNDUCH‘AKH (ՀՆԴՈՒՉԱԽ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani, who in 1276, together with his friends, abolished the tax of half a silver in the city, which was levied in the case of an empty carrier. He left an inscription about it on the wall of the *gavit* (narthex) of the Holy Apostles Church. After his name the inscription reads “*son of a judge*” («սպարոն դատավորի որդի»). The original form of the name may be Hndushah (CAI, I, 22, Matevosyan 2021, 134).

HOROM TIKIN (ՀՈՌՈՍ ՏԻԿԻՆ, daughter of Rovmanos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned in 1211 by his brother, priest Sahak, which was donated to the church built by this family in the Arjoarich Monastery. Her mother was Kata, the other brothers: Ipato (prematurely deceased), Arak‘el, sister: Zarha (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69).

HOROM TIKIN (ՀՈՌՈՍ ՏԻԿԻՆ, daughter of Yovanis) – in 1217, she repaired Surb Astvatsatsin Church or Church of Horom in Ani. Her son was Zenishah. She was rewarded with three days of masses a year for herself, for her father, and for her son (CAI, I, 66).

HRANUSH (ՀՐԱՆՈՒՇ) – mentioned in the donation inscription of Khach‘eres in Bagnair dating from 1209 (she gave to the monastery the seven shops she bought in Ani). She was rewarded with two days of masses. Most likely she was the wife of Khach‘eres (Karapetyan 2013, 21).

HRIP‘SIMÉ (ՀՐԻՓՍԻՄԵ, wife of Sargis) – mentioned in the inscription left in Horomos by his son Aryuts Hogevoresants in 1251 (Horomos 2015, 461-462).

HRIP‘SIMÉ (ՀՐԻՓՍԻՄԵ, daughter of Ashot III the Merciful) - her name was preserved in her will written in 977. To receive healing from the saints, she went to Maghardavank‘ (the Surb Step‘anos Monastery near Nakhchavan, on the right bank of Arak‘). After staying here for a month, she tried to return to Ani («...էլի դառնալ ի յԱւանսն մեր ի քաղաքն Անի»), but she did not manage and, sick unto death, she wrote her will in Astapat village with which she gave Astapat to Maghardavank‘ as a “*memory of the soul*” («յիշատակ հոգւոյ») (Matevosyan 1997, 342).

IBN RAHIM (ԻԲՆ ՌԱՀԻՄ) - his tombstone with an Arabic inscription has been preserved in Ani (Khachatryan 1987, 58).

IGNATIOS (ԻԳՆԱՏԻՈՍ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, a skilled scribe and painter in the 20s and 30s of the 13th century, left many manuscripts that have come down to us. He worked with K‘ristaphor and Khach‘atur and had a pupil named Yovsep‘ (XIII, 178-180, 192-193).

IGNATIOS (ԻԳՆԱՏԻՈՍ, son of Ak‘egh) – he and his wife Mamer made a donation to the Horomos Monastery in the 13th century, one twelfth of the income of Marats‘ Marg, for which they were given two days of masses (Horomos 2015, 428).

IMAMSHAH (ԻՄԱՄՇԱՀ) or MAMSHAH (ՄԱՄՇԱՀ) – a “*pious woman*” («սրբասեր տիկին»), he was buried near Surb Hovhannes Church at Ani in 1251 (CAI, I, 9).

IPATOS (ԻՊԱՏՈՍ, son of Rovmanos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned by the priest Sahak in 1211 as a man who died at a young age. His mother’s name was Kata, brother: Arak‘el, sisters: Zarha and Horom Tikin (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69-71).

ISHKHAN (ԻՇԽԱՆ, Hasan’s father) – mentioned in his grandson Grigor Hejub’s inscription of 1201 (Horomos 2015, 421).

ISHKHAN (ԻՇԽԱՆ, Khorishah’s husband) – mentioned in Khētēnik and his wife Marjan’s inscription of 1245: they donated the canebrake of T‘ezan to the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 434).

ISHKHAN (ԻՇԽԱՆ, son of K‘urd) – one of the patrons of Horomos, mentioned in Grigor Hejub and others’ inscriptions of 1227 and 1228 (Horomos 2015, 418, 444).

ISRAËL (ԻՍՐԱԷԼ) – a scribe, who in the inscription of 1269 at the Church of the Holy Apostles is mentioned as the scribe of Sahib Divan and others. Earlier, in 1266, he carved an inscription at Bagnair, and another one at Horomos in 1273 (CAI, I, 24, Karapetyan 2013, 36).

ISRAËL (ԻՍՐԱԷԼ) or Israēgh (Իսրաւղ) – a scribe, who carved Tigran Honents‘’ extensive inscription in 1215 (CAI, I, 63, 65).

IVANÉ ABULETSIDZÉ (ԻՎԱՆԵ ԱԲՈՒԼԵԹՍԻԶԵ, son of Abulet‘) – a Georgian prince, whose father, Abulet‘, was entrusted with the security and governance of Ani by King David IV Shinarar of Georgia in 1124-1126 and who was supported by his son. Samvel Anets‘i reports about an incident when Ivané marched with a small army and

defeated the Muslims who invaded the city near Ani (Anets'i 2014, 207, Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 123, 124).

IVANÉ ORBELI (ԻՎԱՆԵ ՕՐԲԵԼԻ) – a Georgian prince, amirspasalar, who in 1161, after the departure of the governor of the city, Sadun, was appointed as a governor of Ani by the order of King George III of Georgia, while Sargis Zak'arian was made his assistant. Their rule in Ani lasted until 1164 (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 130, Melik'set'-Bek 1934, 8).

IAJ (ՋԱԶ) – in 1347, together with his son Amir Smbat, they donated a Gospel with a silver binding made by the goldsmith Grigor to the Horomos Monastery. The inscription of the binding states: *“I, Jaj, and my son Amir Smbat gave a Gospel to the Horomos Monastery, when reading it remember me in prayers”* («Ես Ջաջս եւ որդի իմ Ամիր Սմայատ տուաք զաւետարանս ս(ուր)բ ուխտիս Հոռոմնոսի, որք ընթեռնուք յաղաւթս յիշեցեք») (Matevosyan 1997, 284).

JALAL (ՋԱԼԱԼ, daughter of the physician Zak'aré) – mentioned in the inscription of 1273 left by her brother, physician Abl Hasan (Horomos 2015, 434-435).

JALAL (ՋԱԼԱԼ, daughter of the priest Yakob) – mentioned in the colophons written by his brother Mkh'it'ar Anets'i at Sultania in 1334 and 1338. Her mother was Seda (XIV, II, 201, 327).

JUHAL KARĒTS'I (ՋՈՒՀԱԼ ԿԱՐԸՅԻ, son of Gorgik) – in 1235, he donated a Gospel, a chasuble and a khorugv to the Cathedral of Ani, for which a mass was offered to Christ for him on the feast of the Holy Virgin. The nickname Karĕts'i (Karsets'i) can mean that he was a resident of Kars, or he lived in Ani, but he was known by the nickname originating from the name of his birthplace. His wife Tikin and brother Vahram are also mentioned in the inscription (CAI, I, 35-36).

JUNDIK (ՋՈՒՆԴԻԿ) – an architect and a stonemason who at the behest of amirspasalar Zak'aria built one of the gates of Ani and the nearby wall towers, leaving an inscription which states: *“By the hand of Jundik”* («ի ձեռն Ջունդկանս եղև») (CAI, I, 7).

JUSIM (ՋՈՒՍԻՄ, father of Mkh'it'ar Sherasts'i) – his son brought bells and built a belfry for the Church of the Redeemer in Ani in 1271 (CAI, I, 43).

K'AHANA (ՔԱՀԱՆԱ) – a clergyman from Ani, mentioned in the 1307 inscription on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church in Inner Fortress (Aghjkaberd) of Ani (CAI, I, 70).

K'OSHUT (ՔՈՇՈՒՏ, Քաշուտ) – he donated half of his flower-garden, the Khosroveank', to Horomos («Ես՝ Քաշուտս, ետու զիմ ծաղկոցի կէսն՝ զխոսրովեանցն») and was rewarded with a mass. His name is also mentioned among those patrons who donated the small gardens in Aruch to the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 455, 456).

K'OT'IT' CHON (ՔՈՌԻԹ ՇՈՆ, husband of Shahmam) – a fur tailor from Ani, who in the early 13th century (before 1236), together with his wife, made a donation to the Horomos Monastery: “...gave the sixth of the income of Zov, soil and water, as it originally has been, to Surb-Yovannēs, and I gave to Surb Yovannēs the houses I had built” («տուաք Չուի դանկն իւր հողովն եւ ջրովն, ոնց բնական լեալ է, ի Սուրբ Յովաննէս, եւ ետու շինած տներս ի Սուրբ Յովաննէս»). They were rewarded with six masses every year: one for him, two for Shahmam, one for Vardan, and two for Saré . The latter were likely their children (Horomos 2015, 428).

K'RISTAP'OR (ՔՐԻՍՏԱՓՈՐ) – a monk from Bagnair, possibly even the abbot, is mentioned in an undated inscription from the 13th century (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

K'RISTAP'OR (ՔՐԻՍՏԱՓՈՐ) – he erected cross-stones on both sides of the main church of the Arjoarich Monastery and made a donation, for which he was rewarded with six days of masses («Ես Քրիստափոր... մեծ աշխատութեամբ ի Ս(ուր)բ ուխտս յԱրջուառ[նոյ]... [շուրջ]անակի, եւ կանգնեցի ի սմա Բ (2) խաչս յաջմէ եւ յ[ահեկէ Սրբոյ] Ա(ստուած)ածնիս եւ ետու... եւ խաչ արծա[թի]... եւ հատուցին ինձ Չ (6) ար պատարագ... Ա (1) իմ եղբարցն, Ա (1) Տիկ... եւ Յակոբա») (K'alant'ar 2007, 145).

K'RISTAP'OR (ՔՐԻՍՏԱՓՈՐ) – in 1041, he donated 7 houses he bought in the city to the Church of the Redeemer of Ani, in exchange for which he received 6 hours of mass in the four altars of the church (CAI, I, 43, Basmadjian 1931, 30).

K'RISTOSATOUR (ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԱՏՈՒՐ) - an official in Ani, whose name is mentioned in the early 14th-century inscription of the tax collector

- Gesh found in the Holy Apostles Church, stating that he was a mediator to abolish the tax called “*k’asanik*” (CAI, I, 30).
- KAWT’EL (ԿԱՒԹԵԼ) – a family member or relative of Sharap’shah, a patron of the Bagnair Monastery. The donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1234 mentions that he received three days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 30).
- KARAPET (ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏ) – a monk of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in a colophon written by the scribe Yovannēs in 1181: “...*during the spiritual leadership of Karapet, who has aged with wisdom*” («...ի հոգեւոր տեսչութեան Կարապետի՝ ծերացելոյ իմաստիւք») (V-XII, 233).
- KARAPET (ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏ) – mentioned in a donation inscription from the 13th century left by Aryuts and his wife Shushik in the Arjoarich Monastery. He is the latter’s relative and was rewarded with a mass (Sargisian 1864, 191).
- KARAPET (ԿԱՐԱՊԵՏ, brother of Shah) – his brother donated to Horomos a shop and a hall he owned in Tsaravan near Ani and received four days of masses for him, his father Gabri and his brothers Karapet and Eghbayrik (Horomos 2015, 460).
- KATA (ԿԱՏԱ, daughter of the priest Yohanēs from Horomos) – her father made donations to the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215) and left inscriptions mentioning her children. Her brothers were Khach’eres, Khots’adegh, and Mikhayil, her mother: Sisvard (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).
- KATA (ԿԱՏԱ, wife of Rovmanos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned by her son, priest Sahak, in 1211. The Gospel was donated to the church built by this family in the Arjoarich Monastery. The other sons were Ipatos (prematurely deceased) and Arak’el, daughters: Zarha and Horom Tikin (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69-71).
- KATAKALON KEKAVMENOS (Kamenas) (ԿԱՏԱԿԱԼՈՆ ԿԵԿԱՎՄԵՆՈՍ) (Կամենաս) - the second Byzantine governor of Ani, who, assuming the position in 1046, began to persecute Catholicos Petros I and removed him from the city to Artsn (later the Catholicos was sent to Constantinople, 3 years later to Sebastia). With that, the empire dissolved the Catholicate of Ani (Lastiverts’i 1963, 63).
- KATRANIDÉ (ԿԱՏՐԱՆԻԴԵ, Katramidé, wife of Gagik I Bagratuni) – Queen of Armenia, daughter of Vasak, King of Syunik’. In 1001,

completed the construction of the Cathedral of Ani started by Smbat II Bagratuni and left a long inscription about it. Here the queen's name is mentioned as "*Katranidé*", whereas the contemporary historian Step'anos Asoghik, and later Samvel Anets'i as well, write her name "*Katramidé*". In the inscription of Marmashen, her granddaughter Mariam mentions her grandmother's name as "*Kata*" (abbreviated). Her sons were Hovhannes Smbat, Abas, and Ashot, her daughter: Khushush (CAI, I, 35).

KAZER (ԿԱԶԵՐ, son of Mewon) – erected a cross-stone near the tomb of his brother Sargis who was martyred by the Turks in the village of Ani near Ani (CAI, I, 70).

KAZER (ԿԱԶԵՐ, son of Mukat) – in 1231, he and his mother, Mamik, donated to the Horomos Monastery two houses located in Ani and received two days of masses (Horomos 2015, 425).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – a monk at the Bekhents' Monastery in Ani, mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied here in the early 13th century (XIII, 72).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in an inscription of 1212 from the Church of the Holy Apostles, stating that he died that year (CAI, I, 25).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in a donation inscription of 1174 and in the colophon written by the scribe Yovannēs in 1181 (Sargisian 1864, 148, V-XII, 233).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – he gave his high-rise («սարաւոյթով») house to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Ani for the salvation of his soul and of his parents, and was rewarded with five days of masses a year (CAI, I, 12).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – mentioned in the only inscription on the double-towered arch or bell tower built near the monastery, on the road from Ani to the Horomos Monastery: "*In 551 (=1102 A.D.), I, Khach'atur, wrote*" («ԾԾԱ (1102) Խ՝ Խաչատուր գրեցի») (Horomos 2015, 480).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – one of the servants of the Catholicate of Ani, a protonotary, who accompanied Catholicos Petros I when the latter was leaving Ani in 1046. The historian wrote about him: "*the most praiseworthy dprapet (protonotary) Khach'atur*" («ամենազովելին Խաչատուր դպրապետն») (Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – studied in the *vardapetaran* (school) of Ani under Yovhannēs Sarkavag together with Samvel Anets'i and was mentioned in the additions of the latter's Chronicle (Anets'i 2014, 209).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ) – the painter of the Gospel copied at Ani in 1298 by the order of the priest Yakob and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. He worked on the Gospel while it was at Arjoarich at the behest of Aveteats', Tikin and Ark'a and for this a mass was offered for each of them (XIII, 181).

KHACH'ATUR (ԽԱՉԱՏՈՒՐ, brother of Yovannēs Ts'khik) – in 1251, his brother restored and redeemed the mills of the Horomos Monastery and also donated the *Haysmavurk'* (Menology) he had commissioned to the monastery. In exchange, he was rewarded with five days of masses, four for him and one for his brother Khach'atur (Horomos 2015, 463).

KHACH'EGHBAYR (ԽԱՉԵՂԲԱՅՐ, father of Awetis) – in 1201, he and his son donated their patrimonial estate called "*Marants' Marg*" to the Horomos Monastery: "*I, Khach'eghbayr, and my son, Awetis, became members of this holy congregation*" («Եւ Խաչեղբայրս եւ իմ որդիս՝ Աւետիսս միաբանեցաք սուրբ ուխտիս...»), for this six days of masses were celebrated for them, two for each of them, one for Sistikin (who was most likely Khach'eghbayr's wife) and one for his brothers (names are not mentioned). In 1249, his son donated to the same monastery his purchased Gospel in the colophon of which his father's name is mentioned (Horomos 2015, 441, XIII, 252).

KHACH'EGHBAYR (ԽԱՉԵՂԲԱՅՐ, father of Astwatsatur) – together with his wife Sismam they built a chapel in Bagnair («շինեցաք զգերեզմանաց մին եկեղեցին») and donated to it a two-story house («Եւ տուաք... զսարաւոյթն եւ ի ներքեւն տուն»)). They were rewarded with three days of masses each (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

KHACH'ENЕК ANETS'I (ԽԱՉԵՆԵԿ ԱՆԵՏԻ, Vahram's son) – an architect, who in the 13th century built a church and erected a walled cross-stone in Hats' village of Arts'akh. He left two inscriptions and in one of them he mentioned his name as "*Khach'inek*" (CAI, V, 154, 156).

KHACH'ERES (ԽԱՉԵՐԵՍ, son of Abraham Lorets'i) – in 1209, he donated to the Bagnair Monastery the seven shops he had bought in

Ani, the location and position of which he indicated in detail in the inscription: *“I, Khach‘eres, son of Abraham, Lorets‘i, gave seven shops that I bought: in a row: six above and one below, in front of the mosque, and three houses below”* («ես Խաչերեսս որդի Աբրահամու, Լաւռեցի, ետու զիմ գանձագին եւթն կուղպակն ի շարի՝ վեց ի վերեւն եւ մին ի ներքեւն՝ մզբթին ընդդէմ, եւ երեք տուն ի ներքեւն»): He also donated to it a garden in Marmet (Ervandashat) and was rewarded with twenty days of masses: eight for him, five for his father, the inscription also mentions Dinarik (three days of masses), Hranush (two days of masses), and Ark‘a (two days of masses), who were probably his mother, wife, and son. Then follows the donation inscription of Mamkhat‘un, Khach‘eres’ daughter (Karapetyan 2013, 21, the text was edited by the author – K. M.).

KHACH‘ERES (ԽԱՉԵՐԵՍ, son of the priest Yohanēs from Horomos) – his father made donations to the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215) and left inscriptions mentioning the names of his children (Khach‘eres, Khots‘adegh, Mikhayil, Kata), the mother’s name is Sisvard (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

KHACH‘ERES (ԽԱՉԵՐԵՍ, Vard’s son) – in the early 13th century, he donated to the Bagnair Monastery his houses built near the *“Gaght Gate”* («Գաղտ դուռ») of Ani. The monks who got into difficulties (probably after the Mongol destruction of 1236) sold them, but the inscription mentions that they will offer three masses for Khach‘eres and his wife, Mlk‘er (Karapetyan 2013, 29).

KHACH‘ERES LORETS‘I (ԽԱՉԵՐԵՍ ԼՈՌԵՑԻ) – one of the wall towers of Ani was built by the will of his deceased daughter, Mamakhat‘un, in 1219 (CAI, I, 3).

KHACH‘IK (ԽԱՉԻԿ) – an elder priest, who gave his flower-garden to the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 456).

KHACH‘IK II ANETS‘I (ԽԱՉԻԿ Բ ԱՆԵՑԻ) – Catholicos of All Armenians (1054-1065), nephew of Catholicos Petros I, who became his assessor in 1041 in Ani but eventually, after the Catholicate was removed from the city and the death of Petros I, ended up in T‘avblur (Lesser Armenia) (Lastiverts‘i 1963, 82, Matevosyan 1997, 41-43).

KHACH‘OT (ԽԱՉՈՏ) – his name has been preserved on a stone from the Church of the Holy Apostles of Ani (CAI, I, 20).

KHACH'OT (ԽԱՉՈՏ) – in the 13th century, he donated to the Bagnair Monastery the house he bought in Ani, which was located near Surb Grigor Church (Abulamrenc'), and a silver bowl («Ես Խաչոտս... ետու ի Սուրբ յԱստուածածինս զիմ զգանձագին զտունն մաւս ի յԱպուղանքնց Սուրբ Գրիգոր»)). In exchange, he was rewarded with two days of masses a year (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

KHACH'OT (ԽԱՉՈՏ, brother of Loysot) – in the 13th century, he and his brother donated the wall tower and the stable of Bach'akh («Բաչախին բուրքն եւ ախոռն») to the Arjoarich Monastery in Ani and were rewarded with six days of masses, two for each of them and their parents (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

KHACH'OT (ԽԱՉՈՏ, father of Sargis) – his son made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery in 1242 (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

KHACH'OT SHEKHENTS' (ԽԱՉՈՏ ՇԵԽԵՆՑ) – in 1221, he and his wife, Avagtikin, donated to the Khts'konk' Monastery their patrimonial houses which were located in front of Surb Sargis Church (Gogonts') in Ani and a shop on the street called Tsrazukak. For this, they were rewarded with seven days of masses, three for each of them and one for Apirat (Sargisian 1864, 210).

KHACH'TUR (ԽԱՉՏՈՒՐ, husband of Tikin) – in the 1220s, he donated a piece of land to Bagnair: “*the land of Muluk', located behind the T'eghenyats' garden*” («զՍուլուքին հողն, որ Թեղենեաց այգոյն ի հետ է») and was rewarded with two masses, one for him and one for his wife (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

KHACH'UT (ԽԱՉՈՒՏ) – a priest from Ani (most likely 13th century), who left a commemorative ornamental inscription on the façade of the bema of Surb Grigor Church (of Khach'ut or Bakhtaghek) of Ani (CAI, I, 61).

KHARIP' MAGISTROS (ԽԱՐԻՓ ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ, Gharib, son of Abulamr) – brother of Bishop Grigor I Magistros of Ani. Together with the latter, he repaired the Marmashen Monastery. The inscription mentions him as “*Kharip' Magistros*” («Խարիփ Մագիստրոսն»). They considered them the descendants of Pahlavuni family, from the generation of Vahram Pahlavuni. He was killed in 1225 in the battle of Garni and was buried in Marmashen. His name is mentioned in the inscriptions of his brother and the relative of Sit'é (CAI, I, 18, 55, CAI, X, 95-96).

KHAT'UN (ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, Grigor Hejub's wife) – in 1201, her husband donated Erd village to Horomos and was rewarded with forty days of masses, twenty for him and twenty for his wife. Their son was Amir Hasan (Horomos 2015, 421).

KHAT'UN (ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, Vahram Hechup's daughter) – left an inscription at Horomos (undated) which refers to the renovations of the churches. It also mentions that she was childless. She is also mentioned in the inscription of her father about the construction of the *zhamatun* (narthex) carved before 1219 in the Harich Monastery. Her mother's name is T'amar (Horomos 2015, 474, CAI, X, 48).

KHATAP (ԽԱՏԱՊ, brother of Vest Sargis) – made a donation to Surb Sargis Church of Khts'konk', mentioning about this in the inscription of 1033. The name of his other brother was Aplhasan (Sargisian 1864, 209).

KHĒCHERES (ԽԷՉԵՐԵՍ, husband of Shanush) – his wife built wall towers in Ani in the 13th century in memory of her diseased husband and herself (CAI, I, 4).

KHELOK' (ԽԵԼՈՔ, wife of Kirakos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel dating from 1298 commissioned by his son, the priest Yakob, in Ani in memory of his brother Step'anos which was donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. His other children were the priest Step'anos, Sargis (prematurely deceased), and Mner (daughter) (XIII, 817).

KHĒTĒNEK (ԽԷՏԷՆԵԿ, son of Aluz) – in 1245, he and his wife Marjan donated to the Horomos Monastery the canebrake of T'ezan which they had received from Ishkhan and his wife Khorishah (Horomos 2015, 434).

KHONDKHAT'UN (ԽՈՆԴԽԱԹՈՒՆ) – left a commemorative inscription near the cross-stones of Horomos (Horomos 2015, 487).

KHORAS (ԽՈՐԱՍ, son of Amir Sargis) – the cousin of Zak'aré and Ivané Zak'arians, whose firstborn son, Sasnayr, and his mother, Khut'lu Khat'un, were buried in Bagnair, where the latter built Surb Sion chapel-cemetery. In 1232, he and his new wife, Zmrukht Khat'un, ordered the famous scribe and painter Ignatios to prepare a magnificent Gospel in Horomos – the Gospel of Bagnair («Բագնայրի Ավետարանը») – and donated it to the monastery. With his second wife they had a son named Vasak (XIII, 178-179).

KHORAS (ԽՈՌԱՍ, son of Sasna, grandson of Khoras) – in 1262, he made many donations to Bagnair, including part of Ashnak village, a water-mill in Tignis («ի Տգնիս զջաղացն»), etc. He was rewarded with ten days of masses, five for him and five for his father. In another inscription dating from 1266 he calls Bagnair “*our own holy congregation Bgner*” («մեր սեփական ս(ուր)բ ուխտն Բգներ»), mentioning that he donated to the monastery “*The Jrdzorik Monastery with its borders, mill and gardens, and the Salt spring garden*” («զգանձագին զՋրձորիկ վանքն իւր սահմանաւքն՝ ջաղացովն եւ պահեզանաւքն եւ զԱղի աղբերն զպահէզն»), and was rewarded with ten days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 35-36).

KHORASU (ԽՈՐԱՍՈՒ) – mentioned in the inscription of a cross-stone found near Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church of Ani. He erected the cross-stone for him, Aghberik and Siret‘ (CAI, I, 67).

KHOREN (ԽՈՐԷՆ) – in the first half of the 13th century, together with Vardaryuts and Arshak, donated a garden called “*Vardenats‘ Nork*” to Bagnair and were rewarded with four days of masses for each (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

KHORISHAH (ԽՈՐԻՇԱՀ, daughter of K‘urd) – in 1234, her daughter, Zmrukht Khat‘un, mentions her in her donation inscription in Horomos. From the forty-five days of masses rewarded to her, ten were offered for her mother and five for her maternal grandfather (Horomos 2015, 448).

KHORISHAH (ԽՈՐԻՇԱՀ, Ishkhan’s wife) – mentioned in Khētēnek’s inscription dating from 1245 at Horomos. It is possible that the tombstone of this or the previous Khorishah was preserved on the northern side of the *zhamatun* of Surb Hovhannes Church, near the base of the building we read: “*Restore the soul of Khorishah*” («նորոգեա զհոգի Խորիշահին») (Matevosyan, “Etchmiadzin” 2015, 143-144, Horomos 2015, 434, 436).

KHORISHAH (ԽՈՐԻՇԱՀ, wife of Zak‘aria Pahlavuni) – the sister of Shahنشah II, one of the patrons of Ani. Her husband was the *hejub* (supervisor) of Shahنشah’s house. They are together mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in Magvoys village of Shirak (belonging to them) in 1313. The manuscript itself has not been preserved. The colophon also mentions their children: Mkhargrdzeli, Sargis and Mat‘at‘un (XIV, I, 235-236).

KHOSROV (ԽՈՍՐՈՎ, son of Vahram Lorets‘i) – in 1231, he and his consort Shushik gave to the Horomos Monastery the sixth of the income of K‘arhat and were rewarded with six masses, two for each of them and Vahram (in the text: Varham) (Horomos 2015, 425).

KHOSROVIK (ԽՈՍՐՈՎԻԿ) – in 1180, Bishop Barsegh II Anets‘i rewarded him a mass on the Feast of Vardavar (Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ) («գՎարդավարին պատարագն Խոսրովկա առնել») at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Ani, most likely in exchange of some donation (CAI, I, 4).

KHOTS‘ADEGH (ԽՈՑԱԴԵՂ) – a relative of the merchant Alēk‘s, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1271. He was rewarded with a mass (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

KHOTS‘ADEGH (ԽՈՑԱԴԵՂ) – a scribe, who in 1228 carved the inscription of Grigor Hejub at Horomos, mentioning his name at the end («գլխադեղ գրիչ յիշեալ ի Տէր»). He also carved the inscription of At‘abek Ivané in Shirakavan (Horomos 2015, 444, Sargisian 1864, 170).

KHOTS‘ADEGH (ԽՈՑԱԴԵՂ) – another relative of the merchant Alēk‘s, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1271. He was rewarded with three days of masses (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

KHOTS‘ADEGH (ԽՈՑԱԴԵՂ, father of the priest Grigor) – his son, together with the monk Mkrtich‘, repaired the wine pressers of Horomos located in Aruch and P‘arpi in 1258. They were rewarded with four days of masses, two each for their parents, Rati and Khots‘adegh (Sargisian 1864, 157).

KHOTS‘ADEGH (ԽՈՑԱԴԵՂ, son of the priest Yohanēs of Horomos) – his father made donations to the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215) and left inscriptions mentioning his children, among which were also Khach‘eres, Mikhayil, and Kata. Their mother was Sisvard (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

KHOVAND AMIR SULTAN (ԽՈՎԱՆԻ ԱՄԻՐ ՍՈՒԼՏԱՆ) – in 1197, he made a donation to the Horomos Monastery: “*I, Khovand Amir Sultan, for my life and that of my sons, gave to this monastery a meadow in Asteghan, on the other side of the river*” («վասն իմ արեւոյս եւ իմ որդեացն ետու վանացս մարգ յԱստեղանի յայնկոյս գետոյն») (Horomos 2015, 438).

KHUANDZÉ (ԽՈՒԱՆԴԶԵ, daughter of Sahib Divan Shams ad-Din Juvayni) – wife of Shahnshah II Zak‘arian, who, together with her son Zak‘aria, left out some taxes in Ani in 1320 for the soul of her diseased husband who died the same year. The inscription left in the Church of the Holy Apostles reads: “*I, Khuandzé, spouse of At‘abek Shahnshah, who left this world this year... daughter of Shamsaddin Sahip Divan and patron Khoshak*” («Ես Խուանդզէս, զուգակից արքայակ Շահնշահի, որ յայսմ ամի ել յաշխարհէ... դուստր Շամշադին Սահիպ Դիվանին եւ պարոն Խաւշաքին»): Her mother, Khoshak‘, was the daughter of Ivané Zak‘arian’s son, Avag (CAI, I, 27).

KHURT‘I (ԽՈՒՐԹԻ) – in the 13th century, she donated to the Horomos Monastery her shop located in Tsaravan (most likely it was the settlement near Tsarak‘ar-Maghasberd) (Horomos 2015, 460).

KHUSHER (ԽՈՒՇԵՐ, son of Abulasvar) – Shaddadid amir in Ani since 1132. He ruled only a short period of time (Ter-Ghevondian 1965, 168).

KHUSHUSH (ԽՈՒՇՈՒՇ, daughter of Gagik I Bagratuni) – the wife of Senek‘erim Artsruni, king of Vaspurakan, who left an inscription in Varagavank‘ due to which her name has been preserved. Her sons were the princes Davit‘, Atom, and Abusahl, the daughter: Mariam (queen of Iberia).

KHUSHUSH (ԽՈՒՇՈՒՇ, wife of the priest Trdat) – in 1193, she and her husband repaired the Church of the Redeemer in Ani, built the *zhamatun* and made numerous donations (CAI, I, 47).

KHUT‘LUBUGHA (ԽՈՒԹԼՈՒԲՈՒՂԱ, Asil’s son) – his father, who is mentioned as “...*leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city*” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»), together with his wife Ėruz Khat‘un, donated a Gospel to the Holy Apostles Church of Ani in 1357, calling the church as their “*own native church*” («սեփական հայրենի եկեղեցին») in the colophon. His elder brother’s name is Besuch, sisters: T‘ayik and Eslun (Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

KHUT‘LUKHAT‘UN (ԽՈՒԹԼՈՒԽԱԹՈՒՆ, daughter of Ruzuk‘an) – in 1214, she built their burial house in the Horomos Monastery and three churches above it. The inscription reads: “*I, Khut‘lukhat‘un, daughter of Ruzuk‘an, built for my ancestors this burial house and all of the*

three churches above it. I bequeathed to this holy congregation Shot'a village which my mother, had given, in my memory and that of my parents” («Ես՝ Խորթութիւնսն՝ դուստր Ռուզուքանա, շինեցի զիմ նախնեաց գտապանատունս եւ զերեսին եկեղեցիս ի վերասորա, աւանդեցի ի սուրբ ուխտս զիմ մաւրն տված գեաւդն զՇաւթա յիշատակ ինձ եւ ծնողաց իմոց»): Every Saturday masses were offered in these churches for her, her mother, her sister Nurst'é, and for a certain Tught (Horomos 2015, 470, CAI, X, 82).

KHUT'LUKHAT'UN (ԽՈՒԹ-ԼՈՒԽԱԹ-ՈՒՆ, wife of Khoras) – the first wife of Zak'aré and Ivané Zak'arians' cousin Khoras, who was a Persian converted to Christianity («յազգէ գոյով պարսիկ, իսկ ի կոչմանէ եւ ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ ճշմարիտ աղախին գոյով Քրիստոսի»): In 1229, she built Surb Sion chapel-cemetery in the monastery of Bagnair for her prematurely deceased son, Sasnay. The inscription mentions that he donated the part of Moguats' village belonging to him to the monastery and built the chapel, for which he received forty days of masses per year: twenty for himself and ten for Khoras and Sasnay. Two years later, he died and was buried in the same cemetery at Bagnair (Karapetyan 2013, 35, XIII, 179).

KIRAKOS (ԿԻՐԱԿՈՍ) – a *vardapet* from Ani, who was killed by Muslims in 1348 and was buried in the suburbs of the city, in the cemetery built earlier at Ani village (CAI, I, 67).

KIRAKOS (ԿԻՐԱԿՈՍ) – an elder priest from Ani, son of Shahpatin and *khat'un* Nuray, who commissioned a *Chashots'* (Lectionary) in Ani in 1342. His wife's name was Gayane. He also mentioned his brothers Simēon, Step'annos, Astvatsatur, as well as his sister, T'ank Aziz (XIV, 353).

KIRAKOS (ԿԻՐԱԿՈՍ, father of Mkh'it'ar) – in 1198, a cross-stone was erected in Ani for his son (CAI, I, 67).

KIRAKOS (ԿԻՐԱԿՈՍ, husband of Khelok') – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in 1298 in Ani at the behest of the priest Yakob in memory of his brother Step'anos. The Gospel was donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. His other children were the priest Step'anos, Sargis (prematurely deceased), and Mner (daughter) (XIII, 817).

KIWRIKÉ (ԿԻՐԻԿԷ) – a family member or relative of Sharap'shah, a patron of the Bagnair Monastery. The donation inscription of Bagnair

dating from 1234 states that he received two days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

KOSTAND HOROMEANTS' (ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴ ՀՈՌՈՄԵԱՆՅ, father of the priest Yohannēs) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in the donation inscriptions of the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215). His wife's name was Tiramayr (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

KOSTER TSMAKETS'I (ԿՈՍՏԵՐ ԾՄԱԿԵՑԻ) – in the 13th century, he returned to the guest-house called Pich'aren to the Bagnair Monastery, which was sold by the people of Van, by paying 800 silver coins («զհիւրասունն, որ Պիչարենց կոչի, որ ծախել էին վանեցիքն, եւ դարձուցի ի վանքս եւ ետու զին Պ (800) սպիտակ»). For this he was rewarded with two days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 31).

KURAPAGHT (ԿՈՒՐԱՊԱՂՍ, son of Mamukst'i) – in 1266, his mother made a donation in their burial house at Horomos and one of the received masses was offered for her elder son, Kurapaght (Horomos 2015, 466).

KURT (ԿՈՒՐՏ, father of Mkh'it'ar Ipatos) – his son was one of the patrons of Ani during the Byzantine rule (1046-1064) who left out taxes in the city in 1060 (CAI, I, 37).

LAPASTAK (ԼԱՊԱՍՏԱԿ) (father of *spat'arkankitat* Gregor) – his son was one of the patrons of Ani during the Byzantine rule (1046-1064). He left out taxes in the city in 1060 (CAI, I, 37).

LIP (ԼԻՊ) – Amir (governor) of Ani, mentioned in the inscription of 1320 left at the Church of the Holy Apostles by Shahnshah II's wife Khuandzé (CAI, I, 27).

LORAGOYN (ԼՈՐԱԳՈՅՆ) – a shop owner in Ani in the first half of the 11th century. Prince of princes Vahram bought his shop and donated it to Surb Grigor (Abulamrenc') Church (CAI, I, 32).

LUSIK (ԼՈՒՍԻԿ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

LUSOT (ԼՈՒՍՈՏ) or Lisot (Լիսոտ) – in the 13th century, donated three fields to the Arjoarich Monastery and was rewarded with three days of masses (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

- LUSOT (ԼՈՒՍՈՏ, father of Yovannēs) – his son erected a *khach'k'ar* (cross stone) for him in Ani (CAI, I, 69).
- LUSOT (ԼՈՒՍՈՏ, Grigor's son) – built one of the wall towers of Ani in the 13th century (CAI, I, 6).
- LUSOT (ԼՈՒՍՈՏ, Loysot, Khach'ot's brother) – in the 13th century, he and his brother donated the wall tower and the stable of Bach'akh («Բաչախին բուրբն էւ ախոռն») to the Arjoarich Monastery in Ani, for which they were rewarded with six days of masses, two for each of them and their parents (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).
- MAHMUD SHADDAD (ՄԱՀՄՈՒԴ ՇԱԴԴԱԴ, son of Abulasvar) – Amir of Ani from the 1130s to 1155. He built the gate near the citadel of Ani (Khachatryan 1987, 54, 56, Ter-Ghevondian 1965, 168).
- MAMAKHAT'UN (ՄԱՍԱԽԱԹՈՒՆ, wife of Gēorg Nersisants') – her son, Paron, paid 600 *spitak* (silver coins) and ransomed the Bagnair Gospel and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. The other sons were Mkh'it'ar, Aghberos, and Sargis (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 147-148).
- MAMER (ՄԱՍԵՐ, wife of Eghbayrik) – her son, Mkh'it'ar Khot'ents', built one of the wall towers of Ani between 1212 and 1227 (CAI, I, 4).
- MAMER (ՄԱՍԵՐ, wife of Ignatios) – in the 13th century, she and her husband made a donation to Horomos (one twelfth of the income of Marats' Marg) and were rewarded with a mass for each of them (Horomos 2015, 428).
- MAMIK (ՄԱՍԻԿ, wife of Mukat) – in 1231, she and her son, Kazer, donated two houses to the Horomos Monastery and received two days of masses: one for her and the other for her son (Horomos 2015, 425).
- MAMK'AN (ՄԱՍԶԱՆ, daughter of Abaslav) – in 1280, she made a donation to the Horomos Monastery. The inscription states: “... *gave my patrimonial share in the village of Chokhk'agom*” («Էստու զիմ հայրենի բաժինը զեղն՝ զՇոխքագոմն»). In the inscription she mentions not only her father but also her grandfather, Tigran, who was most likely the famous Tigran Honents'. She was rewarded with five days of masses: two for her, and three for Sargis (Horomos 2015, 469).
- MAMK'AN (ՄԱՍԶԱՆ, daughter of Vahram) – mentioned in the donation inscription of the Bagnair Monastery dating from 1233 left by his father from the Ch'ēch'kants' family of Ani. Her mother's name was P'arants' (Karapetyan 2013, 33).

MAMKHAT'UN (ՄԱՄԽԱԹՈՒՆ, daughter of Khach'eres) – she wrote about the donation of her shop under her father's donation inscription of 1209 in the Bagnair Monastery: *“I, Mamkhat'un, daughter of Khach'eres, gave my shop, which is on Bazaznots' Street (clothes sale), in Poghots'kter (part of two-story shops), on the roof, and the balcony...”* («ես՝ Մամխաթունս, դուստր Խաչերեսին ետու զիմ կուղական, որ ի Փողոցկտերն է՝ Բազզնոցին, ի վերայ սազոնին և յապարանքն...»): In exchange, she received a mass every year. She died in 1219 and according to her will one of the wall towers of Ani was built with the means inherited from her father. The inscription is written on her behalf: *“... untimely I went to Christ... I was unremembered, I built the wall tower in memory of me in Christ”* («...անժամ ի Քրիստոս զնացի... անյիշատակ էի, շինեցի զբուրջսն յիշատակ ինձ առ Քրիստոս») (Karapetyan 2013, 21, CAI, I, 3).

MAMSHAH (ՄԱՄՇԱՀ, wife of Mkh'it'ar Khot'ents') – she and her husband built one of the wall towers of Ani between 1212 and 1227 (CAI, I, 4).

MAMUKST'I (ՄԱՄՈՒԿՍԹԻ, Mamuktikin, daughter of Varham) – in 1266, donated a land to their burial house in Horomos. The inscription reads: *“I, Mamukst'i, daughter of Varham, gave to Surb-Yovannēs in our burial house Ezants' Marg, from the bridge of Bovadzor up to the Vaghawer, with 2 (buildings) in ruins.”* She was rewarded with six days of masses every year: one for her, one for Kurapaghat, one for Asirots', one for Artamish, one for Varham, and one for Gohar Khat'un («ես՝ Մամուկսթի դուստր Վարհմա ետու ի Սուրբ Յովաննես ի մեր տապանատունս զԵղանց մարզ ի Բովաձորու կարմնջէն ի Վաղաւերու ճամբահն, յԱնու Հաղէն ի Վաղաւիրուն Բ (2) ււերկովն») (Horomos 2015, 466).

MAMUZ (ՄԱՄՈՒԶ) – a relative of Sharap'shah's wife, T'aguhi, for who a mass was offered as stated in the donation inscription of Bagnair dating from 1234 (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

MANASÉ (ՄԱՆԱՍԷ) – a scribe, who carved Avagtikin's inscription in the Bagnair Monastery in the 20s of the 13th century, mentioning his name at the end: *“scribe Manasé”* («Մանասէ գրիչ») (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

MANASÉ (ՄԱՆԱՍԷ) – his name has been preserved in an inscription carved on a piece of stone found in Ani (CAI, I, 76).

MANKASAR (ՄԱՆԿԱՍԱՐ, son of Vahram) – one of the patrons of the Horomos Monastery, his wife was Aslan Khat'un. They are mentioned in the inscription of the binding of a Gospel donated to the Horomos Monastery by Jaj in 1347 (Matevosyan 1997, 284-285, 362).

MANKIK (ՄԱՆԿԻԿ, father of the elder priest Garēgoyn) – an elder priest. In 1262, his son donated to the Bagnair Monastery his purchased Noraghboyrik village, a *Tonakan* (Book of Feasts) copied on parchment, and a Gospel in a gilded cover. His wife was T'acher. The donation inscription reads that both of them received a mass (Karapetyan 2013, 34).

MANNEKHUT (ՄԱՆՆԵԽՈՒՏ) – in 1206, he donated the field of “*Tap*” to the Bagnair Monastery and was rewarded with a mass (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

MANUCH'É (ՄԱՆՈՒՉԷ, Manuch'ihir ibn Shavur, son of Abulasvar Shaddadid) – Amir of Ani between 1065 and 1110. His mother was the daughter of Ashot IV Bagratuni. He restored Ani from the destruction of the Seljuk occupation in 1064, carried out some construction projects, strengthened the walls, and built a wall tower. He turned one of the city's buildings (probably the former Catholicate) into a mosque (Mosque of Manuch'é) by adding an attached minaret, leaving an Arabic inscription on it. He returned to the city some of the Armenian nobles, particularly the Hassanians, whose representative, Vasak's son Barsegh I Anets'i, first became a bishop, then a Catholicos, and his brother Prince Grigor served Manuch'é with the Armenian army (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 108, Ter-Ghevondian 1965, 214).

MANUIL (ՄԱՆՈՒԻԼ, son of Astuatsatur) – his father was a priest at the Arjoarich Monastery. In 1236-37, he donated a Gospel to the monastery (XIII, 197).

MARGARÉ (ՄԱՐԳԱՐԵ) – a monk, scribe, and painter. In 1209, he bound a Gospel in Harich and in the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani completed and illustrated the Haghsbat Gospel commissioned by the priest Sahak in 1211. He created unique and valuable illustrations of the citizens of Ani, with the images of Sahak and his brother Arak'el in the dedicatory inscription, as well as the images of Eghbayrik, the spiritual leader of the Bekhents' Monastery, binder Abraham and Sheranik in the canon tables (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69).

MARGARÉ (ՄԱՐԳԱՐԵ) – a priest, whose student erected a cross-stone for him in Khts‘konk‘ in 1208 (Sargisian 1864, 212).

MARGARÉ (ՄԱՐԳԱՐԵ) – a scribe in Bagnair, who in 1215 carved the inscription of Bishop Grigor I, mentioning at the end: “*Lord, have mercy on Margaré, amen*” («Տ(է)ր Ա(ստու)ծ ողորմեա Մարգարէին, ամեն»). He is possibly the previous Margaré, as there is a literal repetition in the Hagbat Gospel, which is not specific to the scribes of epigraphs (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

MARIAM (ՄԱՐԻԱՄ, Sheranik’s wife) – her husband was a military man («Ես՝ Շերանիկս զաւրացաւ ի զինուորորթեան»), who gave to Horomos his purchased garden in Tsmak and was rewarded with six days of masses. Then follows Mariam’s donation inscription: “*I, Mariam, the consort of Sheranik, gave to Surb-Yovanēs one twelfth of the income of Akank‘, which I had bought with my own money.*” She was also rewarded with six masses (Horomos 2015, 452).

MARIAM (ՄԱՐԻԱՄ, wife of the elder priest Garēgoyn) – in 1262, her husband donated to the Bagnair Monastery his purchased Noraghboyrik village, a *Tonakan* (Book of Feasts) copied on parchment, and a Gospel in a gilded cover. They were rewarded with six masses: two of which were offered for Mariam, and two for Garēgoyn.

MARIAMIK (Maremik) (ՄԱՐԻԱՄԻԿ) (Մարեմիկ) – a family member of Apahert’s son, Grigor, who donated to the Arjoarich Monastery a house located near the Cathedral of Ani and was rewarded with four days of masses for him and his relatives, including Maremkan («Մարեմկանն») (K‘alant‘ar 2007, 143).

MARJAN (ՄԱՐԶԱՆ, Khētēnik’s wife) – in 1245, she and her husband donated to the Horomos Monastery the canebrake of T‘ezan which they had received from Ishkhan and his wife Khorishah (Horomos 2015, 434).

MARKOS (ՄԱՐԿՈՍ) – an elder priest from Ani, who is mentioned in a poorly preserved inscription of Surb Sargis Church or the Church of Sit‘é Pahlavuni («զՄարկոս երէց բնակաւն») (CAI, I, 56).

MARKOS (ՄԱՐԿՈՍ) – mentioned in the inscription of his brother, Mat‘é, dating from 1310. It states that he, together with his wife and brother, repaired the water supply of the Saint Gregory the Illuminator

- Monastery (Tigran Honents'), which had been entrusted to them by Shahنشah II Zak'arian (CAI, I, 64).
- MARTIROS (ՄԱՐՏԻՐՈՍ, Gēorg's father) – he donated his shop in Ani to the Horomos Monastery for the salvation of his son's soul. He was rewarded with three days of masses. The inscription is preserved on the wall of Surb Gevorg Church and was probably written in the first half of the 11th century (Horomos 2015, 404).
- MARZPAN (GENERAL) ASHOT (ԱՇՈՏ ՄԱՐԶՊԱՆ) – a court official in the Bagratid kingdom during the reign of Gagik I. In 998, he was one of the commanders of the forces of Ani dispatched to fight the Amir Mamlan near the village of Tsumb (Asoghik 1885, 270).
- MASAON (ՄԱՍԱՈՆ, son of Papané) – the name of his son has been preserved in a short inscription left in Surb Hovhannes Church (Church of Zak'aré) in Ani dating from 1291, which in the *divan* (archives) of the inscriptions from Ani was published as “*MASAON, SON OF PAPANÉ*” («ՄԱՍԱՈՆ ԶՊԱՊԱՆՈՅ ՈՐԴԻ») (CAI, I, 59). Judging from the photo, the names can also be deciphered as follows: “*MASAMON, SON OF PAPANÉ*” («ՄԱՍԱՍՈՆ ԶՊԱՊԱՆԵՈՅ ՈՐԴԻ»).
- MAT'AT'UN (ՄԱԹԱԹՈՒՆ, daughter of Zak'aria Pahlavuni) – her father was the *hejub* (supervisor) of Prince Shahنشah II's house and her mother was Khorishah, the latter's sister. They are together mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in 1313. The colophon also mentions her brothers: Mkhargrdzeli and Sargis. It is possible that her name was “*Mamakhat'un*” («Մամախաթուն») (XIV, I, 236).
- MATÉ (ՄԱԹԷ, T'eni's husband) – in 1310, he and his wife, as well as his brother Markos, repaired the water supply of the Saint Gregory the Illuminator Monastery (Tigran Honents'), which had been entrusted to them by Shahنشah II Zak'arian (CAI, I, 64).
- MELIK'ST'I (ՄԵԼԻԻՔՍԹԻ, Melik'tikin, “*mlēk'st'i*” («Մլըքսթի»), wife of Alēk's) – in 1266 her husband donated the stall he had bought on Tsrazukak Street in Ani to Horomos. Fifteen masses were offered: five of which were offered for his wife. The inscription also mentions the name of his son Amid (Horomos 2015, 467).
- MEWON (ՄԵՒՈՆ, father of Kazmer) – mentioned by his son, who erected a cross-stone near the tomb of his brother Sargis who was martyred by the Turks in the village of Ani near Ani (CAI, I, 70).

MIK'AYER IASITES (Asit) ՄԻԶԱՅԵՐ ԻԱՍԻՏԵՍ (Ասիտ) – the first Byzantine governor of Ani who, after assuming office in the fall of 1045, was deposed due to a failed campaign against the amir of Dvin (Lastiverts'i 1963, 63).

MIKHAYIL (ՄԻԽԱՅԻԼ, son of the priest Yohanēs from Horomos) – his father made donations to the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215) and left inscriptions mentioning the names of his children (Khach'eres, Khots'adegh, Kata), the mother's name is Sisvard (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

MKHARGRDZELI (ՄԽԱՐԳՐԶԵԼԻ, son of Zak'aria Pahlavuni) – his father was the *hejub* (supervisor) of Prince Shahنشah II's house and his mother was Khorishah, the Prince's sister. He is mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in 1313. His brother was Sargis, sister: Mat'at'un (XIV, I, 236).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in the colophon of the scribe Yovanēs written in 1181 (V-XII, 233).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ) – a scribe who in 1266 carved the inscription of the merchant Alēk's in the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 467).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ) – Abbot of Horomos, who in 1198 repaired the water-pipe of the monastery and offered three masses for the builders: “...with great expenses and labours, we conveyed to this monastery of Horomos the water... and we determined to offer masses to Christ three days every year, during the feast of the Ark” («մեծ ծախիւք եւ աշխատութեամբ ածաք զջուրս ի Հորոմոսի վանքս եւ հաստատեցաք յամենայն ամի պատարագել զՔրիստոս յանուն աշխատաւորաց ջրիս՝ ի տաւնի Տապանակին՝ Գ (3) ար»)). He planted a garden in P'arpi and was also mentioned in the inscriptions of 1201 and 1211 (Horomos 2015, 430, 433, ԺԳ, 72).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ) – one of the builders of the wall towers of Ani in 1231 (CAI, I, 5).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, husband of Ghimēt') – in 1293, he and his wife donated to the Cathedral of Ani a quarter of their garden near the Kars Gate of the city («...տվաք զմեր պահեզն, ի Կարունց դռան է, Ա

- չաքել») and a chasuble. In exchange, each of them was rewarded with a mass (CAI, I, 28, Grigorian 2002, 71-72).
- MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, son of Dēwal) – in 1201, he donated to Bagnair his possessions located on the alley of the Holy Apostles Church of Ani and was rewarded with two days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 23).
- MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, son of Gēorg Nersisants') – his brother, Paron, paid 600 *spitak* (silver coins) in 1308 to ransom the Gospel of Bagnair and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. His mother's name was Mamakhat'un (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).
- MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, son of Grigor Khuts'es) – a tax collector, who left out taxes in Ani in the early 14th century for the salvation of Zaza's soul. He left an inscription about this in the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 28).
- MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, son of Kirakos) – in 1198, a cross-stone was erected for him in Ani (CAI, I, 67).
- MKH'IT'AR (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ, son of the priest Grigor Anets'i) – mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript commissioned by his father in 1326 in Sultania (XIV, I, 12).
- MKH'IT'AR ANETS'I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԱՆԵՑԻ) – the sacristan of the Cathedral of Ani, a chronicler and translator. He studied at the Horomos Monastery, where he copied the *Chronicle* of Samvel Anets'i. In one of the colophons he calls himself “*I, Mkh'it'ar, the sinful commissioner and workman...*” («Զմեղաւոր ստացաւիս եւ զաշխատաւորս զՄխիթար...») in the other: “*Mkh'it'arich' Anets'i*” («Մխիթարիչ Անեցի»). He wrote his *History*, only the beginning of which has been preserved, at the behest of Abbot Grigor from the monastery of Harich. He started it in 1181 and finished in 1193. It is also known that he translated a poem from Persian: *On the Eclipse of the Sun and the Moon* («զպատճառս խաւարման արեգական եւ լուսնի») and he also ordered Step'anos III, bishop of Syunik', to write the history of the fall of the kingdom of Syunik', which the latter did in Ani (Mat. MS 3613, Mkh'it'ar Anets'i 1983, 5-61).
- MKH'IT'AR ANETS'I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԱՆԵՑԻ, son of the priest Jakob) – a priest from Ani, a scribe, a painter, and a binder, the author of a long verse colophon. He left his motherland in the early 14th century and settled in Sultania (near Tabriz). He mentioned about this in the colophons of 1334 and 1338: “*I remember my motherland, the strong*

capital Ani” («Յիշեմ զաւան իմ հայրենին, զմայրաքաղաք ամուրն Անին»), he also mentioned his relatives: his father: priest Yakob, mother: Seda, priest brothers: Grigor, Gēorg, and sister: Jalal. Mkh‘it‘ar’s portrait was depicted by his companion, the famous miniaturist Avag, in the lower part of the Crucifixion scene in the Gospel of 1334 (Jerusalem, MS 1941) (XIV, II, 201, 324-327).

MKH‘IT‘AR BAGNAIRETS‘I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԲԱԳՆԱՅՐԵՏԻ) – Abbot of Bagnair, who in 1046 accompanied Catholicos Petros Getadardz when the latter was leaving for Artsn (Urhayets‘i 1991, 114).

MKH‘IT‘AR CHĒCHKANTS‘ (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ՉԷՉԿԱՆՏ, son of Aweneats‘ Chēchkants‘) – one of the translators of the dream book translated from Arabic into Armenian in Maghasberd, near Ani, in 1222 (the other translators were *vardapet* Arak‘el Anets‘i and Sheran). He is also mentioned in the donation inscription left by his son Vahram in the Bagnair Monastery in 1233 (XIII, 131-132, Karapetyan 2013, 33).

MKH‘IT‘AR IPATOS (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԻՊԱՏՈՍ, son of Kurt) – one of the patrons of Ani during the Byzantine rule (1046-1064) who left out taxes in the city in 1060, leaving an inscription about it on the wall of Surb Kat‘oghiké (CAI, I, 37).

MKH‘IT‘AR KHOT‘ENTS‘ (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԽՈՒԹԵՆՏ – son of Eghbayrik) – he and his wife, Mamshah, built one of the wall towers of Ani between 1212 and 1227. His mother’s name was Mamer (CAI, I, 4).

MKH‘IT‘AR SHERASTS‘I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ՇԵՐԱՍՏԻ, son of Jusim) – in 1271, he brought bells for the Church of the Redeemer in Ani and built a belfry (CAI, I, 43).

MKH‘IT‘AR T‘OROSONTS‘ (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ԹՈՐՈՍՈՆՏ) – he made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery: “*I, T‘orosonts‘ Mkh‘it‘ar, gave my house and received two days of masses*” («Ես Թորոսունց Մխիթար ետու զիմ տունն եւ ետուն ինձ Բ (2) ար պատարագ»). His family name has also been preserved in the same monastery, in the inscription of Vahram Ch‘ech‘kants‘ from 1233, where it is mentioned that he bought a shop on P‘oghots‘kter Street, which was probably a street with two-story stalls. This shop “*was above the shop of T‘orosonts‘*” («որ ի Թորոսունց կուղպակին վերա է») (Karapetyan 2013, 24, 28).

MKH‘IT‘AR TEGHERETS‘I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐ ՏԵՂԵՐԵՏԻ) – Bishop of Ani in the 70s of the 13th century, who banned the Sunday street fair due

to the risk of an earthquake («ես՝ Մխիթար եպիսկոպոս Տեղերեցի ի ցասմանէ շարժի աւուրքս բարձաք զկիրակէի վանանն ի փողոցէ»), leaving an inscription on this on the wall of the *gavit* of the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 24).

MKH'IT'ARA CHON (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԱ ՇՈՆ, father of Aryuts) – a tanner, whose son made a donation to the Arjoarich Monastery (Sargisian 1864, 192).

MKH'IT'ARICH' (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻՉ) – one of the builders of the wall towers of Ani in 1231 (CAI, I, 5).

MKH'IT'ARICH' (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻՉ) – in the 13th century, he and Bounik donated to the Arjoarch Monastery a jewelry stall in Ani and the house on its lower floor («փոկարարոց կուղպակն եւ տունն ի ներքեւն»). In exchange, they were rewarded with six days of masses: three for Bounik and the other three for Mkh'it'arich' («Գ (3) աւր Բունկանն եւ Գ (3) Մխիթարչին») (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

MKH'IT'ARICH' (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻՉ) – one of the “*creators*” («կազմող») of a cross-stone found on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani (CAI, I, 11).

MKH'IT'ARICH' (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻՉ) – only his name has been preserved on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church (Church of Zak'are) in Ani (CAI, I, 59).

MKH'IT'ARICH' GANDZAKETS'I (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻՉ ԳԱՆԶԱԿԵՏԻ) – in 1215, he built one of the wall towers of Ani by the means of his brother Abraham (CAI, I, 2).

MKH'IT'ARIK (ՄԽԻԹԱՐԻԿ) – one of the servants of the Catholicate of Ani in the first half of the 11th century (Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

MKRTICH' (ՄԿՐՏԻՉ) – the epitaph mentions that he was buried near Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani in 1341 (CAI, I, 9-10).

MKRTICH' (ՄԿՐՏԻՉ, father of Ruzpak) – in 1391, his son donated a manuscript to the Armenian church of Kutahya or Kutina (Alboyadjian 1961, 30).

MKRTICH' (ՄԿՐՏԻՉ, son of Rat) – a monk, who in 1258, together with his spiritual brother Grigor, repaired the wine pressers of the Horomos Monastery located in Aruch and P'arpi. They were rewarded with four days of masses: two for their father Rat and the other two for their mother Khots'adegh (Sargisian 1864, 157).

- MKRTICH' (ՄԿՐՏԻՉ, son of Step'annos) – at the end of the 14th century, he sold the Gospel he bought in Bjni for 250 *dahekans* to the monk Jeremiah and his brother Sargis («...ես Մկրտիչ Անեցի, որդի Ստեփաննոսի, եկի յաթոռս Բջնոյ և իմ արտի յաւժարութեամբ զիմ հալալ արդեամբ գնած Աւետարանս ծախեցի Երեմիայ արեղին և իւր եղբարն Սարգսին...») (Mat. MS 9450, 374v).
- MLEH (ՄԼԵՀ) – his name is mentioned in an undated inscription of Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church of Ani (CAI, I, 52).
- MLK'AN (ՄԼԶԱՆ) – most likely she was the priest Khach'ut's mother and was mentioned in the latter's commemorative inscription in Surb Grigor Church (Church of Khach'ut or Bakhtaghek) (CAI, I, 61).
- MLK'ER (ՄԼԶԵՐ, wife of Khach'eres) – in the early 13th century, her husband donated to the Bagnair Monastery his houses built near the “*Gaght Gate*” («Գաղտ դուռ») of Ani (Karapetyan 2013, 29).
- MNER (ՄՆԵՐ, daughter of Kirakos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in Ani in 1298 at the behest of his brother, priest Yakob, and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. The colophon also mentions his elder son, Grigor, who left Ani («որ տարաշխարհիկ գնաց»), and the other son, Shah (XIII, 817).
- MOVSES (ՄՈՎՍԵՍ) – a priest at Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church in Ani who was mentioned in an inscription dating from 1054 (CAI, I, 51).
- MRUAN (ՄՐՈՒԱՆ) – a shop owner in Ani, probably one of the close friends or subordinates of Shushan, Prince Grigor Hamzé's wife. From the proceeds of the shop the latter allocated 80 drams (money) to Surb Grigor (Abulamrenc') Church, receiving sixteen days of masses in the amount of 30 drams (6 masses) for his daughter Seda and 50 drams (10 masses) for Mrvan. This is recorded in two inscriptions of the same church, the first one is dated 994, but due to the uncertainty of the content, the new one with the above details was written next to it (CAI, I, 31-32).
- MUGHALTĒN (Mughaldin) ՄՈՒՂԱԼՏԷՆ (Մուղաղին) – an official in Ani, whose name is mentioned in the early 14th-century inscription of the tax collector Gesh found in the Holy Apostles Church, stating that he was a mediator to abolish the tax called “*k'asanik*” (CAI, I, 30, Matevosyan 2021, 136).

MUKAT'L (ՄՈՒԿԱԹԼ, brother of Grigor Tsaghkan) – in 1042, his brother donated to the Bagnair Monastery the shops he purchased in Ani. For this, every year on the Feast of Paul and Peter («ամենայն ամի զՊաւղոսի եւ զՊետրոսի տաւնին արն պատարագն») a mass was offered for him and his brother Mukat'l, who was dead at the time (Karapetyan 2013, 20).

MULUK' (ՄՈՒԼՈՒԶ, wife of Yohannēs Ark'aun) – in 1253, she and her husband made donations to the Horomos Monastery, including two houses in Ani. In exchange, they were rewarded with ten days of masses. The inscription mentions that the masses will be offered for her parents and the brother, and five will be offered for herself and another five for her husband after they leave this world (Horomos 2015, 464).

MUSĒS (Movses) ՄՈՒՍԷՍ (Մովսէս) – a priest at the Bagnair Monastery who in the 13th century erected a large cross-stone near the monastery (Karapetyan 2013, 37).

NATS'UAL (ՆԱՅՈՒԱԼ) – in 1236, he donated a Gospel to the Cathedral of Ani in memory of himself and his deceased relatives (XIII, 197).

NERSES (ՆԵՐՍԵՍ) – Bishop of Ani who is mentioned in an inscription of 1156 from a chapel located not far from St. Gregory the Illuminator Church built by Tigran Honents' («Տ(է)ր Ներսէս անապատին իպիսկապոս, ՈՒ թվին») (CAI, I, 64, Basmadjian 1931, 39).

NERSEՏ (ՆԵՐՍԷՍ) – a celibate priest, the spiritual brother of the priests Yakob and Step'anos, mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel which was copied in 1298 at Nerk'in Berd of Ani at the behest of Yakob (XIII, 817).

NERSEՏ (ՆԵՐՍԷՍ) – a clergyman who was one of the leaders of the popular agitation against Catholicos Petros I in Ani and whom Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni mentions with respect in one of his epistles, calling him “*mad*” («կաստաղած») (Magistros 1910, 29, Matevosyan 1997, 213, 348).

NERSEՏ (ՆԵՐՍԷՍ) – a scribe from Ani who called himself “*secretary*” («քարտուղար»). In 1357, he wrote Asil's colophon in a Gospel donated to the Church of the Holy Apostles (Mat. MS 6764, Matevosyan 1997, 365).

NIANIA (ՆԻԱՆԻԱ, son of Prince Liparit) – son of one of the famous Georgian princes of King Bagrat IV (1027-1072), Liparit. After his

- father's arrest for internal political reasons, he found refuge in Ani, when it was under Byzantine rule (until 1064), lived there for several years and died. This is evidenced in the manuscript of Kartli («Քարթլիս ցխովերբա») (Melik'set'-Bek, 1934, 204-205).
- NISAN IBN HANI (ՆԻՍԱՆ ԻԲՆ ՀԱՆԻ) – his tombstone with an Arabic inscription has been preserved in Ani (Khachatryan 1987, 58, 59).
- NORHAT (ՆՈՐՀԱՏ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղին»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).
- NURA KHAT'UN (ՆՈՒՐԱ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, Shahpatit's wife) – in 1342, her son, elder priest Kirakos, commissioned a *Chashots'* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).
- NURATIN GORG (ՆՈՒՐԱՏԻՆ ԳՈՐԳ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani, who in 1276, together with his friends, abolished the tax of half a silver in the city, which was levied in the case of an empty carrier. He left an inscription about it on the wall of the *gavit'* (narthex) of the Holy Apostles Church (Basmadjian 1931, 90, Matevosyan 2021, 135).
- NURAYDIN K'OT'IT' (ՆՈՒՐԱՅԴԻՆ ԿՈՒՏԻՏ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani. In 1280, he came to Ani with his friends for collecting taxes and seeing that an illegal tax was imposed on the clergy, he abolished it, leaving an inscription about it in the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 23).
- NURST'É (ՆՈՒՐՍՏԵ, daughter of Aryuts Hogevoeants') – mentioned in an inscription left by her father in 1251 at Horomos. Her mother's name was Seda (Horomos 2015, 461-462).
- NURST'É (ՆՈՒՐՍՏԵ, Ruzuk'an's daughter) – her sister, Khut'lukhat'un, built a burial house for their family in 1214 with three churches above it. The inscription mentions also her sister as one of those for who a mass was offered (Horomos 2015, 470).
- NURST'É (ՆՈՒՐՍՏԵ, wife of Aryuts) – her husband made a donation to the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. In exchange, she and her husband were rewarded with a mass every year (Sargisian 1864, 192).
- P'AKHRADIN (ՓԱԽՐԱԴԻՆ) – in the 1277 inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles he is mentioned as a patron of Ani («կամակցութեամբ պատրոն Փախրադինին»). In another undated inscription from the same church his power in the city is mentioned as

“*melikdom*” («մելիքութիւն»). P‘akhradin’s name is also found in a colophon of a manuscript copied in Ani in 1298, where he is mentioned as the father of Amir, one of the patrons of Arjoarich (CAI, I, 15, 24, XIII, 818).

P‘ARANTS‘ (ՓԱՌԱՆՅ, Vahram’s wife) – her husband was from the Ch‘ēch‘kants‘ family, who in 1233 made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery from their possessions in Ani. The inscription also mentions their daughter, Mamk‘an (Karapetyan 2013, 33).

P‘ATLUN (FADLUN) I (ՓԱՏԼՈՒՆ Ա, son of Abulasvar) – Shaddadid amir of Ani in 1126-1132. After the city came under Georgian rule in 1024-1026, the power of the Shaddadids was restored in Ani.

P‘ATLUN (FADLUN) II (ՓԱՏԼՈՒՆ Բ, son of Mahmud) – Shaddadid amir of Ani in 1155-1161 (Ter-Ghevondian 1965, 168).

P‘OK‘RTIKIN (ՓՈՔՐՏԻԿԻՆ, Paron’s wife) – her husband paid 600 *spitak* (silver coins) in 1308 to ransom the Gospel of Bagnair and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. Her son’s name was Aslanbek (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 147-148).

P‘OP‘KHIK (ՓՈՓԽԻԿ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K‘alant‘ar 2007, 143).

P‘RANG DRIK (ՓՐԱՆԳ ԴՐԻԿ) – one of the tax collectors of Ani, who in 1276, together with his friends, abolished the tax of half a silver in the city, which was levied in the case of an empty carrier. The first word is perhaps a nickname, denoting the person’s denominational, Catholic affiliation (Basmadjian 1931, 90, Matevosyan 2021, 135).

PAPANÉ (ՊԱՊԱՆԵ, Masaon’s father) – mentioned in the brief inscription of his son found on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church or Church of Zak‘aré, dating from 1291 (CAI, I, 59)

PAPK‘AN VAKHRADIN (ՊԱՊԱԶԱՆ ՎԱԽՐԱԴԻՆ, son of Sargis) – he was first mentioned in the 1252 inscription at the Surb Hakob Monastery (Metsaranats‘) of Arts‘akh, alongside his grandfather and brothers Uk‘an (K‘arimadin) and March‘é (who had passed away by that time). Later, he relocated to Ani. His mother’s name was Amentikin (or Sit‘). His brothers erected a belfry in Ani, within the so-called “*K‘arimadin*” Church. The inscription confirming this is undated. Papk‘an’s name is preserved on a wall of a house near the

church (it was likely his house). In 1271, they purchased and restored Karmir Vank' or the Red Monastery on the Akhuryan river's banks, not far from the city. They made substantial donations, and in 1274, they acquired half of the Horomos Monastery (CAI, V, 15, CAI, I, 24, 65, 66, Horomos 2015, 476, Matevosyan 2021, 136-142).

PAPK'AN (ԴԱԴԿԱՆ, father of Gēsh) – his son was one of the tax collectors of Ani in the early 14th century, who left out a tax called “*k'asanik*” in the city (CAI, I, 30). He may be the same person as the previous.

PARON (ԴԱՐՈՆ) – his name has been preserved on the wall of the Palace Church of Ani (CAI, I, 9).

PARON (ԴԱՐՈՆ, grandson of Gado) – he made a donation to Horomos in the 13th century and was rewarded with six days of masses («Ետու ջաղացի կէս ի Կամրջիձորին՝ զՄաշկակապն, յանուն իմ պատարագ ի Քրիստոս Զ (6) ժամ») (Horomos 2015, 439).

PARON (ԴԱՐՈՆ, son of Gēorg Nersisants') – in 1308, he ransomed the Bagnair Gospel by paying 600 *spitak* (silver coin) and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery («...թափեցաք զԱւետարանս ի յանիրաւ վաշխոցն եւ վերըստին ընծայեցաք ի Սուրբ Աստուածածինն»).

The colophon mentions his deceased family members: his father, mother Mamakhāt'un, wife P'ok'rtikin, elder brother Mkh'it'ar, as well as his other brothers who were alive at that time: Aghberos and Sargis, and his son Aslanbek (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 147-148).

PARON (ԴԱՐՈՆ, son of the priest Grigor Anets'i) – mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript commissioned by his father in 1326 at Sultania. He was also mentioned by the scribe Mkh'it'ar Anets'i who had settled in the same city (XIV, I, 12, 326).

PARONIK (ԴԱՐՈՆԻԿ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. He donated to the monastery lands and a cane field («Ես Պարոնիկս միաբանեցա ս(ուրբ) ուխտիս Արջուառնոյ եւ ետու զիմ զանձագին հողերն՝ զԳերմատու տնափնիքն առաջի եղեգն, Գինեկոյ ճանապարհն միջի եղեգն...»). The end of the inscription was not preserved (Sargisian 1864, 191).

PARSAMO (ԴԱՐՍԱՍՈ, son of Hasan) – in 1207, he donated to the Arjoarich Monastery his garden called Sas in memory of this brother Khurt. In 1210, he donated to Bagnair a garden called “*Vardents' nork*” («Վարդենց նոքք»). He was rewarded with fourteen days of

masses on the Feast of the Resurrection of Lazarus: five for him, five for his brother Khurt, and four for Seda (Sargisian 1864, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 21).

PAT'LIK (ՊԱԹԼԻԿ) – his name was preserved on a fragment of an inscription found in Ani (CAI, I, 76).

PETROS (ՊԵՏՐՈՍ) – Abbot of Horomos, who left an inscription in 1195 indicating the number of masses offered for the monastery's deceased members (Sargisian 1864, 150).

PETROS (ՊԵՏՐՈՍ) – an elder priest, who in 1174, together with his brothers Husik and Simeon, donated their house in P'arpi to the Horomos Monastery in 1174 (Horomos 2015, 429).

PETROS (ՊԵՏՐՈՍ) – in the 13th century, he donated his wine cellar in Ani to the Arjoarich Monastery and was rewarded with two days of masses (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

PETROS (ՊԵՏՐՈՍ, son of Poghos) – in the 13th century, he donated his garden in Oshakan to the Bagnair Monastery (he was probably from Oshakan). The inscription also mentions his mother, Harkewor, his wife, Asurastan, and his daughters, K'oyrik and Yaysmik (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

PETROS I (GETADARDZ) ՊԵՏՐՈՍ Ա (ԳԵՏԱԴԱՐԶ) – Catholicos of all Armenians between 1019 and 1054. Descended from the noble house of Kamrjadzor, his residence was in Ani from the day of his consecration until 1046. He was also involved in politics. Being pro-Byzantine, after the fall of Ani's kingdom, he left Ani under the compulsion of the latter and settled in Sebastia (Lesser Armenia), where he died. Only in late-period sources is he known by the nickname Getadardz, the origin of which is linked to the "*miracle*" of reversing the course of the river during the water blessing ceremony in Trabzon in 1022 (Matevosyan 1997, 33-40).

POGHOS (ՊՈԴՈՍ, Պաւղոս) – a monk from Khts'konk', mentioned in the inscriptions of 1208, 1221, 1233, as well as in the colophon of a Gospel donated to the monastery in 1236 (Sargisian 1864, 210-211, XIII, 194-195).

POGHOS (ՊՈԴՈՍ, Պաւղոս) – mentioned on a fragment of an inscription found in Ani (CAI, I, 75).

POGHOS (ՊՈԴՈՍ, Պաւղոս, son of Ghazar) – an elder priest in the early 13th century, who donated his flower garden and the winepress in

- Ashnak to the Bagnair Monastery. In exchange, he was rewarded with ten days of masses: four for him, four for his father, and two for his wife Tirants' (Karapetyan 2013, 23).
- PTUGH (ՊՏՈՒՂ) – a scribe, who carved the inscription of Khuandzé, Shahنشah II's wife, in 1320 at the Holy Apostles Church (CAI, I, 27).
- RAT (ՌԱՏ, father of the monk Mkrtich') – his son, together with the priest Grigor, repaired the wine pressers of Horomos in Aruch and P'arpi in 1258. They were rewarded with four days of masses: two for their father Rat and the other two for their mother Khots'adeh (Sargisian 1864, 157).
- RAYBIK (ՌԱՅԲԻԿ) – a scribe, who carved the inscription of Hasan's son Parsimo at the Bagnair Monastery in 1210. At the end of the inscription he left his name: "*Scribe Raybik*" («Ռայբիկ գրիչ») (Karapetyan 2013, 21).
- ROBĒN (ՌՈՐԷՆ) – a priest of the Cathedral of Ani. His tomb with an inscription was found in 2004 on the eastern side of the church (Karapetyan 2011, 194, 196, 257).
- ROBEN or ĖROBEN (ՌՈՐԵՆ, ԸՌՈՐԵՆ, son of Dawit') – in 1286, he donated his purchased oil mill, which was near the oil mill of Tigran Honents' to the Cathedral of Ani. In exchange, five masses were offered to Christ for his father. The inscription reads: "*I, Ėroben... son of Dawit' and grandson of Yohan*" («Ես Ըրոբեն...որդի Դավթի եւ թոռն Յոհան») (CAI, I, 36).
- ROVMANOS or RIMANOS (ՌՈՎՍԱՆՈՍ, Ռիմանոս, father of the priest Sahak) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned by his son, priest Sahak, in 1211. This Gospel was donated to the church built by their family in the Arjoarich Monastery. His wife was Kata, the other sons were Ipatos (prematurely diseased) and Arak'el, his daughters: Zarha and Horom Tikin (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69-71).
- RUZPAK (ՌՈՐԶՊԱԿ, son of Mkrtich') – a citizen of Ani, who donated a manuscript (Sargis Shnorhali's *Comments on Catholic Epistles*) to the Armenian church of Kutahya in 1391 (Alboyadjian 1961, 30).
- RUZUK'AN (ՌՈՐԶՈՐԶԱՆ, mother of Khut'lukhat'un) – in 1214, she built their burial house in the Horomos Monastery and three churches above it. She bequeathed to the holy congregation Shot'a village which her mother had given. Her sister Nurst'é is also mentioned in the inscription (Horomos 2015, 470).

SADUN (ՍԱԴՈՒՆ) – a Georgian prince, hejhub of King George III. In 1161, the king appointed him the ruler of Ani after capturing the city. However, he was soon accused of attempted rebellion as he was strengthening the city walls («...վասն ինսմով ամրացուցանելն զպարիսպ քաղաքին»). As a result, he fled to *at'abek* Eltkuz, but was caught and killed by the order of the king (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 130).

SAHAK (ՍԱՀԱԿ) – a priest at Abukhanm Church of Ani, mentioned in one of the undated inscriptions (CAI, I, 34).

SAHAK (ՍԱՀԱԿ, son of Rovmanos) – a priest from Ani who studied in Haghbat where in 1211 he received a valuable Gospel, the Haghbat Gospel. It was illustrated at the Bekhents' Monastery (painter: Margaré), bound in Horomos and donated to the church built by their family in the Arjoarich Monastery. His brothers were Ipatos (prematurely deceased) and Arak'el, sisters: Zarha and Horom Tikin. Sahak and Arak'el are depicted on either side of Christ in the dedication miniature of the manuscript (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 71).

SAHIB DIVAN SHAMS AL-DIN JUVAYNI (ՍԱՀԻԲ ԴԻՎԱՆ ՇԱՍՄԱԿ ԿԵՆԵՆՆԻ) – one of the patrons of Ani. He died in 1284. From the time of Hulagu Khan (1261-1265), he was a chief vizier for about twenty years, becoming the owner of huge wealth (the title of the position “*sahib divan*” is mentioned in Armenian inscriptions as his name. He is referenced for the first time in the 1269 inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles on exempting the city's elders from tax, as one of the proprietors of Ani (together with Sahmadin and K'arimadin). Khoshak', daughter of *at'abek* Ivané's son Avag, was one of his wives. The latter's daughter, Shahnshah II's wife Khuandzé, mentioned her parents in an inscription dating from 1320: “*I, Khuandzé... daughter of Shamshadin Sahib Divan and Khoshak*” («Ես Խուանդզէ... դուստր Շամշադին Սահիպ Դիվանին եւ պարոն Խաւշաքին») (CAI, I, 24, 27).

SAHMADIN (ՍԱՀՄԱԴԻՆ, son of Aweteats') – one of the patrons of Ani. He is referenced for the first time in the 1269 inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles on exempting the city's elders from tax, as one of the proprietors of Ani (together with Sahib Divan and K'arimadin). In 1288, he left an inscription in Georgian on the wall of the “*Georgian*” church in Ani, the actual content of which is unknown

(due to insufficient preservation). He is best known for the fact that he acquired Mren, where he designed and built a luxurious mansion with a garden called Paradise without the assistance of an architect («յիմ մտաց դուս, առանց վարդապետի ձեռնցի ու հիմն ձգեցի դարապասխս») in 1276-1286, spending 40 thousand *dahekans* (CAI, I, 24, Muradyan 1977, 48-50).

SAMUĒL (ՍԱՄՈՒԷԼ) – mentioned in the 1215 inscription of his son Sargis, who built one the wall towers of Ani (CAI, I, 2).

SAMUĒL ANETS'I (ՍԱՄՈՒԷԼ ԱՆԵՑԻ) – an elder priest of the Cathedral of Ani and a historian (12th century), who studied at Hovhannes Sarkavag's school in Ani. His chronological work extends from Adam to his days («Հաւաքմունք ի գրոց պատմագրաց...»). He wrote it at Hromkla by the order of Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni and presented the narrative till 1163. Although the chronology is very brief, it contains a number of valuable testimonies about the history of Ani. The inscription of the historian's grandson Abraham from 1233 was preserved in Khts'konk', where he mentions his grandfather, as well as his father Sarkavag (Samuel's son) (Anets'i 2014, 12-18).

SARÉ (ՍԱՐԷ, Սարի, son of the fur tailor K'ot'it') – his father and mother Shahmam made a donation to the Horomos Monastery in the 13th century. His brother was Vardan (Horomos 2015, 428).

SARÉ or SARI (ՍԱՐԷ կամ Սարի) – the commander of Prince Grigor (Apirat) Magistros, who after the latter's murder in Dvin, took his wife and children to Ani, where Hovhannes Smbat took over their guardianship. The king gave them, including Sari, estates (Urhayets'i 1991, 16-17, Matevosyan 2015, 27-28).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a celibate priest from Ani and, most likely, a monk at the Bekhents' Monastery. He is mentioned in the colophon of Haghbat Gospel copied by the scribe Margaré in 1211. His brother's name is Shaher (XIII, 69).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a deacon and servant at the Cathedral of Ani, mentioned in the colophon of the donor Natsual dating from 1236 (XIII, 197).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, a *vardapet* (church doctor), who is mentioned in the inscription of 1246 (Sargisian 1864, 154).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, mention in the inscription of the silver binding of a Gospel donated to the monastery in 1347 (Matevosyan 1997, 285).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery. In 1198, he assisted Abbot Mkh'it'ar in repairing the water pipe of the monastery, bought a plot of land in P'arpi for Horomos (Sargisian 1864, 149).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a priest at the Holy Apostles Church in Ani, mentioned in the inscription of a bookstand donated to the church in 1164 (Ani, objects 1982, 107).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a scribe, who carved the inscription of Gorgi (K'orgi) and his wife St'é in 1291 in the church hollowed out in stone in Ani (CAI, I, 68).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor), whose name has been preserved on the wall of Surb Sargis (Sarkavag) Church of Ani (CAI, I, 57).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in the inscription of the king Hovhannes Smbat dating from 1036 (Sargisian 1864, 166).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – Abbot of Horomos, who participated in the first church council of Ani in 969. He founded the St. Gregory the Illuminator Church of Karmir Vank' located northeast of Horomos (now Haykadzor, Republic of Armenia). He died in 980, before the construction of the church was completed (CAI, X, 22, Asoghik 1885, 181).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – Abbot of Karmir Vank' or the Red Monastery located on the shore of the Akhuryan gorge. He was mentioned in the inscription of 1274 (Orbeli 1963, 474).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – an elder priest and servant of Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church of Ani. He is mentioned in an undated donation inscription of a certain Ark'a (CAI, I, 50).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – he died as a young man and was buried near the Church of the Holy Apostles in 1318, as evidenced by the verse epitaph (CAI, I, 27).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – he left a commemorative inscription on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church of the Inner Fortress (Aghjkaberd) in Ani in 1316 (CAI, I, 70).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – in the 13th century, he donated his garden located in Marmet near Yeraskh («ի վերաւ Երասխա») to Bagnair and was rewarded with three days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – in the 13th century, he donated his houses in Ani to Horomos as a guest-house: “*I, Sargis, gave my patrimonial houses downtown at the Igadzor Gate as a guest-house of this monastery*” («Ես Սարգիս ետու զիմ հայրենիք տներն ի քաղաքին Իգաձորին դրան վանացս՝ ասպնջականց»)). Three masses to Christ were offered for him (Horomos 2015, 457).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – one of the donors of Horomos. His undated inscription preserved inside Surb Gevorg Church is incomplete, but one can read: “*...he built the churches...*” («...եկեղեցիքս շինեց ի...»)) (Horomos 2015, 409).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – one of the wealthy citizens of Ani, whose name “SARGIS” is written in single letters on the wings of one of the star-shaped ornaments on the facade of his house (CAI, I, 65).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ) – the short inscription from Surb Grigor (Abulamrenc‘) Church mentions about his death in 1199 (CAI, I, 31).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, father of Aryuts Hogevoeants‘) – mentioned in the inscriptions of 1251 and 1277 left by his son at Horomos. His wife was Hrip‘simé (Horomos 2015, 461-462, 478).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, father of Yovanēs Anets‘i) – mentioned in the donation inscription of 1307 at Kat‘oghiké Church of Havuts‘ T‘ar (Mat‘evosyan 2012, 56).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, husband of *khat‘un* Gohar) – a priest from Ani, mentioned in an undated donation inscription found in Surb Sargis (Sarkavag) Church. The inscription states that he and his wife were rewarded with a mass offered for each of them (CAI, I, 56).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Gēorg Nersisants‘) – his brother Paron ransomed Bagnair Gospel in 1308 by paying 600 *spitak* (silver coins) and returned it to the Bagnair Monastery. His mother was Mamakhat‘un (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Georg) – in 1206, he built one of the wall towers of Ani (CAI, I, 5).

SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Khach‘ot) – in 1242, he made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery: a stone from the oil mine and 5 liters of oil per year. He was rewarded with two masses every year (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Kirakos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned by his brother, priest Yakob, at Ani in 1298. The colophon reveals that he passed away at a young age (XIII, 817).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Mamk'an) – mentioned in the donation inscription of her mother Mamk'an from the Horomos Monastery dating from 1280. Most likely, he was the grandson of Tigran Honents' (Horomos 2015, 469).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Samuēl) – in 1215, he built one of the wall towers of Ani (CAI, I, 2).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Sewon) – he was martyred by the Turks («նր յանաւրէն թուրքաց նահատակ եղել յանմարդաձայն տեղիս...»).
- Sargis' brother, Kazer, could barely identify his body, after which he brought it and buried it in the village of Ani, near the city of Ani, and erected a cross-stone next to the tomb, leaving an inscription about what had happened (CAI, I, 70).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of the priest Ep'rem) – a priest from Ani, who migrated to Sultania. He was mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript received by his brother, priest Grigor, in 1326 (XIV, II, 12).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of the priest Grigor) – Archpriest of Tsmak village, who donated his garden to the Bagnair Monastery in 1233 («եսոու զիմ զանձագին հայրենիք այգին՝ զԾիջանկի գներքի դէհն՝ իւր ծաղկոցովն, իւր չորեսին ավներովն»), for which he was rewarded with eight days of masses. At the same time, he donated houses so that at the time of his death, a night prayer and a sacrifice would be performed («ել այլ եսոու զՔարզգենա տներն, զի ուր ինձ վախճան լինի, գիշերապաշտաւն եւ մատաղ առնեն») (Sargisian 1864, 185).
- SARGIS (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, son of Zak'aria Pahlavuni) – his father was the *hejub* (supervisor) of Prince Shahnshah II's house and mother was Khorishah, the prince's sister. He was mentioned in 1313, his brother was Mkhargrdzeli and sister: Mat'at'un (XIV, I, p. 236).
- SARGIS ANETS'I (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – a prominent *vardapet* (church doctor) of the Catholicate of Ani and the chief curator of the repository. He had a correspondence with Grigor Magistros, with whom he studied. An autograph colophon of Sargis dating from 1041 has been preserved, in which he informs about taking a valuable book from the royal repository of Ani (V-XII, 87, Matevosyan 1997, 227, 330-335).

SARGIS ARK'AUN (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԱՐԶԱՈՒՆ, father of Dapta Khat'un) – he is mentioned in the inscriptions left by Uk'ar K'arimadin and his wife Dapta Khat'un in the church of “*K'arimadin*” of Ani, the nearby the Red Monastery of the city (1271) and Horomos (1274), stating that he received a mass. In Sanahin, he donated 500 *spitak* (silver coins) to the monastery during the abbotship of *vardapet* Avetis Anets'i (1240-1250s) and was rewarded with three days of masses, and in Haghbat, during the same period, during the time of the renowned Bishop Hamazasp Anets'i, he joined the monastery and received a mass on the St. Jacob's Day in all churches (Divan, IX, 95, 188).

SARGIS GERANTS'I (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԳԵՐԱՆՑԻ) – he built one of the wall towers of Ani in 1222 (CAI, I, 7).

SARGIS I (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ Ա, son of Apirat) – Bishop of Ani, the cousin of Barsegh II Anets'i. He was mentioned as a priest in 1187 and as a bishop in 1206-1220 (Matevosyan 1997, 73-75, 104-105).

SARGIS I SEWANTS'I (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ Ա ՍԵՎԱՆՑԻ) – Catholicos of All Armenians between 992 and 1019 whose seat was in Ani. He founded the round church of the Hrip'simian virgins near the Cathedral of Ani and relocated some of their relics from Vagharshapat there. It was by his order that Step'anos Taronets'i Asoghik wrote and in 1004 finished the *Universal History* (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 96, Matevosyan 1997, 27-32).

SARGIS II (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ Բ, son of Grigor I Magistros) – Bishop of Ani, mentioned in a number of inscriptions dating from 1245-1262 (Matevosyan 1997, 90-94, 107-110).

SARGIS LARARAR (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԼԱՐԱՐԱՐ) – most likely he lived in the 11th century. He donated his house in Ani to Surb Grigor (Abułamrenc') Church and was rewarded with fifteen days of masses, which testifies to the great value of that house. It has been assumed that Sargis was a rope maker, but he was probably a cord gauger, measuring land with a cord (CAI, I, 32, Grigorian 2002, 39).

SARGIS P'ARSHIK (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ՓԱՌՇԻԿ) – the author or commissioner of the frescoes made inside the All Savior Church in Ani at the end of the 12th century during the renovation of the church. His kneeling image is preserved under the image of Matthew the Evangelist with the following depicted inscription: “*Holy Evangelist of Christ,*

intercede for Christ for me, Sargis P'arshik" («Ս(ուր)բ աւետարանիչ Ք(րիստոս)ի բարեխաւսեա առ Ք(րիստոս)ս Սարգսի Փառշկանս») (Matevosyan 1997, 220).

SARGIS SPATARKANKITAT (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ՍՊԱՏԱՐԿԱՆԿԻՏԱՏ, son of Artavaz) – one of the patrons of Ani (1046-1064) during the Byzantine rule, who left out taxes in the city in 1060, leaving an inscription about it on the wall of Surb Kat'oghiké (CAI, I, 37).

SARGIS TONKATS' (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ՏՈՆԿԱՏ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) and poet, who most likely lived in the 13th century. He is mentioned in the titles of one of his poems: “...*a sermon by the philosopher Sargis Tonkats' from Ani*” («...քարոզ ասացեալ Սարգիս փիլիսոփայի Տաւնկաց Անեցոյ»)). He authored twelve poems. The mention of the commissioner in the title of one of the poems contributes to determining the time he lived in: “... *at the behest of Aminadin... son of Nikol*” («...ի խնդրոյ պարոն Ամինադինին... որ է որդի պարոն Նիկաւին»)). These names were not common in earlier times. No other mention of the Tonkats' family has been preserved (K'coshkerian 1971, 202-203).

SARGIS TSILENTS' (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԾԻԼԵՆՑ) – a customs officer from Ani. According to an inscription near the city entry leading to Ani via the Akhuryan bridge, he left the tax earned on the products transported to Ani from the Arjoarich Monastery in 1261 (CAI, I, 3).

SARGIS ZAK'ARIAN (ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԶԱԶԱՐՅԱՆ, father of Zak'aré and Ivané) – a prince. In 1161, by the order of George III, king of Georgia, *amirspasalar* Ivané Orbeli was appointed the governor of Ani, whose assistant was the head of the Armenian military group, Sargis Zak'arian. Their rule in Ani lasted until 1164 (Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 130, Melik'set' Bek 1934, 8).

SARGSIK (ՍԱՐԳՍԻԿ, son of Soghomon) – mentioned in the inscription of the priest Trdat, who, together with his wife Khushush, repaired the Church of the Redeemer in Ani in 1193. Most likely, Trdat was their relative and two masses were offered for him (CAI, I, 47).

SARKAWAG (ՍԱՐԿԱՎԱԳ) – a priest from Ani, who in 1292 donated a manuscript to *vardapet* Grigor-Aharon, who had taken refuge here from Yorzinka (XIII, 673).

SARKAWAG (ՍԱՐԿԱՎԱԳ) – Archpriest of the Cathedral of Ani, who is mentioned in the donation inscription of Davit's son Roben dating from 1286 (CAI, I, 36).

SARKAWAG (ՍԱՐԿԱՎԱԳ) – in the 13th century, he donated the half of his oil-press near the Kars Gate to the Bagnair Monastery («ձիթաւի-նաց կէս ակն, որ ի Կարունց դրանն»). In exchange, he was rewarded with three days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

SARKAWAG (ՍԱՐԿԱՎԱԳ, son of Samvel Anets'i) – a priest, who is mentioned in the donation inscription left by his son, priest Abraham, in 1233 at Khts'konk'. Most likely, it was this Sarkawag who completely renovated Surb Sargis Church (Church of Sarkawag) of Ani in 1151, which is the first evidence of church construction mentioned under the Arab rule (CAI, I, 56, Matevosyan 1997, 128-129).

SASNAY (ՍԱՍՆԱՅ, son of Khoras) – mentioned in the inscription of her mother Khut'lukhat'un, which states that in 1229 she built Surb Sion chapel-cemetery in the monastery of Bagnair for her prematurely deceased son, Sasnay. In her memory, her father commissioned a Gospel in 1232, the Bagnair Gospel, and donated it to the Bagnair Monastery. The colophon reveals that Sasnay's wife was T'aik T'aguhi (Karapetyan 2013, 35, XIII, 179).

SEDA (wife of Aryuts Hogevoeants') – she is mentioned in the inscriptions of 1251 and 1277 left by her husband at Horomos. A *nshkharatun* (a place for making wafers) was built in the Horomos Monastery by their means. Their children were: Nurst'é and Grigor (Horomos 2015, 461-462, 478).

SEDA (ՄԵԴԱ, daughter of Grigor Hamzé) – she is mentioned for the first time in the inscription of her mother Shushan left in Surb Grigor (Abulamrenc') Church in 994, stating that her mother offered masses for her in exchange for her donation. Probably, she was already in poor health at that time, and this should explain Shushan's act (because there is no mention of the other children). In 1040, her brother Prince Ablgharib built two chapel-cemeteries near the church for their deceased parents and his prematurely deceased sister Seda and brother Hamzé (CAI, I, 31, 33).

SEDA (ՄԵԴԱ, daughter of Vasak Pahlavuni) – Prince Vahram's wife and Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni's sister. In 1021, she made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery in memory of her father, who was martyred in

- the war (the tithe of Gaghta village, which belonged to her, was given to Bagnair) (Karapetyan 2013, 21, Matevosyan 2015, 110-111).
- SEDA (ՍԵԴԱ, wife of the priest Yakob) – mentioned in the colophons of her son, priest Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i, who was also a scribe and painter. The colophons were written in 1334 and 1338 in Sultania: “...*my mother, Seda Khat‘un*” («...զմայրն իմ Սեդա Խաթունն»). She had priest sons, Grigor and Gēorg, and a daughter, Jalal (XIV, II, 201, 327).
- SHABAYDIN ANETS‘I (ՇԱԲԱՅԴԻՆ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – having migrated to Yerevan in 1364, he left a unique inscription on the northern wall of the local Kat‘oghiké Church: “*Remember me, Shabaydin Anets‘i for good, so that God remembers you. (1364) May God destroy the one who destroys Ani*” («Շաբայդինս Անեցի յիշեցէք ի բարին, որ Ա(ստու)աժ զձեզ յիշէ: ԴԺԳ (1364) Ա(ստու)աժ զԱնու ավիրողն ավիրէ») (Ghafadarian 1975, 141).
- SHAH (ՇԱՀ, son of Gabr) – he donated to the Horomos Monastery his shop and a hall located in Tsaravan, near Ani: “*I, Shah, gave my patrimonial shop and the hall of Tsaravan on the western side of Gēorg.*” For this he was rewarded with four days of masses offered for him, his father Gabr and brothers Karapet and “*Eprik*” («Եպրիկս»), i.e. Eghbayrik. There was very little space left on the stone at the end of the inscription, so the latter’s name was written in abbreviated form. Tsaravan was most likely the settlement on the western side of Tsarak‘ar Fortress (Maghasberd). The main church of the fortress was Surb Gevorg Church (Horomos 2015, 460).
- SHAH (ՇԱՀ, son of Mner) – mentioned in the colophons of a Gospel copied in Ani in 1298 and donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. This Gospel was ordered by his uncle, priest Yakob. The colophon mentions that his elder brother Grigor left Ani («որ տարաշխարհիկ զնաց») (XIII, 817).
- SHAHER (ՇԱՀԵՐ, an architect) – in 1271, he made a donation to Surb Grigor Church or Church of Khach‘ut or Bakhtaghek. In exchange, he was rewarded with two days of masses every year on the Feast of St. Gregory (CAI, I, 60).
- SHAHER (ՇԱՀԵՐ, brother of the celibate priest Sargis) – he and his brother are mentioned in a colophon written by the scribe Margaré at the Bekhents‘ Monastery in 1211 (XIII, 69).
- SHAHER KIRAKOS (ՇԱՀԵՐ ԿԻՐԱԿՈՍ) – one of the donors of Bagnair in the 13th century (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

SHAHIK (ՇԱՀԻԿ) – in 1050, he and his son Vard donated to the Church of the Redeemer in Ani the house built by them with its yard (CAI, I, 43).

SHAHMAM (ՇԱՀՄԱՄ, wife of the fur tailor K‘ot‘it‘) – in the early 13th century, she and her husband made a donation to the Horomos Monastery. Their children were Vardan and Saré (Horomos 2015, 428).

SHAHNSHAH (ՇԱՀՆՇԱՀ, son of Mahmud) – Shaddadid amir in Ani, 1164-1174 (Ter-Ghevondian 1965, 168).

SHAHNSHAH I ZAK‘ARIAN (ՇԱՀՆՇԱՀ Ա ՉԱՔԱՐՅԱՆ, Sargis, son of amirspasalar Zak‘aré) – after his father’s death (1212) he became the legal owner of Ani, despite being a child (he became an adult in the family of his uncle at‘abek Ivané and accepted the Chalcedonian Creed). Many inscriptions in the monasteries of Ani and its vicinity reference him. Mongols captured Ani by force of arms and caused widespread destruction under his rule in 1236. Despite recognizing Mongol supremacy, Shahnshah remained the ruler of Ani. He died in 1261, after discovering that his son Zak‘aria had been mercilessly murdered by the Mongols on accusations of disloyalty (Anets‘i 2014, 245, 251).

SHAHNSHAH II ZAK‘ARIAN (ՇԱՀՆՇԱՀ Բ ՉԱՔԱՐՅԱՆ, son of Zak‘aria and grandson of Shahnshah I) – following the death of his grandfather, Shahnshah I (1261), he became the ruler of Ani. He sold Ani to Sahib Divan (Shams ad-Din Juwayni) in 1267 because he was in debt. After Prince Arghun executed Sahib Divan in 1284, he married Khuandzé, the daughter of Sahib Divan and Khoshak‘ Zak‘arian (daughter of at‘abek Ivané, son of Avag), and restored the Zak‘arian family’s rights in Ani. In 1293, Shahnshah II became the *amirspasalar* (supreme commander-in-chief) of the Armenian-Georgian troops, he is sometimes mentioned with his wife in the inscriptions of Ani. He died in 1320 (Anets‘i 2014, 253, CAI, I, 64).

SHAHNSHAH III ZAK‘ARIAN (ՇԱՀՆՇԱՀ Գ ՉԱՔԱՐՅԱՆ, son of Zaza) – the last Zakarid ruler of Ani. Sometimes he is mentioned together with his brother Shrvashah. At the beginning of the 1350s, he was forced to leave Shirak after fleeing from the “*Tachkats‘ troop*” (Anets‘i 2014, 52).

SHAHPATIN (ՇԱՀՊԱՏԻՆ, father of the elder priest Kirakos) – in 1342, his son, the elder priest Kirakos, commissioned a *Chashots‘* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).

SHANUSH (ՇԱՆՈՒՇ, wife of Khēch'eres) – in the 13th century, he built some of the wall towers of Ani in memory of her deceased husband and herself (CAI, I, 4).

SHAPADIN (ՇԱՊԱԴԴԻՆ, son of Yovhanis) – in 1348, he returned to the Holy Apostles Church of Ani Surb Step'anos Church of the city, which was taken from it by Bishop Grigor I Magistros and given to the Marmashen Monastery. Shapadin paid 700 *spitak* (silver coins) to do that, and at the same time he gave the Holy Apostles Church half of the garden he bought with the “*cross*” and a shop bought from amir Hasan. In exchange, he was rewarded with twelve hours mass: four for him, the other four for his wife Avak'tikin, and another four for his son Yovanes. In view of the time, it is possible that this is the same Shabaydin mentioned in this list of names (CAI, I, 29).

SHARAP'SHAH (ՇԱՐԱՓՇԱՀ, son of Apirat) – in 1234, he made a donation to Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Bagnair, which he calls “*our patrimonial church*” by giving “*a mill at Shirak and Khach'in marg*” («Գ (3) ակն ջաղաց ի Շիրակուանին եւ Խաչին մարգն»). He was rewarded with eighteen days of masses: ten for him, the rest for his family members: three for Kawt'el, two for Kiwriké, one for Hasan, and two for Aikhat'un («Գ (3) Կաւթելին, Բ (2) Կիւրիկէին, Ա (1) Հասանա, Բ (2) Աիխաթունին»). His wife's name was T'aguhi, who wrote her inscription as a direct continuation of her husband's inscription (Karapetyan 2013, 30-31).

SHERAN (ՇԵՐԱՆ) – he, together with Arak'el Anets'i and Mkh'it'ar Ch'ech'kants', translated a dream book from Arabic into Armenian at Maghasberd in 1222 (XIII, 131).

SHERANIK (ՇԵՐԱՆԻԿ) - mentioned in the Gospel of Haghbat illustrated at the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani in 1211. The painter Margaré depicted him in the margin of one of the canon tables, carrying a big fish. The inscription reads: “*Sheranik, when you come, bring a fish*” («Շերանիկ, քանի զաս, ձուկն բեր») (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69).

SHERANIK (ՇԵՐԱՆԻԿ, Aslan's father) – his son made a donation to the Horomos Monastery in 1231 (Horomos 2015, 424).

SHERANIK (ՇԵՐԱՆԻԿ, Mariam's husband) – the undated donation inscription is probably from pre-Mongol period. He left the following note about him: “*I, Sheranik, have become strong in the profession of warrior*” («Ես՝ Շերանիկս զաւրացա ի զինուորութեան...»). The

inscription reads that he donated to Horomos the vineyard he had bought in Tsmak, for which he was rewarded with six days of masses. The inscription is followed by his wife's inscription, mentioning that six masses were offered also for her (Horomos 2015, 452).

SHNAHUORIK or Shnorhaworik (ՇՆԱՀՈՐԻԿ / Շնոհաւորիկ) – in the 13th century, he and Gēorg donated to Arjoarich a shop on Sarach Street of Ani (the street of the Saddlers) and were rewarded with four days of masses: two for each of them («Բ (2) ալր Շնահուորիկանն եւ Բ (2) Գէորգա») (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

SHNAWOR or Shnorhawor (ՇՆԱՎՈՐ, Շնոհաւոր) – his brother (an old elder priest whose name has not survived) donated to Horomos his patrimonial houses and the oil-press («[ետու զ]իմ հայրենի տներն եւ զձիթահանքն»). Ten masses to Christ were offered: five for his parents and five for his brother Shnawor (Horomos 2015, 460).

SHUSHAN (ՇՈՒՇԱՆ ՏԻԿԵԱՅ ՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Grigor Hamzé Pahlavuni) – she made donations to the churches belonging to the Pahlavunis, one of which was Surb Hakob Church. This church is also known as the Church of Shushan Pahlavuni. Their children were Vahram, Vasak, Ablgharib, Hamzé and Seda (CAI, I, 31-32, 49).

SHUSHAN (ՇՈՒՇԱՆ) – her name has been preserved in a colored inscription near the tomb of Tigran Honents' carved in the rock in Tsaghkots'adzor in Ani: "*Christ, Lord, have mercy on Shushan, your servant*" («Զ(րիստոս)ս Ա(ստուա)ծ ողորմեա Շուշանա աղախնա քն») (written before 1212). Most likely she was one of the relatives of Honents' (CAI, I, 71).

SHUSHIK (ՇՈՒՇԻԿ, Khosrov's wife) – in 1231, she and her husband gave their share of K'arhat village to Horomos, for which they were rewarded with two days of masses. But besides that, Shushik also donated her houses (it is mentioned in a separate section of this long inscription). For this she received another mass (Horomos 2015, 425, 426).

SHUSHIK (ՇՈՒՇԻԿ, wife of Aryuts) – in the 13th century, she and her husband donated to the Arjoarich Monastery the house they had probably bought in Ani. They were rewarded with six days of masses for them and their relatives (Sargisian 1864, 191).

SHUSHIK (ՇՈՒՇԻԿ, wife of the physician Zak'aré) – mentioned in the inscription of her son, the physician Abl Hasan, dating from 1273 (Horomos 2015, 434-435).

SIMEON (ՍԻՄԵՈՆ, father of T‘at‘ul) – an elder priest, who, together with his son, made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery in the 13th century (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – a priest from Ani, who is mentioned in the inscription of a manuscript copied in the Bekhents‘ Monastery in the early 13th century, as a mediator between the congregation of Zarevhan, the receiver of the manuscript, and the scriptorium of the Bekhents‘ Monastery (Mat. MS 5554, XIII, 72-73).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – a scribe who carved Mamukst‘i’s inscription in Horomos in 1308 (Horomos 2015, 466).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – a scribe, who carved the inscription on building one of the wall towers of Ani in 1216 (CAI, I, 4).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – a skilled scribe who carved five long inscriptions in 1261-1262 in the Bagnair Monastery and one in 1266 in the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 466, Karapetyan 2013, 31-34).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K‘alant‘ar 2007, 143).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ) – the sacristan of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in the donation inscription of T‘aik T‘aguhi dating from 1269 (Horomos 2015, 468).

SIMĒON (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ, son of Shahpatin) – his brother, elder priest Kirakos, received a *Chashots* ‘ (Lectionary) in 1342 in Ani (XIV, 353).

SIMĒON MARNDUNETS‘I (ՍԻՄԷՈՆ ՄԱՐՆ-ԴՈՒՆԵՑԻ) – a celibate priest living in Ani. He helped *vardapet* Aharon in 1292 who moved to Ani from Yerzinka. The latter mentioned him in his colophon (XIII, 673).

SIMEWON (ՍԻՄԵՒՈՆ) – Abbot of the Bagnair Monastery, a *vardapet* (church doctor). He is mentioned in the inscriptions of 1206, 1209, 1229, 1233, 1234 left in the monastery, as well as in the colophons of Bagnair Gospel dating from 1232 (Sargisian 1864, 179, 181-188, XIII 179).

SIMEWON (ՍԻՄԵՒՈՆ) – his name was preserved on the tomb found near the Church of K‘arimadin in Ani (CAI, I, 65).

SIMEWON (ՍԻՄԵՒՈՆ) – his name was preserved on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church (Church of Zakaré) of Ani, on the sides of the carved cross (CAI, I, 59).

SIRET' (ՍԻՐԵԹ) – mentioned in the inscription of a *khach* 'k'ar (cross-stone) found near Surb Astvatsatsin Church (Church of Aghberik) in Ani, which was erected (in intercession) for her, Aghberik and Khorasu (CAI, I, 67).

SISMAM (ՍԻՍՄԱՄ, wife of Khach'eghbayr) – she and her husband built a chapel in Bagnair («շինեցաք զգերեզմանաց մին եկեղեցին») and donated to it a two-story house («եւ տուաք... զսարաւոյթն եւ ի ներքեւն տուն»): Both of them were rewarded with three masses (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

SISTIKIN (ՍԻՍԻԿԻՆ) – mentioned in the donation inscription left by Khach'eghbayr and his son Avetis in the Horomos Monastery in 1201. The inscription says that a mass was offered for her. Most likely, she was Khacheghbayr's wife (Horomos 2015, 441).

SISVARD (ՍԻՍՎԱՐԴ, wife of the priest Yohanēs Horomeants') – her husband made donations to the monasteries of Arjoarich (1213) and Bagnair (1215). Their children were Khach'eres, Khots'adegh, Mikhayil, and Kata (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

SIT'I PAHLAVUNI (ՍԻԹԻ ՊԼՎՈՒՆԻ, Grigor's wife) – in memory of her husband, she renovated Surb Sargis Church (Church of Sit'i Pahlavuni) in Ani in ca. 1225-1226. The inscription also mentions their relative Gharib Pahlavuni who died in 1225. The spouses are also mentioned in the 1226 inscription left on the wall of the same church by Bishop Grigor I (CAI, I, 55).

SMBAT (ՍՄԲԱՏ) – in 1197, he made a donation to the Horomos Monastery and received a burial place there: “*I, Smbat, gave half of Marants' Marg, and I was buried in this monastery*” («եստու զՄարանց մարզի զկեսն եւ ես թաղեցա ի վանքս») (Horomos 2015, 438).

SMBAT (ՍՄԲԱՏ) – mentioned in the inscription of Yohannēs Ark'auni dating from 1253, stating that he made donations to the Horomos Monastery, among which two houses in Ani. He was rewarded with ten days of masses: three for his father, three for his mother St'erhi, two for him and two for Smbat, who was probably his brother (Horomos 2015, 464).

SMBAT (ՍՄԲԱՏ, father of Aghadovlēs) – in 1247, his son donated to the Horomos Monastery a house with its territory, most likely located in the suburbs of Ani (Horomos 2015, 420).

SMBAT II BAGRATUNI (ՍՄԲԱՏ Բ ԲԱԳՐԱՏՈՒՆԻ, son of Ashot III the Merciful) – King of Armenia in 977-989. He built the big wall of Ani (Smbatashen), founded the main church of the city, Kat'oghiké Church. The architect was Trdat who could not finish the construction due to his early death. His sculpture, together with his brother Gurgēn, is preserved in Surb Nshan Church of the Haghbat Monastery. *“Shahanshah, King of Ani”* («Շահանշահ Անիի թագավոր») is written in Arabic on the wrap placed on Smbat's head. He was childless.

SMBAT MAGISTROS (ՍՄԲԱՏ ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍ, son of Vahram) – one of the main princes of the Bagratid Kingdom during the reign of Gagik I Bagratuni. In 998, he was one of the commanders of the troops sent from Ani in the battle against the amir Mamlan near the village of Tsumb. In 1010, he built the Bagnair Monastery near Ani, which included the main church of the Holy Virgin (Surb Astvatsatsin Church) and which became one of the locals' most important sanctuaries (Asoghik 1885, 270, Anets'i 2014, 182, Matevosyan 2015, 104-113).

SNEKIT (ՍՆԵԿԻՏ) – mentioned in the donation inscription of Prince Abukhanm, stating that he was rewarded with three days of masses (CAI, I, 34).

SOGHOMON (ՍՈՂՈՄՈՆ) – Abbot of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in a donation inscription of 986, as well as in the building inscription of Surb Grigor Church of the Red Monastery (now Haykadzor in Armenia) dating from 985, located north-east to Horomos. The inscription states that it was him to complete the construction of the monastery (Sargisian 1864, 167, CAI, X, 22).

SOGHOMON (ՍՈՂՈՄՈՆ, father of Sargis) – mentioned in the inscription of the priest Trdat at the Church of the Redeemer in Ani dating from 1193. The inscription states that he was the father of Sargis who was rewarded with two days of masses (CAI, I, 47).

SOGHOMON (ՍՈՂՈՄՈՆ, father of Yovannēs) – in 1054, his son donated 20 *dahekans* to Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church in Ani and was rewarded with two days of masses (CAI, I, 51).

- SOST'ĒNES (ՍՈՍԹԷՆԵՍ, son of the priest Gēorg) – a priest, father of the priest Trdat. In 1193, he and his wife Khushush repaired the Church of the Redeemer in Ani (CAI, I, 47).
- SPANDIAR (ՍՊԱՆԴԻԱՐ) – in 1345, he left a commemorative inscription on the wall of the chapel located near the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Church of Tigran Honents') in Ani (Basmadjian 1931, 111).
- ST'Ē (ՍԹԷ) – in 1291, together with her husband Gorgi (K'orgi), built a church hollowed out in stone in Ani (CAI, I, 68).
- ST'ĒR (ՍԹԷՐ, mother of Yohannēs Ark'auni) – in 1253, her son made donations to the Horomos Monastery, including two houses in Ani. For this, he was rewarded with ten days of masses: three were offered for his father Aprik, three for his mother St'ēr, two for him and another two for Smbat, who was probably his brother (Horomos 2015, 464).
- STEP'ANNOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՆՈՍ, father of Mkrtich') – in the 14th century, his son sold a Gospel he had bought for 250 *dahekans* to the monk Yermia and his brother Sargis. He mentioned his father's name in the colophon (Mat. MS 9450, 374v).
- STEP'ANNOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՆՈՍ, son of Shahpatin) – in 1342, his brother, elder priest Kirakos, commissioned a *Chashots'* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ) – a priest and servant at the catholicate of Ani in the early 11th century. He was mentioned in one of the letters of Grigor Magistros addressed to Petros Getadardz (Magistros 1910, 17).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ) – Abbot of Bagnair, mentioned in an inscription dating from 1042 (Sargisian 1864, 178).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ) – Abbot of Horomos who was mentioned in the inscription of 1336 and the commemorative note left on the binding of a Gospel donated to the monastery in 1347 (Sargisian 1864, 159, Matevosyan 1997, 284).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ) – his name has been preserved on the wall of Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church in Ani (CAI, I, 51).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ, son of Gelan) – a scribe at Bagnair who wrote the colophon of Paron in 1308 about the bailout of the Gospel of Bagnair (Mat. MS 1519, XIV, I, 148).
- STEP'ANOS (ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ, son of Kirakos) – a priest from Ani who studied in the school of Arjoarich with his brother Yakob. Following

his death, a Gospel was copied in his memory in the Inner Fortress of Ani in 1298 by the order of the priest Yakob, who then donated it to the Arjoarich Monastery. His mother was Khelok', the other brother: Sargis (who died young), and sister: Mner (XIII, 816-817).

STEP'ANOS CH'AKHALEAN (ՍԵՓԱՆՈՍ ՉԱԽԱԼԵԱՆ) – a bishop and abbot of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in 1825 (Horomos 2015, 53).

STEP'ANOS III (ՍԵՓԱՆՈՍ Գ) – Bishop of Syunik'. According to historian Step'anos Orbelian, at the end of the 12th century, he wrote the history of the fall of the Kingdom of Baghik (Syunik') on the order of Mkh'it'ar Anets'i. Step'anos' work has not been preserved, but it was once used by Step'anos Orbelian («ընթերցաք ի թղթոյն տեառն Ստեփաննոսի՝ Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի, զոր գրեալ էր ի հոյակապ քաղաքն Անի, ի խնդրոյ սուրբ քահանային Մխիթարայ՝ աւագերիցոյ քաղաքին եւ փակակալի սուրբ կաթողիկէին») (Orbelian 1910, 332).

STEP'ANOS III SEWANTS'I (ՍԵՓԱՆՈՍ Գ ՍԵՒԱՆՑԻ) – Catholicos of All Armenians in 969-972. At the church council convened in Ani at the request of Ashot III the Merciful he was elected as the catholicos and his seat was in Ani (Matevosyan 1997, 23-25).

STEP'ANOS TARONETS'I ASOGHIK (ՍԵՓԱՆՈՍ ՏԱՐՈՆԵՑԻ ԱՍՈԴԻԿ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor), historian (late 10th and early 11th century), who had strong connections with the Catholicate of Ani. He wrote his *History* at the order of Catholicos Sargis I Sewants'i and completed it in 1004. His work stands as one of the most important sources for the history of Ani.

SULEM (ՍՈՒԼԵՄ, father of Tigran Honents') – his son is mentioned in the building inscription of St. Gregory the Illuminator Church dating from 1215, where he called him: “*Son of Sulem, from the family of Honents*” («որդի Սմբատաւրենց Սուլեմա յազգէն Հոնենց») (CAI, I, 63).

SULT'AN (ՍՈՒԼԹԱՆ, son of Mahmud) – Shaddadid amir in Ani in 1174-1198. He left a Persian inscription on the wall of the Abul Muamran Mosque and reconstructed the citadel of Lower T'alın, as evidenced by the preserved Arabic inscription (Khachatryan 1987, p. 46).

SURHAW (ՍՈՒԲՀԱԲ) – in 1197, he made a donation to Horomos: “*Gave the meadow of Charpkants' Marg in Arvash*” («նոռւ զՃարպկանց

մարգն յԱրվաշ») and was buried in the monastery (Horomos 2015, 438).

T'ACHER (ԹԱՃԵՐ) – mentioned in the donation inscription of Avagtikin in the Bagnair Monastery from the 20s of the 13th century as the one who was rewarded with one of the three masses (is the mother, sister or the daughter) (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

T'ACHER (ԹԱՃԵՐ, wife of the elder priest Mankik) – her son, the elder priest Garegoyn, made donations to the Bagnair Monastery in 1262. The inscription mentions the names of her parents for each of who a mass was offered (Karapetyan 2013, 34).

T'ADĒOS (ԹԱԴԷՈՍ) – one of the servants of the Catholicate of Ani, who accompanied Catholicos Petros I when he was leaving Ani in 1046. The historian says about him: “*T'adeos, who was a man with an invincible skill of writing*” («Թադէնս՝ որ էր այր անպարտելի գրչութեամբ») (Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

T'ADĒOS (ԹԱԴԷՈՍ, father of Yohanes) – mentioned in his son's inscription in Horomos from 1197, stating that he donated a spring water of a water-mill in Glidzor of Ani. He is also mentioned in an inscription testifying about his donation to Bagnair (Horomos 2015, 438, Karapetyan 2013, 24).

T'AGER (ԹԱԳԵՐ) – a relative of the merchant Alēk's, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair from 1271, stating that she was rewarded with a mass (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

T'AGUHI (ԹԱԳՈՒՀԻ) (King Hovhannes Smbat's wife) – Queen of Armenia, the inscription of 1028 says that she left out a tax in Yereruyk': “*I, pious T'aguhi, daughter of Abas, wife of shahnshah Smbat and mother of Ashot...*” («Ես բարեպաշտ Թագուիս, դուստր Աբասս, Սմբատ շահանշահի կինս եւ Աշոտոյ մարս...»). Although the word “*t'aguhi*” (queen) mentioned in the inscription can also be considered a title, not a personal name, but since her name is not mentioned in any other source, it is more preferable, even if conventionally, to call her by that name. Most likely, she died early, because Hovhannes Smbat married a second time, and according to the Byzantine historian Ioannes Scyilitzes, in 1031 he married the niece of Emperor Romanos (Anets'i 2014, 184, 393, CAI, X, 18).

T'AGUHI (ԹԱԳՈՒՀԻ, Sharap'shah's wife) – made a donation to Bagnair in 1234, including a shop on Sarach Street of Ani (the street of the

Saddlers), as well as a meadow, called Chlut («եսու խաչ մեծածախս եւ Աւետարան, Սառան փողոցին կուղպակ ի վեր, Շիրակուանին մարգն, որ Ճրուտ կոչի»): He was rewarded with six days of masses, five for him and one for Mamuz (Karapetyan 2013, 30).

T'AIK T'AGUHI (ԹԱԻԿ ԹԱԳՈՒՀԻ, Sharap'shah's daughter) – in the 1230s, she donated two of her shops on the street of the Farriers to the Bagnair Monastery («Ես Թաիկ Թագոհի դուստր Շարափշահի ետու երկու կուղպակ յիմ կուղպականոյն, որ ի Նալպնոնցին») and was rewarded with eight days of masses. In 1262, she donated her newly planted garden to the monastery and was rewarded with ten days of masses, eight for her and two for Grigor. In the inscription left at Horomos in 1269, she states that she gave to the monastery the grindstone of Abēl, at the Duin Gate, which her son Hazrpēk redeemed from pawn from Garēgoyn: “*I, T'aik T'aguhi, daughter of Sharapshah, gave to this monastery of Horomos the grindstone of Abēl, at the Duin Gate, which my son Hazrpēk redeemed from pawn from Garēgoyn, by (paying) 700 **spitak**. In addition, he made repairs for 800 **spitak**, which amounted 1500 **spitak***” («Ես՝ Թաիկ Թագոհի, դուստր՝ Շարափշահին ետու ի Հոռոմոսի վանքս զԱբելի ակն, որ ի Դվնա դռանն, զոր իմ որդին Հազրպէկն ի Գարէգոյնէն գրավկնեց ԷՃ (700) սպիտակ, ԸՃ (800) սպ[իտակ] ի վերա խարն արար, որ եղաւ ՌՇ (1500) սպ[իտակ]»): In exchange, the mother and son were rewarded with a mass each. T'aik's mother's name is T'aguhi. In the colophon of Bagnair Gospel of 1232, Khoras, the commissioner of the manuscript, mentions that T'aik T'aguhi was the wife of his first son Sasna who prematurely deceased. On her origin he states: “*She derives from the family of the Armenian kings*” («որ է գարմ եւ շառաւել թագաւորացն Հայոց») (Karapetyan 2013, 30-31, Horomos 2015, 468, XIII, 179).

T'AMAM (ԹԱՄԱՄ) – a relative of the merchant Alēk's, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair from 1271 and was rewarded with a mass (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

T'ANK AZIZ (ԹԱՆԿ ԱԶԻԶ, daughter of Shahpatin) – in 1342, her brother, the elder priest Kirakos commissioned a *Chashots'* (Lectionary) in Ani (XIV, 353).

T'ANKIK (ԹԱՆԿԻԿ) – mentioned in the 13th-century inscription of the Arjoarich Monastery, as one of the donors, for each of who a mass was offered (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

T'AT'UL (ԹԱԹՈՒԼ, son of the elder priest Simeon) – he and his father made a donation to the Bagnair Monastery in the 13th century (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

T'AYIK (ԹԱՅԻԿ, Asil's daughter) – her father, who is mentioned as “...leader and founder of the city of Ani, a just and fair man of the whole city” («...առաջնորդ և հիմն քաղաքիս Անոյ, իրաւարար և արդարադատ ամենայն քաղաքին»), together with his wife Ėruz Khat'un, donated a Gospel to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Ani in 1357. Her brothers were Besuch, Khut'lubugha, sister: Ėslun (Matevosyan 1997, 312, 364-365).

T'ENI (ԹԵՆԻ, or St'eni, wife of Mat'ė) – in 1310, she and her husband, as well as the latter's brother Markos, repaired the water supply of the Saint Gregory the Illuminator Monastery (Tigran Honents'), which had been entrusted to them by Shahنشah II Zak'arian (CAI, I, 64).

T'ERAN (ԹԵՐԱՆ) – in 1246, with Vart'er's help, he purchased a 12th-century *Tonakan* (Book of Feasts) and donated it to St. Gregory Church in Ani. The colophon states that the manuscript should be taken to St. Sargis Church on the day of a mass offered for Vart'er (XIII, 237).

T'OROS (ԹՈՐՈՍ) – a scribe from Ani, copied a Gospel in 1379 under the auspices of St. Gevorg Church (only the colophon has been preserved) (Matevosyan 1997, 312).

TALIT'IA TIKIN (ՏԱԼԻԹԻԱ ՏԻԿԻՆ) – a relative of the priest Horomeants' Yohanēs, whom the latter mentioned in the 1215 donation inscription of Bagnair, stating that a mass was offered for him (Karapetyan 2013, 22).

TĖTETS' (ԹԷՏԵՅ) – a relative of the merchant Alėk's, mentioned in the donation inscription of Bagnair from 1271 and was rewarded with a mass (Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).

TGHATIKIN (ՏԴԱՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Brnavor) – in 1236, he, along with his wife Tghatikin, commissioned the renowned scribe and miniaturist of the Horomos Monastery, Ignatios, to copy and illustrate a Gospel. In this Gospel, their portraits were included as commissioners. Since they were childless, they donated the manuscript to the Khts'konk' Monastery as their “spiritual child.” This information is found both in

the colophon of the manuscript, which also contains details about the Mongol capture of Ani in that year, and in an inscription from Khts'konk' that also references their donation of a garden in Mren (New Julfa, MS 36, XIII, 193-195, Sargisian 1864, 211).

TIGRAN HONENTS' (ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ՀՈՆԵՆՏԻ, son of Smbatorents' Sulem) – one of the renowned wealthy men of Ani in the early 13th century. In the 1215 building inscription of St. Gregory the Illuminator Church of Ani he called himself: “*son of Smbatorents' Sulem from the Honents' family.*” A number of inscriptions from Ani, Horomos, and Khts'konk' testify that Tigran Honents' became rich with a trade and other activities. A donation inscription of probably his granddaughter Mamk'an dating from 1280 has been preserved in Horomos. In it she mentioned her father and grandfather: “*I, Mamk'an, daughter of Abaslaw and granddaughter of Tigran...*” («Ես Մամքան դուստր՝ Աբասլաւին, թոռն Տիգրանայ...») (CAI, I, 34, 63, 69, Horomos 2015, 440, 469).

TIKIN (ՏԻԿԻՆ) – mentioned in the donation inscription of the Arjoarich Monastery left by Aryuts and his wife Shushik in the 13th century. She was their relative and received a mass (Sargisian 1864, 191).

TIKIN (ՏԻԿԻՆ) – one of the commissioners, along with Aveteats' and Ark'a, for the Gospel manuscript copied and illustrated by the painter Khach'atour in 1298 in Ani. This Gospel was later donated to the Arjoarich Monastery. In return for their contributions, each of them was rewarded with a mass (XIII, 181).

TIKIN (ՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Juhal Karëts'i) – his husband made a donation to the Cathedral of Ani in 1235 (CAI, I, 35-36).

TIKIN (ՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Khach'atour) – in the 1220s, her husband donated a land to Bagnair and was rewarded with two masses: one for him and the other for his wife (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

TIKIN (ՏԻԿԻՆ, wife of Vardachizh Vardeants') – in 1218, her husband made a donation to the Horomos Monastery from his possessions in Ani and was rewarded with four days of masses: two for him and two for his wife (Horomos 2015, 443).

TIKNATS' (ՏԻԿՆԱՏԻ) – one of the donors of the Arjoarich Monastery in the 13th century. The inscription reads that “*they made donations*” («ընծայաբերք եղեն»), for which each of them was rewarded with a mass (K'alant'ar 2007, 143).

TIKNATS' (ՏԻԿՆԱՅ, wife of the priest Grigor Anets'i) – mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript received by his husband in 1326 in Sultania.

Her sons were Mkh'it'ar, Paron, and priest Ep'rem (XIV, I, 12).

TIKNATS'TIKIN (ՏԻԿՆԱՅՏԻԿԻՆ, daughter of Grigor (Apirat) Magistros) – wife of the renowned prince of Ani, Vest Sargis. She mentioned her father and husband in the 1042 inscription of Tekor («ՆՂԱ (1042) թվ. յանուն Ա(ստուծո)յ եւ Տիկ(ն)ացոյիկին, դուստր Քրգորոյ Մագիստրոսին եւ ամուսին Սարգսի արեւելից վէստիս, թողեալ եմ գՏեկորոյ զպաշղիստս, շահանշահի արեւշատոյթյան եւ իմ ծնողացս հոգոյն...»): Her brothers were Apljahap and Vasak (Sargisian 1864, 207, Matevosyan 2015, 9-10, 28).

TIMOT' (ՏԻՄՈԹ) – in 1299, he left a commemorative inscription in Horomos (Horomos 2015, 483).

TIRAMAYR (ՏԻՐԱՄԱՅՐ, wife of the priest Horomeants' Kostandin) – mentioned in the 1215 donation inscription of Bagnair left by his son, priest Yohanēs: "...two masses were offered for Kostand... and two for Tiramayr..." («...հասուցին... պատարագ... Բ (2) Կոստանդի, Բ (2) Տիրամայրն... »). It is possible that the mention is not a personal name but is used to indicate the mother of the priest (Karapetyan 2013, 22).

TIRANTS' (ՏԻՐԱՆՅ, wife of the elder priest Poghos) – her husband donated his flower garden and the winepress in Ashnak to the Bagnair Monastery in the early 13th century. In exchange, he was rewarded with ten days of masses: two of which were offered for his wife (Karapetyan 2013, 23).

TIRANUN (ՏԻՐԱՆՈՒՆ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) at the Catholicate of Ani in the early 11th century. Matt'eos Urhayets'i called him: "*Wise Tiranun Kapanets'i*" (Lastiverts'i 1963, 26, Urhayets'i 1991, 114).

TIRATS'U (ՏԻՐԱՅՈՒ) – a monk at the Bekhents' Monastery of Ani, as well as a scribe and painter. In the early 13th century, he copied a Gospel (Mat. MS 5554, XIII, 72).

TIRATUR (ՏԻՐԱՏՈՒՐ) – he left a commemorative inscription on the wall of the northeastern vestry of the Church of Zak'aré in Nerk'in Berd of Ani: "*Remember me, a sinful Tiratur... for the love of God*" («գՏիրատուր մեղուցեալս յիշեա ...ի քահանայ վ(ա)ս(ն) Ա(ստուծո)յ սէրոյն») (Arsen Harutyunyan deciphered the inscription according to Hayk Kyureghyan's photo, it is published for the first time).

TRDAT (ՏՐԴԱՏ) – the famous architect of Ani, who, at the end of the 10th century, constructed the great walls of Ani and the Kat’oghiké Church by the order of Smbat II Bagratuni. This is reported by the eyewitness historian Step’anos Taronets’i Asoghik, also noting that he had previously built the church of the Catholicate of Argina («Սմբատ... արկանէ հիմն եւ մեծաշէն եկեղեցւոյն ի նոյն քաղաքին Անույ ի ձեռն նարտարապետին Տրդատայ, որ զկաթողիկոսարանին եկեղեցին շինեաց յԱրգինայ»). The same historian reports that the restoration of Hagia Sophia dome (Constantinople), which was damaged due to an earthquake, was also done by Trdat. In an addition made in the historian’s work, it is mentioned that Trdat was also the architect of the Zvart’nots’-type Surb Grigor (Gagkashen) Church of Ani. Furthermore, on the upper part of the southern entrance of the Church of the Redeemer of Ani, the inscription “Trdat” has been preserved, likely referring to the architect (Asoghik 1885, 187, 251, CAI, I, 43).

TRDAT (ՏՐԴԱՏ, son of the priest Sost’enes) – in 1193, a priest from Ani, along with his wife Khushush, undertook the restoration of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani. They also constructed a *zhamatun* and made numerous donations, including four gardens in Aruch and various church utensils. In the inscription of this church, which was built by Ablgharib Pahlavuni, Trdat and his wife refer to it as “*our purchased homeland, Surb P’rkich’ (Church of the Redeemer)*” («զմեր զանձազին հայրենիքս՝ զՍուրբ Փրկիչս»), signifying that they had acquired it and considered themselves its owners. Trdat also mentions his grandfather, Gēorg, who served as the archpriest of Aruch. At the end of the inscription, he mentions Sargsik, the son of Soghomon, who was likely a relative (two masses were offered for him). As a reward for their contributions, Trdat and Khushush were granted twenty days of masses per year (CAI, I, 47).

TUGHT (ՏՈՒԴՏ) – mentioned in the 1214 inscription of the Horomos Monastery, left by Khut’lukhat’un, as a recipient of masses. However, due to the damage to the preceding part of the inscription, the nature of their relationship remains unknown (Horomos 2015, 470).

UK‘AN K‘ARIMADIN (ՈՒԶԱՆ ԶԱՐԻՄԱԴԻՆ, son of Sargis) – he was first mentioned in the 1252 inscription at the Surb Hakob Monastery (Metsiranits’) of Arts‘akh, alongside his grandfather and brothers

Papk'an and Mech'é (who had passed away by that time). Later, he relocated to Ani. His mother's name was Amentikin (or Sit'). His wife's name was Dapta Khat'un (daughter of Sargis Ark'auni). Together with his brother, he erected a belfry in Ani, within the so-called "*K'arimadin*" Church. The inscription confirming this is undated. In 1271, they purchased and restored Karmir Vank' or the Red Monastery on the Akhuryan river's banks, not far from the city («Եւ՝ Ուրան Քարիմադինս եւ եղբայր իմ Պապքան Վախրադինս, որդիք Սարգսի, թոռն Հոգոյն եւ հարսն իմ Դապտայ Խաթունս զնեցաք զվանքս իւր ամենայն սահմանաւքս, հողով եւ ջրով, եւ շինեցաք ի կորոյ եւ զարդարեցաք սպասիւք եւ զրենաւք...»): In 1274, they acquired half of the Horomos Monastery. Uk'an K'arimadin, as one of the patrons of the city (together with Sahip Divan and Sahmadin), was also mentioned in the 1269 inscription of the Church of the Holy Apostles on exempting the city's elders from tax (CAI, V, 15, CAI, I, 24, 65, Horomos 2015, 476, Matevosyan 2021, 136-142).

VACH'É (ՎԱՉԷ, son of Sargis) – a renowned prince from the Vachutian dynasty. In 1229, he and his wife Mamakhat'un built a *nshkharatun* (a place for making wafers) in the Horomos Monastery (Horomos 2015, 475).

VAHAN (ՎԱՀԱՆ) – Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in the inscription of 1286. He made a donation to the monastery in memory of his brother Grigor (Horomos 2015, 476-477).

VAHRAM (Varham) (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ (Վաքրհամ) – a *hejub* (supervisor), mentioned in the undated inscription of his daughter Khat'un from Horomos. He built the *zhamatun* of the monastery of Harich before 1219. His wife was T'amar, sons: Ishkhan and Sargis (Horomos 2015, 474, CAI, X, 48, XIII, 114).

VAHRAM (Varham) (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ, Վաքրհամ, father of Khach'enek Anets'i) – his son was an architect. In the 13th century, he built a church and erected a walled cross-stone in Hats' village of Arts'akh (CAI, V, 154, 156).

VAHRAM (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ) – Amir of Ani, mentioned in an undated inscription of one of the wall towers of Ani from the early 13th century (before 1236), as well as in the Armenian text at the end of the Georgian inscription left by Patriarch Etiphanos of the "*Georgian church*"

dating from 1218, stating that the latter and Bishop Grigor I of Ani confirm that it to be a catholicos' decree («...էս Վահրամ ամիրայ քաղաքիս վկայենք, որ կաթողիկոսին հրամանք է գ(այս)») (CAI, I, 6, 61).

VAHRAM (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ, brother of Juhal Karëts'i) – his brother made a donation in 1235 to the Cathedral of Ani (CAI, I, 35-36).

VAHRAM (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ, son of Grigor I Magistros) – brother of Bishop Sargis II of Ani and Abułamr, his mother was Mamk'an (second half of the 13th century). He was buried in Marmashen. The inscription left by his brothers reads: "*I, Abugham and my brother Fr. Sargis gave...*" («Ես Աբուղամր եւ եղբայր իմ Տ(է)ր Սարգիս տուաք...»). The continuation is preserved poorly, however, it is clear that they mention about making a donation in memory of their brother: "*To our brother Prince Varham...*" («(եղբաւր մե)րոյ Վարիսամ իշխանին՝ կիսաւրեայ ժամանակի փոխեցաւ...») (CAI, X, 103).

VAHRAM (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ, son of Mkh'it'ar Ch'ëch'kants') – in 1233, he donated some of his possessions in Ani to the Bagnair Monastery: "*I gave a shop I had bought on Poghots'kter Street, which is above Toros' shop and a house above which I built a shop*" («Ետու զիմ զանձագին կուղպակն, ի Փողոցկտերն, որ ի Թորոսոնց կուղպակին վերա է, եւ զայն տունն, որ Սեւքթենց հմնակից է, եւ ի վերայն կուղպակն եմ շինած»). In the inscription he mentioned not only his father but also his grandfather, Aweneats' Ch'ëch'kants', his wife P'arants'i and his daughter Mamk'an (Karapetyan 2013, 33).

VAHRAM AT'ABEK ZAK'ARIAN (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ ԱԹԱԲԵԿ ԶԱԶԱՐՅԱՆ, Varham, son of Ivané) – in 1336, he made donations to the Horomos Monastery and in 1342, he repaired the dome of the Church of the Redeemer in Ani with the help of Asil (CAI, I, 44, Horomos 2015, 415).

VAHRAM PAHLAVUNI (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ, son of the prince Grigor) – prince of princes, a *sparapet* (military leader), one of the main princes under the reign of the kings Gagik I, Hovhannes Smbat and Gagik II. He played a decisive role in the coronation of the latter and in efforts to resist Byzantine aggression. Leading the Armenian army, he successfully repelled the Byzantine forces at the walls of Ani. However, after Gagik II was trapped in Constantinople and the kingdom fell, he continued to lead the Armenian troops. In the autumn

of 1045, he participated in the unsuccessful invasion against the amir of Dvin led by the Byzantine *katapan* of Ani and was killed with his elder son Grigor near Dvin. He was buried in the Marmashen Monastery, the building inscription of which from 1029 states that he held the Byzantine title of “*Anthypatos*” («անթիպատս պատրիկ») (CAI, X, 94).

VAHRAM PATRIK (ՎԱՀՐԱՄ ՊԱՏՐԻԿ) – one of the builders of the wall towers (1231) of Ani (CAI, I, 5).

VANAKAN (ՎԱՆԱԿԱՆ) – a monk at the Bekhents’ Monastery in Ani, where he bound a Gospel in the early 13th century (XIII, 73).

VARD (ՎԱՐԴ, brother of Yakovbos) – he, along with his brother, is mentioned in the colophon of the Haghbat Gospel, which was illustrated in the Bekhents’ Monastery in 1211 (XIII, 69).

VARD (ՎԱՐԴ, father of Khach’eres) – in the early 13th century, his son donated his patrimonial houses near the “*Gaght Gate*” of Ani to the Bagnair Monastery (Karapetyan 2013, 29).

VARD (ՎԱՐԴ, husband of Chokh) – he, together with his wife, donated to Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents’) Church forty ducats and each of them was rewarded with three hours of a mass. This is testified by an undated inscription (CAI, I, 50).

VARD (ՎԱՐԴ, son of Shahik) – in 1050, he and his father donated their patrimonial house with its land to the Church of the Redeemer in Ani (CAI, I, 43).

VARDACHIZH VARDEANTS’ (ՎԱՐԴԱՃԻԺ ՎԱՐԴԵԱՆՑ) – in 1218, he made a donation to the Horomos Monastery: “*I, Vardachizh Vardeants’, took refuge in this holy congregation (and) I gave the shop which I had bought, with a cellar below, in Ani, in the upper part of the (main) street, close enough to Tigran’s (house)*” («ես՝ Վարդաճիժ Վարդեանց, ապաւինեցա ի սուրբ ուխտս, ետու զիմ զանձագին կուղպակն եւ ի ներքեւն՝ տակառք, ի յԱնի՝ ի Վերի փողոցին, քանեկից է Տիգրանս»): He was rewarded with four days of masses: two for him and two for his consort, Tikin (Horomos 2015, 443).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in the colophons written by his younger brother Yovannēs in 1181 and 1187 (he was the latter’s teacher), as well as in the colophon of a manuscript that he bound in 1199 (V-XII, 233, 251).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ) – Abbot of the Arjoarich Monastery, mentioned in the undated donation inscription of Aryuts and his wife Shushik (Sargisian 1864, 191).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ) – Bishop of Mren, who in 1307 participated in the church council held in Sis as the “*bishop of Ani*.” A few years prior, in 1299, he took a manuscript to the University of Gladzor and gave it to Esai Nch‘ets‘i at the request of Bishop Kostandin of Caesarea. Vardan, as the local bishop, was also mentioned in the 1320 inscription of Mren (XIII, 848).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ, husband of Aghbrats‘i) – he, together with his wife, made a donation to the Horomos Monastery and received a burial place in the monastery (Horomos 2015, 480).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ, son of the fur tailor K‘ot‘it‘) – in the early 13th century, his father and mother Shahmam made a donation to the Horomos Monastery. His brother’s name was Saré (Horomos 2015, 428).

VARDAN (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ, son of Umek) – in 1330, he left a commemorative inscription in the suburbs of the city, on the wall of the cemetery of today’s Ani village, as well as on the wall of the Cathedral of Ani in 1339: “*I am a servant of Kat‘oghiké*” («Կաթողիկէին ծառայ եմ») (CAI, I, 39, 67).

VARDAN ANETS‘I (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ ԱՆԵՏԻ) – a vardapet (church doctor) and poet. His only preserved work was the ode titled *Anets‘i Vardan vardapeti ergel i kars* (most likely 10th-11th century) (Matevosyan 1997, 222).

VARDAN ODZNETS‘I (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ ՕԶՆԵՏԻ) – a vardapet, who made significant construction works in Horomos in 1853 (Horomos 2015, 411).

VARDAN SANAHNETS‘I (ՎԱՐԴԱՆ ՍԱՆԱՀՆԵՏԻ) – a servant at the Catholicate of Ani in the early 11th century (Urhayets‘i 1991, 114).

VARDARYUTS (ՎԱՐԴԱՌՈՅԾ) – in the mid-13th century, he, together with Arshak and Khoren, donated the “*Vardenats‘ nork*” garden to the Bagnair Monastery and were rewarded with four days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 24).

VARDĒTIKIN (ՎԱՐԴԷՏԻԿԻՆ, Ghazar’s wife) – he was mentioned by his son, the merchant Alēk’s, who donated his shop located on Tszakak Street in Ani to Horomos in 1266. He mentioned his mother

- in the 1271 donation inscription of Bagnair (Horomos 2015, 467, Basmadjian 1931, 179-180).
- VARDIK (ՎԱՐԴԻԿ) – his name has been survived on the wall of Surb Grigor Church (Church of Khach‘ut or Bakhtaghek) in Ani (CAI, I, 60).
- VARHAM (ՎԱՐՀԱՄ) – in the 13th century, he donated a shop in Ani to Horomos: “*Varham gave a stall in the street of the Blacksmiths’, close to Surb Grigor*” («Վարհամ ետ կուղպակ ի Դարբն փողոցին, մասն ի Սուրբ Գրիգորն»)). Two masses were offered in his name (Horomos 2015, 457).
- VARHAMSHAH (ՎԱՐՀԱՄՇԱՀ, son of Mamukst‘i) – in 1266, his mother made a donation to their burial house in Horomos, for which she was rewarded with masses and one of them was offered for his son Varhamshah (Horomos 2015, 466).
- VART‘ER (ՎԱՐԹԵՐ) – in 1246, he supported T‘earan from Ani to buy a *Tonakan* (Book of Feasts). The latter donated the manuscript to Surb Grigor Church. The colophon states that every year the manuscript should be taken to Surb Sargis Church on the day when a mass is offered for Vart‘er (XIII, 237).
- VASAK (ՎԱՍԱԿ, son of Grigor Apirat Magistros) – after his father’s death (1021) in Ani, King Hovhannes Smbat became the guardian of him, his brother (Apljahap) and sister (Tiknats‘ikin). His wife was the daughter of Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (her name is unknown). His family occupied a high position in Ani during the time of the Shaddadids, one of his sons, Grigor, served with the Armenian army to amir Manuch‘é. The other son, Barsegh (Barsegh I Anets‘i) was ordained a Catholicos in Haghbat in 1081 and came to Ani, he was welcomed by his father and brothers Hasan, Grigor and Apljahap («Եւ ելեալ զայր Բարսեղ կաթողիկոսն Հայոց ի թագաւորաբնակ քաղաքն Անի. և ահա զայր Վասակ՝ հայրն Տէր Բարսեղի և եղբարք նորա՝ Հասան և Գրիգոր և Ապլշահապ») (Urhayets‘i 1991, 238).
- VASIL (ՎԱՍԻԼ) – an innkeeper in Ani, mentioned in Grigor Tsaghkan’s inscription of 1042. The latter donated his shops which were in front of Vasil’s inn to the Bagnair Monastery “*for the longevity of Vasil and his sons*” («վասն Վասլին արելշատութեան եւ իւր որդեացն»)). He was also rewarded with masses for him and his brother (Karapetyan 2013, 20).

VASIL (ՎԱՍԻԼ) – mentioned in the donation inscription of Prince Abukhanm stating that he was rewarded with four days of masses (CAI, I, 34).

VEST SARGIS (ՎԵՍ ՍԱՐԳԻՍ, husband of Tiknats'tikin) – an 11th-century prominent prince from Syunik' in Ani, who held several Byzantine titles (Anthypatos, vestarch, and duke), was known for his pro-Byzantine stance, which became evident during the recent events in the Kingdom of Ani. At the time of Smbat's death in 1041, he served as the guardian of the king and the supervisor of the state treasury. He had conflicts with Gagik II, but they later reconciled. In 1024, he commissioned the construction of Surb Sargis Church at the Khts'konk' Monastery, and during the same period, he fortified the Tsarak'ar Monastery (Maghasberd), converting it into a fortress. He mentioned his father and brothers in the 1033 inscription of Khts'konk' («...կամ եղև եղբարց, որոցս Եզդու՝ Ապլիասնա եւ Խատապա...») (Anets'i 2014, 183, Sargisian 1864, 209).

VORDEAK (ՈՐԴԵԱԿ, son of Davit') – an elder priest from Koghb, who in 1289 donated to the Arjoarich Monastery his patrimonial garden in Koghb, called “*Paravents*” («Պատալենց»). In exchange, he was rewarded with eight days of masses on the Feast of the Annunciation for him and his relatives («Որդեկ երեց Կողբացի, որդի Դավթի, թոռն Պատալ իրիցոյս... ետու... զիմ հայրենի այգին, որ ի Կողբ է, որ Պատալենց կոչի եւ զներքն տունն, որ ես շինե(ա)լ եմ, եւ փոխարէն հատուցին մեզ հայր Անդրէաս եւ այլ սպասաւորք յամենայն ամի պատարագ ի տաւնի Աւ[ետ]ե[ա]յ Ա(ստուած)ածնին. Ը (8) աւր՝ Բ (2) ի[մ հաւրն...], Ա (1) իմ մաւրն Թագոհէ, Ա (1) կենակցի իմ՝ Մամսթէ, Բ (2) ազաց իմ յորոսնու, Բ (2) ինձ՝ Որդեկիս») (K'alant'ar 2007, 144).

VORSAIT OSHAKANTS'I (ՈՐՍԱԻՏ ՕՇԱԿԱՆՑԻ) – a shop owner in Ani in the early 11th century. Prince Vahram bought his shop and donated it to Surb Grigor (Abulamrenc') Church (CAI, I, 32).

VSTAMB (ՎՍԱՄԲ, son of Yohanis) – he made a donation to Horomos in the 13th century and was rewarded with masses: “...gave half of *Seghank*, the garden of *Jojkajur*. I ask to offer four masses to Christ” («ետու պարտիզի Ջոջկաջրին զՍեղանուցն կէսն, խնդրեմ պատարագել զՔրիստոս Դ (4) ժամ») (Horomos 2015, 439).

YAKOB (ՅԱԿՈԲ, father of the scribe Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i) – a priest from Ani who was mentioned in the colophons of 1334 and 1338 of his son, Mkh‘it‘ar Anets‘i. His wife’s name was Seda and they had two sons who were priests: Grigor and Gēorg, and a daughter: Jalal (XIV, II, 201, 327).

YAKOB (ՅԱԿՈԲ, son of Kirakos) – a priest from Ani, his mother’s name was Khelok‘, the brothers were the priest Step‘anos and Sargis (prematurely deceased), sister: Mner. From childhood, he studied with his brother Step‘anos at the school of Arjoarch and after the latter’s death, he commissioned a Gospel in his memory in 1298 at Nerk‘in Berd of Ani and donated it to the Arjoarch Monastery (XIII, 816-817).

YAKOVBOS (ՅԱԿՈՎԲՈՍ, Vard’s brother) – mentioned together with his brother in the colophon of Haghbat Gospel copied in 1211 at the Bekhents‘ Monastery in Ani (XIII, 69).

YESU (ՅԵՍՈՒ) – a scribe whose name is mentioned in two inscriptions of Ani, one of which was left by Aghbugha Zak‘arian in 1301 (CAI, I, 21, 28).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ) – an 11th-century *vardapet*, whose name has been preserved inside the window frame of the western wall of Surb Gevorg Church of the Horomos Monastery («Ես՝ Յաւհանէս վարդապետ էկեղեցոյս») (Matevosyan, Etchmiadzin 2015).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ) – he wrote the colophon of Haghbat Gospel commissioned by Sahak Anets‘i in 1211 in Ani or Arjoarich (XIII, 72).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ) – in the 13th century, he donated to the Arjoarich Monastery a house in Ani and was rewarded with three days of masses: two for him and one for his father (Sargisian 1864, 191-192).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ, father of Dawit‘ and grandfather of Roben) – in 1286, his grandson donated his purchased oil mill to the Cathedral of Ani. The inscription reads: “*I, Ėroben... son of Dawit‘ and grandson of Yohan*” («Ես Էրոբեն...որդի Դաւթի եւ թոռն Յոհանա») (CAI, I, 36).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ, father of Vstamb) – his son made a donation to the Horomos Monastery in the 13th century (Horomos 2015, 439).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ, son of Arak‘el) – in the 13th century, he gave to the Bagnair Monastery the half of his grindstone of the mill in Glijor called “*Hatorhnik*” («Հատորհնիկ») («Ետու զիմ կէս ակն ջաղացն

ի Գլիձորին, որ կոչի Հասարհնիկ»)). He was rewarded with two days of masses (Karapetyan 2013, 25).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ, son of Tadēos) – in 1197, he made a donation to the Horomos Monastery: “*I gave the middle grindstone of the mill in Glijor*” («եսու զջաղացն ի Գլիձորին՝ զմիջի ակն»), and was buried in this monastery. Most likely, earlier he gave to the Bagnair Monastery the other part of his grindstone of the mill in Glijor («...եսու զիմ ջաղացն, որ ի Գլիձորին՝ զձախ աղացն»). He was rewarded with five days of masses (Horomos 2015, 438, Karapetyan 2013, 24).

YOHANĒS (ՅՈՀԱՆԷՍ, son of the priest Kostandin from Horomos) – a rich priest, who made huge donations to the Arjoarich Monastery in 1213 and to the Bagnair Monastery in 1215. Both times he was rewarded with forty days of masses for him and his family members (twenty masses were offered for him). His wife was Sisvard, children: Khach‘eres, Khots‘adegh, Mikhayil, and Kata (Sargisian 1864, 183, 190, Karapetyan 2013, 22).

YOHANNĒS ARK‘AUN (ՅՈՀԱՆՆԷՍ ԱՐԲԱՈՒՆ, son of Aprik) – in 1253, he and his wife made donations to Horomos, including two houses in Ani: “*I, Yohannēs Ark‘aun, son of Aprik, and my spouse Muluk‘a, became affiliated to Surb-Yovanēs, in the monastery of Horomos, and we gave 2 houses I had bought, which are called (houses) of the Akurank‘. I also gave every year, for as long as I am alive, 5 **dahekan**s as a price for oil, and the first year, I gave 40 bushels of wheat for the seed*” («ես՝ Յոհաննես Արքաուն որդի Ապրկան եւ ամուսին իմ Մուլուքան միաբանեցաք Հոռոմոսի վանաց Սուրբ Յովանիսի եւ տվաք Բ (2) տուն իմ զանձագին, որ Ակուրնաց կոչի եւ այլ տվի յամեն տարի որչափ կենդանի եմ Ե (5) դահեկան ձիթագին եւ առաջի տարին տվի Խ (40) կապիճ ցորեն սերմա»). In exchange, he was rewarded with ten days of masses: three for his father, another three for his mother St‘erhi, two for him and two for Smbat who was most likely his brother. The inscription also states that after his leaving this world, five days of masses will be offered for him, Ēhanēs, and five for his spouse Muluk‘a (Horomos 2015, 464).

YOVAN (ՅՈՎԱՆ, son of Ch‘ortvanik) – he erected a cross-stone near St. Gregory the Illuminator Church (Tigran Honents‘) of Ani. The inscription is undated (Basmadjian 1931, 118).

- YOVANĒS (MAGISTROSENTS՝) ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ (ՄԱԳԻՍՏՐՈՍԵՆՑ) – Abbot of the Arjoarich Monastery, mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned in 1298 by Hakob Anets՝i (XIII, 818).
- YOVANĒS (Yohanēs) (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ) (Յոհաննէս) – one of the builders of the wall towers of Ani in 1231 (CAI, I, 5).
- YOVANĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ) – mentioned on the fragment of inscription found in Ani (CAI, I, 73).
- YOVANĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ) – mentioned on the fragment of inscription found in Ani (CAI, I, 76).
- YOVANĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ, father of Horom Tikin) – in 1217, his daughter repaired Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Ani (CAI, I, 66).
- YOVANĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ, father of Shapadin) – in 1348, his son made a donation to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Ani (CAI, I, 29).
- YOVANĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆԷՍ, son of Sargis) – in 1307, he donated 80 *dahekans* to Kat՝oghiké Church of Havuts՝ T՝ar and was rewarded with three days of masses every year on Easter. The inscription reads: “*I, Yovanēs Anets՝i, son of Sargis, monk of this Holy congregation...*” («Ես Յովաննէս Անեցի, որդի Սարգսի միաբան Սուրբ ուխտիս...») (Matevosyan 2012, 56).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – a monk at the Horomos Monastery, a skilled scribe and painter, who was mentioned in the colophons of 1181, 1187, and 1199. He considered Vardan, his elder brother, his teacher. He also had a secular brother, named Grigor (V-XII, 232-233, 251).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor), the founder and first Abbot of the Horomos Monastery (30-40s of the 10th century) (Asoghik 1885, 174).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – Abbot of the Horomos Monastery, mentioned in the inscription of King Yovhannēs Smbat dating from 1038 (Sargisian 1864, 146).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – an elder priest, mentioned in the colophon of 1401 under the nickname “*Anets՝i*,” i.e. from Ani (XV, III, 306).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – he was the steward of the Horomos Monastery, whose tombstone with an inscription dating from 1180 was found near Surb Hovhannes Church of the monastery (Horomos 2015, 411).
- YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – he was the student of Yovhannēs Sarkavag at the school of Ani (12th century) and the classmate of Samvel

Anets'i. The latter mentioned him in the additions of his *Chronicle* (Anets'i 2014, 209).

YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – his name has survived on the wall of Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani (CAI, I, 9).

YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ) – one of the governors of Ani in the early 14th century whose name is mentioned in the inscription on the Avag Gate of Ani («ի տերութեան քաղաքիս աստուածասէր պարոնացն Գրիգոր աղին եւ Յովաննիսի»), which provides information on the rebuilding of the city and the relief of taxes (CAI, I, 1).

YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ, son of Lusot) – he erected a cross-stone in Ani for his father (CAI, I, 69).

YOVANNĒS (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ, son of Soghomon) – in 1054, he donated 20 *dahekans* to Surb Astvatsatsin (Khambushents') Church and was rewarded with two days of masses. The inscription also mentions his wife Zahra (CAI, I, 51).

YOVANNĒS I (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ Ա, son of Abułamr) – Bishop of Ani, in the inscriptions and colophons dating from 1298-1319 he is mentioned with laudatory words (XIV, I, 235, Matevosyan 1997, 108).

YOVANNĒS II VOSKEP'ORIK (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ Բ ՈՍԿԵՓՈՐԻԿ) – Bishop of Ani, a scribe, who is mentioned in a number of colophons dating from the late 14th and early 15th centuries (before 1443). He copied manuscripts in Ani, then in Sanahin and T'mok' or T'mkaberd, T'mogvi (Mat'evosyan 1997, 109, 312-319).

YOVANNĒS SARKAWAG (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ ՍԱՐԿԱՎԱԳ) – a prominent *vardapet* (church doctor), theologian, chronicler, the head teacher of the *vardapetaran* (school) of Ani. He headed the school of Ani since the 80s of the 12th century, which was most likely sponsored by Catholicos Barsegh I Anets'i. Many of his students were from Ani, among who was the renowned Samvel Anets'i. In 1124, he served at the Cathedral of Ani for a short period of time. He died in 1129 and was buried in Haghat (Matevosyan 1997, 53-54).

YOVANNĒS SHAMBETS'I (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ ՇԱՍԲԵՏԻ) – a *vardapet* (church doctor) who in 1786 repaired the Horomos Monastery (Mkh'it'ariants' 1870, 49).

YOVANNĒS SMBAT (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԷՍ ՍՄԲԱՏ, son of King Gagik I) – King of Armenia between 1017 and 1041. At the very beginning of the kingdom, he was at variance with his brother, Ashot IV, due to the

latter's ambitions to seize the throne, which led to the division of the kingdom. At the same time, under the pressure of the Byzantines, in 1022, the kingdom was bequeathed to the Byzantine Empire, after which he received the title of magister. His son Ashot the Iron died at a young age. According to an inscription of 1028 from Yereruyk', his first wife was T'aguhi, after whose death he married a second time, according to the Byzantine author John Skylitzes, marrying the niece of Emperor Romanos in 1031. In 1038, he built the large Surb Hovhannes Church and the *gavit'* (narthex) in the Horomos Monastery, the burial place of the Bagratunis (it has two large inscriptions), where he was buried (Horomos 2015, 400-401, 417, Anets'i 2014, 184, 393, CAI, X, 18).

YOVANNĒS TS'KHIK (ՅՈՎԱՆՆԵՍ ՅԻԽԿ) – in 1251, after the ravages of the Mongols, he restored and got out of pawn the mills of the Horomos Monastery. He also gave to the monastery the *Haysmavurk'* (Martyrology) he had commissioned: *“I, Yovann's, surnamed Ts'khik, became affiliated to this holy congregation, after the ravages of the Tartars. The mill of this monastery was in ruins and pawned. I gave 40 **dahekans** and got the mill out of pawn. I also gave my Martyrology, which I had written with my lawful incomes”* («ես՝ Յովաննէս մականուն Յիիկ, միաբանեցա սուրբ ուխտիս՝ յետ աւիրման տաթարիս, վանացս ջաղացանիս ակեր եւ գրաւական էր, Իս (40) դահեկան ետու եւ զջաղացն թափեցի, եւ այլ ետու զիմ Մարտիրոհոքն, որ իմ հալալ արդեամբք գրեալ էի»): He was rewarded with five days of masses every year during the Feast of Lazarus: four for him, one for his brother Khach'atur (Horomos 2015, 463).

YOVHANĒS (ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ) – Abbot of Khts'konk', during whose time the monastery experienced a reawakening with the donations of the people from Ani. He is mentioned in Amirspasalar Zak'aré's donation inscription of 1211, as well as in the inscriptions of 1213, 1214, and 1221 (Sargisian 1864, 210, 212).

YOVHANNĒS (ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ, son of the binder Mkh'it'arich') – mentioned in an inscription from Surb Hovhannes Church in Ani (CAI, I, 11).

YOVSEĒP' (ՅՈՎԱՍԷՓ) – a disciple of the prominent scribe and painter of the Horomos Monastery, Ignatios, whom the latter mentioned for the first time in the colophon of a Gospel copied and illustrated in 1236:

- “Ignatios who illustrated... remember... and do not forget him and his disciple Yovsēp”* («ԳԻԳՆԱՍԻՈՍ ԳԾՈՂԱ... յիշեալ... ընդ նմին եւ զաշակերտ նորայ զՅովսէփ մի մոռանայցես») Together they are mentioned also in another manuscript copied in 1237 (XIII, 193, 200).
- YOVSEĖP‘ (ՅՈՎՍԷՓ) – in 1317, he carved crosses on the rocks near the Bagnair Monastery, at the source of the river, and called himself *“a painter of holy signs”* («զնկարիչ սուրբ նշանացս») (Karapetyan 2013, 25).
- YUSEĖP‘ (USEĖP‘) ՅՈՒՍԷՓ (ՈՒՍԷՓ) – his name has survived on the wall of the Palace Church of Ani (CAI, I, 9).
- YUSEĖP‘ (ՅՈՒՍԷՓ) – a scribe and probably a stonemason. He left his name on the wall of Ani in 1275 (CAI, I, 6).
- YUSEĖP‘ (ՅՈՒՍԷՓ) – a scribe in Bagnair, who carved the undated inscription of Abbot K‘ristap‘or (mid-13th century), mentioning at the end: *“Lord, remember scribe Yosēp”* («զՅովսէփ գրիչ Տ(Է)Ր յիշեալ») (Karapetyan 2013, 25).
- YUSEĖP‘ (ՅՈՒՍԷՓ) – Abbot of Horomos, mentioned in the 1269 donation inscription (Sargisian 1864, 158).
- YUSEĖP‘ (ՅՈՒՍԷՓ) – the sacristan of the Bagnair Monastery, mentioned in two donation inscriptions of 1262 (Sargisian 1864, 187, 189).
- ZAHRA (ԶԱՀՐԱ, wife of Yovannes) – in 1054, her husband donated 20 dahekan to Surb Astvatsatsin (Holy Mother of God) Church (Khambushents‘) and was rewarded with two days of masses (CAI, I, 51).
- ZAK‘ARÉ (ԶԱԹԱՐԷ) – his name was preserved on a fragment of a cross-stone found in Ani (CAI, I, 72).
- ZAK‘ARÉ AMIRSPASALAR (ԶԱԹԱՐԷ ԱՄԻՐՍՊԱՍԱԼԱՐ, son of Sargis) – the actual patron of Ani from late 1198 (died in 1212). His estates were centred in Ani and from that time until the Mongol invasion of 1236, the city saw its second major flourishing period. Zak‘aré built Surb Astvatsatsin Church in the Inner Fortress (Aghjkaberd), which is also known as the church of Zak‘aré. The building inscription says that it was near the church founded by Saint Gregory the Illuminator. He made many donations to the church, obliging the servants to perform all the liturgies of the high altar for him until the second coming of Christ. He also sponsored the monasteries near Ani (Horomos, Khats‘konk‘). In 1207, a church

meeting was convened in Ani, which was presided over by Mkh'it'ar Gosh. He severely punished the sultan of Ardabil who suddenly attacked Ani in 1209. After Zak'aré, the power passed to his only son Shahnshah I (Sargis) (CAI, I, 58, Vardan Arevelts'i 2001, 141-142).

ZAK'ARÉ HEK'IM (ՉԱԲԱՐԷ ՀԵԶԻՄ, son of *hek'im* Bl Hasan) – under the rule of Shahnshah I (died 1261), a donation was made for his “longevity” («երկարկենդանության») to a church on the shore of the Akhuryan gorge (the inscription stone was found in the gorge), stating the following in the inscription: “I, **hek'im** Zak'aré, son of *Bl Hasan*... gave my house and the stall on Baz street...” («ես Չաբարէ հեքիմ որդի Բլ Հասանա... ետու զԲազ փողոցի տունս, կուղապակոլս...»). His son was also a physician: *hek'im* Abl Hasan, who in 1273 made a donation to the Horomos Monastery. After the mention of his father the inscription says that a mass was offered for Shushik: most likely she was his mother (the wife of Zak'aré Hek'im) (CAI, I, 68, Horomos 2015, 434-435).

ZAK'ARIA (ՉԱԲԱՐԻԱ, son of Shahnshah I) – the son of a Zakarid prince. William of Rubruck, the envoy of King of France who travelled to the lands that the Mongols had conquered, after being hosted by Shahnshah in Ani in 1255, writes about his son: “His son named Zak'aria, a very handsome and wise young man, who asked me: ‘If I come to you, will you keep me?’ For he feels the rule of the Tartars so hard that, despite having everything in abundance, he prefers to wander in foreign countries rather than bear their rule.” Zak'aria participated in the conquest of Baghdad in 1258 with the Armenian-Georgian troops as part of the Mongol army. In 1261, the Mongols suspected him of having a relationship with the Georgian princes who rebelled against them, and executed him cruelly. His father died of grief after receiving the news (Hakobyan 1932, 19, 22, Anets'i 2014, 245, 251).

ZAK'ARIA PAHLAVUNI (ՉԱԲԱՐԻԱ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՈՒՆԻ) – the house supervisor of Shahnshah II, a patron of Ani, his wife was Khorishah, Shahnshah's sister. They are mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel copied in Magvoys village of Ani in 1313 (scribe: Yakobos, the Gospel has not been preserved). In the colophon Zakaria is called “Pahlavuni, a brave and fine warrior” («Փալիաւունի, քաջ եւ ընտիր պատերազմող»), their children are also mentioned: Mkhargrdzel, Sargis and Mat'at'un (XIV, I, 235-236).

ZARHA (ՉԱՐՀԱ, daughter of Rovmanos) – mentioned in the colophon of a Gospel commissioned by his brother, priest Sahak from Ani, in 1211 and which was donated to the Arjoarich Monastery built by their family. Her mother's name: Kata, the other brothers: Ipanos (prematurely deceased) and Arak'el, sister: Horom Tikin (Mat. MS 6288, XIII, 69).

ZAROP ARK'AUN (ՉԱՐՈՊ ԱՐԲԱՈՒՆ, father of Bagrat) – in the 13th century, his son built one of the gates of Ani leading to the Surb Grigor (Tigran Honents') Monastery (CAI, I, 8, Basmadjian 1931, 124).

ZAZA (ՉԱՉԱ) – he built one of the wall towers of Ani in 1231 (CAI, I, 5).

ZAZA (ՉԱՉԱ, son of Ivané, grandson of Shahnshah I) – one of the patrons of Ani. For the salvation of his soul the tax collectors Mkh'it'ar and Gesh left out taxes in Ani, leaving inscriptions about it in the Church of the Holy Apostles (CAI, I, 28, 30).

ZEANSHAH (ՉԵԱՆՇԱՀ, son of Horom Tikin) – his mother restored Surb Astvatsatsin Church (church of Horom) in Ani in 1217 (CAI, I, 66).

ZHOSAN (ԺՈՍԱՆ) – brother of the priest Khach'ut, mentioned in the commemorative inscription of the latter at St. Gregory Church (Church of Khach'ut or Bakhtaghek) in Ani (CAI, I, 61).

ZMRUKHT KHAT'UN (ՉՄՐՈՒԽՏ ԽԱԹՈՒՆ, Smbat's wife) – in 1234, she donated to the Horomos Monastery the mill she got from her late husband: *“The whole of one grindstone in the mill of Karmnji Gorge which is called “(mill) of the Abeleank”* («ակն մին ջաղաց բոլորն ի Կարմնջին ձորին, որ Աբելեանց կոչի»). For this she was rewarded with forty-five days of masses, fifteen for her, ten for her husband, ten for her mother Khorishah and five for the latter's father, K'urd (Horomos 2015, 448).

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