138
He who hoped in God, that he is caring and merciful Father, He who does not forget us visits us, on the day of Resurrection.

139
The breath that Adam stripped off, the same Enos and Enoch received; They composed books, setting forth the existing things.

140
It is the food of the spirit and mind, instrumental for the wise; It is visionary like God, cognizant of the height of the abyss.

141
It is more valuable than gold, than silver and other necessities; It is more precious than jewels, and is the spring of immortality.

142
The day of Adam’s death was in his nine hundred and thirtieth year; In the same and tenth year, Seth’s end came.

143
Enos was one hundred and ninety years [when] he begat Kaynan; The day of Enos’ death arrived at the same span of time.

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86 Gn 5:6
87 Gn 4:26
88 I.e., spirit or soul. This is a reference to Gn 2:7.
89 Gn 5:5
90 I.e., at 910, though Genesis sets Seth’s death at 912 years. Gn 5:8
91 According to the Armenian Bible.
92 Gn 5:9
93 At 905; see Gn 5:11.
144
Kaynan begat Mahalalel, he [begat] Jared, Enoch's sire;\(^{94}\)
Verily, Jared begat Enoch, sincere and godly.\(^{95}\)

145
Enoch heard from Adam that sin is the cause of death;
He begat Methusaleh and made a beginning of repentance.\(^{96}\)

146
He ate neither meat nor fruit, but only the grass that grew,
And he set a measure on his head, saying, "I am not worthy to
see the heavens."\(^{97}\)

147
He announced the day of resurrection, the Parousia's fearful
tribunal;
The Lord will come with myriad hosts, with angelic armies.\(^{98}\)

148
The Lord God transferred him to the Garden that is immortal,
Lest Lamech kill him, an embodiment of maleficent Satan.

149
God rested on the seventh day; it was rest and an abode.
Although sin overcame life, [Enoch] overcame death by good.

\(^{94}\) Gn 5:12, 15
\(^{95}\) Gn 5:18
\(^{96}\) Gn 5:10
\(^{97}\) This is a reference to a widespread Armenian Enoch legend.
\(^{98}\) Jude 14-15 cites 1 Enoch 1:9.
SOLOV’I, SOLOV’I...
James R. Russell

The Old Persian text of the inscription of Darius I at Behistun, in which the new king seeks to justify his seizure of power with the claim that he has quelled illegitimate uprisings in all the satrapies of the Achaemenian Empire, contains a genealogical passage in which the royal line is described as duvityaparana-, “having two wings”, and the rather defensive assertion is made that the family have been kings since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Darius belongs, as one might expect, to the branch that has not yet held power.

The Pythagoreans disliked the number two, as a departure from sturdy unity—a mathematical expression, as it were, of the fall of nature. Many epic heroes, and some kings, find virtue in mixed parentage: Digenes Akrites, the “Twy-born Border-lord” of a Byzantine epic that took shape in the region of Melitene (Tk. Malatya), is part-Greek, part-Arab; Antiochus, king of Commagene, who lived a few miles away and a millennium before, boasted of two ancestral lines, Achaemenian and Macedonian. But dual parentage seems to make its progeny unusual, too—to set them apart from the common run of man, from straight lines. This paper has two wings; but at least there is one bird, the nightingale, between them—and both parts have to do with that bird’s particular feature and virtue, his voice. “Rose is a rose is a rose,” said Gertrude Stein famously of things that are the same and different; and this expression should shade and alter the intention of my title, which means “Nightingales, nightingales” and is culled from the first line of a famous Russian song of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. The singer pleads with the bird not to torment the soldiers with longing (toska) with its song. But as we shall see, the nightingale’s voice can have all kinds of powers even as it sings its ever-altered songs; and that, indeed, is what poetry is about. A nightingale is a nightingale is a nightingale.
The first part of the essay deals with an Armenian spell, an East Mongolian shaman’s chant, and a Russian heroic ballad. The first two texts deal with eagles—supernatural ones whose most prominent aspect is their powerful voice. I will suggest the common origin of the spell and chant in Indo-Iranian mythology, and trace then its transformation in Russian tradition, where a bird whose voice is its main feature is most likely to become a nightingale: the *Solovei-razboinik*, “Nightingale-robber” whose disastrous encounter with the folk hero Il’ya Muromets is the subject of one of the most popular and oldest of the *byliny*.

The second part considers this Russian nightingale further. Its song is seen as analogous to human poetic speech, in particular to the kind of speech—heroic epic—that confers glory on both the bard and the men of whom he sings. I will approach this fame-conferring nightingale through the 12th-century *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, or “Song of the Campaign of Igor’” and the intricate work of its most gifted translator and interpreter, the 20th-century Russian-American poet and writer Vladimir Nabokov.

ARMENIAN SPELLS

The first text here to be examined is a spell for healing, the first part of which is a historiola. It is fairly common in Armenian *hmayils*, or magic scrolls, about which a few general remarks are in order. These are generally several yards long and two to six inches wide, depending on their intended use: the smaller ones were made to be worn on one’s person; the larger ones, to be kept at home. They contain diverse prayers; since one of the most frequent texts is the narrative of the conversion of Cyprian of Antioch, *hmayils* printed as booklets at the present time by Armenian Church publishers and others usually bear the title *Kiprianos*. Veneration of the Holy Cross is a particularly conspicuous feature of Armenian worship; so pronounced, indeed, that other East Christians unkindly disposed toward Armenians were wont to decry this propensity as idolatrous. *Hmayils* generally contain a prayer consisting of an invocation of the power of the hundreds of elaborately-carven stone crosses
(xačkars) that mark sacred sites across the vastness of the Armenian highlands. This text is frequently written out in the form of cross-hatchings that form innumerable crosses all by themselves.\(^1\) Another important text in these scrolls, and one that is frequently, though crudely, illustrated, is the spell against the child-stealing witch Lilith, called Al or Tpla in Armenian.

The spell to be considered here is directed against a demonic eagle: four versions are given below. The first comes from a MS. of 1453, the Alotagirk [Prayer Book] of V. Marałači, with the title "Alfık amenayn ćel xoći" [Prayer against every kind of wound].\(^2\)

\[\begin{align*}
Cař mi kayr i měj tiezerač, 
Oč čiwł uner ew oč tak ew oč terew. 
Arciw mi nster i veray noray, 
Oč otn uner, oč ćew ew oč glux: 
Tesanein tiezerk, lsein ararack, hiačan hreštakk...

Kalan kapečin zna ew asen, 
Ov es du?
Ase, es em or ertam mтанem yazgs mardkan, 
zMisn utem, zariwnn ccem, erku ačačn xawar berem...

Ase ćna hreštaki, erdl [sic] yanvayr varyi daštn, 
Ur oč goy hawu jayn, nist i veray višapin gagatann, 
zMisn ker, zariwn cce, erku ačačn xawar ac, 
Ew oč mardkan: čunis išxanutiwn merjenal 
I cařays Astucoy...
\]

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\(^2\) Partially cited by Fr. Vardan Hačuni, ṭppušušč ḋe ɬya Lwary ɬr ɬų [Spells in Ancient Armenia], Venice: S. Lazzaro, 1932, 216-217. Given the misspelling of imperative erti, "go!" as erd, with the letter da pronounced t, it is most likely the text was copied in Western Armenia or Cilicia.
There was a tree in the midst of the universe
That had no branch, no bottom, and no leaf.
An eagle sat upon it
Who had no foot, no wing, and no head.
The universe saw, the creatures heard, and the angels marveled...

They seized and bound him and said,
"Who are you?"
He said, "I am the one who comes and goes amongst the races of men;
I eat their flesh, I suck their blood, and bring darkness upon their eyes twain..."

The angel said to him, "Go to the plain in the place of no place,
Where there is no voice of a bird: sit upon the dragon’s brow
And eat his flesh, and suck his blood, and cast darkness upon his eyes twain— but not on men’s.
You have no power to come nigh this servant of God..."

The second text comes from the first Armenian printed book (Venice, 1512), the Urbatagirk [Friday Book], which is a collection of prayers and spells.3

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3 The book was reprinted at S. Lazzaro, Venice, in a facsimile edition, in 1975. The font, as one might perhaps expect of a first effort, is primitive; and the meaning of the printer’s device, an orb and cross with the letters DIZA, remains a mystery. Indeed, following the printing of a collection of lyrics [Talaran] and a treatise on the calendar [Parzatomar], the press seems to have entirely ceased to function. Nor was it run, it would seem, by men of very high learning: the word ėvē, [branch] is given as the dialect form ėel; and the factitive pakasečučanem [I cause to diminish] is given as the semi-colloquial pakasečnem (without the marker kē of the present and past continuous verb of Western Armenian).

Caɾ mi kayr i mɛj erkri
Or oɕ čel [sic] uner ew oɕ terew: ew oɕ armat.
Arciw mi nsteel er i v[e]r[ay] Nora:
Or oɕ glux uner: ew oɕ téw: ew oɕ otk.
Harčünk elen arcïwn ayn ew asen:
Or nsteel es i caɾd, or oɕ čel uni: ew oɕ terew: ew oɕ armat.

Ase arcïwn ayn pełc. Erïam nstîm i glux mardun:
zMisn utem: zeleln cecem: zaɕći loysn pakasećnem.
Lseɕićin zayn hreštakk ěw hreštakapëk:
Hramayeɕin ew asen: Kapemk zkez CCC ěw LXV srbovkn:
Or kan i sirt aregakann:
Or oɕ hreštakk giten: ew oɕ hreštakapet: bacy miayn hayr.
Ew darjeal asen: kapemk zkez CCC ěw LXV srbovkn:
Or kan i mɛj covun:
Or oɕ hreštakk giten: ew oɕ hreštakapet: bacy miayn hayr.
Ew darjeal asen: kapemk zkez:
I knarn daw tô:
I matanin solomoni:
I taxtakn movsesi [sic]:
I palmučana [sic] aharoni:
I dastaɾakn k[rìstos]:
I kalćɾ kaɾn s[ur]b kusin:
I χoro [sic] bewëɾkn k[rìstos]: or t[eaɾ]n aream bn mkrteal er.

Kapem [sic] zkez kapanawk petrosi: ew pawlɔsi:
Aylakerpu[læm]bn k[rìstos]: or i tapawr lerinn:
Ereksbean lusovn: or erewečaw i v[e]ray anmah gagaɾan k[rìstos].
Čunis išxanuṭî[wn]: or ačis ew niwﬁs: ew zawranas ew xstanas.
Ayl çoranas: çikes: ew i çikk dârnas:
Banîw t[ear]n meroy y[ìsus]ji ̀k[rîstos]ji:
zGirès es kardam: del y[ìsus] ̀k[rîstos]s lîni amen...

A written spell against every kind of affliction.
Take a steel knife and three nails, and make the sign of the Cross over the wound, and recite this *prayer.

There was a tree in the midst of the earth
That had no branch, and no leaf, and no root.
An eagle was seated upon it,
Who had no head, and no wing, and no feet.

They put questions to that eagle and said,
"Who are you, seated on that tree,
Which has no branch, and no leaf, and no root?"

That foul eagle said, "I go and sit upon the head of man.
I eat his flesh, I suck his marrow, I lessen the light of his eyes."
The angels and archangels heard that. They commanded, saying:
"We bind you by the 365 angels who are in the heart of the sun,
Whom neither angels nor archangel know, but only the Father.
And again we bind you by the 365 angels who are in the midst of the sea,
Whom neither angels nor archangel know, but only the Father."
And again they said, "We bind you
By the harp of David,
By the ring of Solomon,
By the tablet of Moses,
By the robe of Aaron,
By the napkin of Christ,
By the sweet milk of the Holy Virgin,
By the four nails of Christ that were baptized by the
blood of the Lord.

I bind⁴ you by the binding of Peter and Paul,
By the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor,
And by the thrice-holy light that shone on the immortal
brow of Christ.

You do not have power to grow and conceive,
To grow strong and harden.
But dry up, vanish, turn to naught by the word of our
Lord Jesus Christ.”

I read this writing: Jesus Christ is the medicine. Amen...

The third version comes from a talismanic scroll a little over
three inches wide and four yards long, “on heavy paper of
considerable antiquity”, that was tightly rolled so as to be worn
by its owner. The early-20th-century American armenologist
Jane Wingate obtained it, at the instance of Prof. Frédéric
Macler, from Prof. V.H. Hagopian of Anatolia College,
Marsovan, in 1913: Hagopian, she notes, died a martyr’s death a
few years later on a death march⁵ in the Armenian Genocide.

⁴ Kapem. 1st pers. sg., is probably a typographical error for pl. kapemk.
⁵ It is to be remembered that these texts belong to a folk culture that was
within living memory almost entirely erased from the face of the earth.
Since one is to discuss presently some recent methodologies and
constructions of culture with reference to the case of the Armenians, it is
relevant to recall how Prof. Hagopian—and perhaps 1.5 million other
Armenians—died. In 1915, using the war as a cover and pretext, the Turkish
nationalist government of the Ottoman Empire executed its plan to
exterminate the Armenians. Armenian civilians in central and western
Anatolia were killed by being driven on long marches, without shelter,
nourishment, or protection from bandits, into the Syrian desert. Those who
did not perish on the road or drown in rivers were left in the empty wastes
of the Deir ez-Zor district to die, or were herded into caves and burnt alive.
Young men were generally drafted into the Ottoman army and killed
through slave labor or simply by being dispatched with blunt instruments.
On the Pontic coast, Armenians were herded onto barges, which were
dragged out to sea and torpedoed. In the east, where there was some
Wingate does not provide the Armenian text, so only her English translation is cited here:

Another writing concerning a devil.
In the land there was a tree
which had neither branch nor leaf
nor root. And upon it was seated
an eagle having neither head nor
feet. Questions were asked the eagle, saying,—
Why art thou sitting upon a tree
which hath neither branch nor leaf nor root?
The foul eagle said:—I go and sit
upon the head of a man, devour his
flesh, suck his brain, put out
the light of his eyes.
The angels and the archangels,
hearing him, said:—Satan, we do
bind thee by the three hundred and
sixty-five Saints who are in the
heart of the earth, whom neither

possibility of escape to Russian Armenia or of rescue by the Christian army
of the Tsar, swifter and more drastic measures were taken to assure the
extermination of the Armenian people, such as the herding of the
population into barns, which were then set on fire. Turkey received
assistance from its German allies: one 16-year-old soldier named Höss
evidently remembered his youthful training a generation later, when he
served as commandant of the Nazi concentration camp at
Oswiecim/Auschwitz. Raphael Lemkin coined the term “genocide” with
reference to what was happening to the Jews in the Second World War and
what had already happened to the Armenians, in the First.

Folklore 41/2 (30 June, 1930), 169-187. Both Macler and Wingate were
pioneers in the study of Armenian medieval vernacular literature, oral
heroic epic (the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research,
Belmont, MA, possesses an unpublished typescript of the translation by
Wingate of the Sasun Epic), folklore, folk religion and magic. My articles
on the magical text Վեճ հազարեակ [Book of the Six Thousand], the ուխք
մանուկ (the “Black Youth” of the lists of Crosses in հմայիլս) and similar
topics owe much to these great scholars of the past. See J.R. Russell,
Armenian and Iranian Studies [=AIS] (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies
the angels nor the archangels do
know, but only the Father. And,
again, we bind thee by the three hundred
and sixty-five Saints who are in
the sea, whom neither the angels
nor the archangels do know, but
only the Father.
And, again, they said:—We bind
Thee by the Harp of David, by the
Ring of Solomon, by the Tables of
Moses, by the Robe of Aaron, by the
Napkin of Christ [which covered his
face at his burial and upon which
his features were imprinted], by
the Sweet Milk of the Holy Virgin,
by the Four Nails of [the Cross of] Christ, which were baptised with
the Blood of the Lord.
We bind thee by the Bonds of
Peter and of Paul; by the Transfig-
uration of Christ upon Mount Tabor;
by the Tri-Holy Light which shone
upon the Immortal Head of Christ.
Thou hast no power to grow nor
to contrive wicked things, but thou
shalt wither away; thou art naught
and thou shalt turn to naught.
Upon whomsoever, or in whatsoever
house this writing shall be found
thou shalt remove [thyself] forty
houses [away], and shalt not ap-
proach unto the servant of God,
Elisabeth, nor to her sons, nor
to her daughters. Through the
prayers and the intercessions of
all the Saints, Amen.
So let it be, and so let it be.
A longer version of the spell in a finer Classical Armenian than that of the Urbatagirk was published, with facing-page French translation, by Feydit. It includes a miniature (fig. 89, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 102 in Feydit’s discussion on 13) of an angel confronting the wingless bird on its branchless tree: the artist gamely attempted to depict these enigmatic creations, and his effort surely deserves a place in the texts of art history as a literal exercise of negative capability.

Atoık or ė Urbatu Girk

A tree stood in the midst of the earth which had neither branch, nor leaf, nor root. An eagle was seated on top of it, who had neither head, nor wing, nor foot. Angels and archangels questioned him, saying: "O foul one, what are you? Hey, foul one, why is it that you have neither head, nor wing, nor foot, and are seated on that tree, which has neither branch, nor leaf, nor root?" The eagle said, "I am the mother of all evils; I go and sit on the heads of men, I eat their flesh, suck their marrow, and put out the light of their eyes." The angels and archangels heard this and commanded, saying: "O foul one, we bind you by the 365 saints who are in the midst of the sea, whom neither angels know, nor men, but only the Father on high. We bind you by the 365 saints who are in the heart of the sun, whom neither angels know, nor men, but only God the Father. We bind you by the name of the uncreate and immortal, by the tetramorphic throne of God the fiery. We bind you by the seraphim and cherubim, by the dominion[s] and power[s]. We bind you by the harp of David, the ring of Solomon, the [stone] tablet [and staff] of Moses, the robe of Aaron, the napkin of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the sweet milk of the
mother of our Lord the Blessed Virgin Mary. We bind you all, foul demons and pains, by the 24 Prophets, the twelve Apostles, the 72 Disciples, the 150 Patriarchs, the four nails of our Savior that were baptized in the blood of the Lord, and by the word which he spoke upon the Cross: Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani. I bind you with the bonds of Peter and Paul, and by the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. I bind you by the thrice-holy light that appeared upon the immortal brow of Christ. You are bound and you have no power to grow and strengthen and harden; but you will dry up and turn to naught by the word of our Lord Jesus Christ. I read this writing; may our Lord Jesus Christ be medicine and healing. I bind you by the glory of Adam and by the comeliness of paradise. I bind you by the weapon of life, the Cross of Christ. I bind you, 365 foul and deleterious pains, that you not appear again’’...

The second, third, and fourth versions of the spell are substantially the same, though Feydit’s text is the longest and is composed in the purest Classical Armenian. The eagle there names (her)self as the mother of all evils [mayrn amenayn čareac]. One is reminded of another text about a siren (Arm. yuškaparik, a loan from Iranian) who gives birth to all the heresies of Christianity. But it is the first text, however, the one cited by Hačuni, that is sufficiently different as to belong to

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8 This would suggest the eagle, like the Al, is female, unless “mother of...” is just an Armenian usage of the common Near Eastern expression for a superlative. Iranian spells against the child-stealing witch call the Al the mādār-e āl, “mother of the Al”. It is to be noted that in some Armenian narratives the Al feeds human entrails to her children; in the Russian texts on the Nightingale-Robber, the latter also has a brood. Russian solovei [nightingale] is of masc. gender, and the character has the masc. patronymic (O)dikhman’ev syn [son of Odikhman(t)]; so even if the creature was originally female and underwent a sex-change in its russification, it is a father.

another branch of the textual tradition, one far closer to the ancient prototype than the last two, which betray features of subsequent simplification by copyists.

In Hačuni’s text, the tree upon which the eagle (which is called neither pilc [foul], nor Satan) sits is in the middle of the universe [tiezerk], not just of the earth [erkir]; it is without bottom [tak] rather than merely without root [armat]. In its cosmic setting, the eagle elicits the angels’ awe rather than their contempt. The creatures hear it; and the angels command it to go to a place where there is no [other] bird’s voice. Its power seems, thus, to be connected to its voice: this feature is entirely absent from the other two texts. In the latter, it is merely banished; but here it is assigned to attack the dragon or serpent (Arm. višap), not man. It is apparent that it is to do so by means of its voice, since no other bird sings where the dragon lives.

The bird of the Hačuni text seems to be a mythological creature with an Indic analogue that was, as we have seen, gradually demonized by its refraction in Christian Armenia folk belief and ritual. The Indic creature is Garuda, the king of the birds and vehicle of Vishnu, who dwells in heaven and is as radiant as the fire-god Agni: when the thunder-god Indra struck Garuda once with his lightning-bolt, the vajra, a single feather dropped from Garuda into the atmosphere, after which he acquired the epithet suparna-, “of good feathers”. One may recall here the feather of the similar Iranian semnurw or simorgh (originally a kind of eagle), which is given to a hero to summon aid in time of need, and which in the Islamic period acquires magical connotations—cf. the Armenian development. On his way to the realm of the gods, Devaloka, the Garuda rests on a fig tree named Subhadra. Most important, he eats nagas, serpents: the scene of Garuda standing victoriously over the prostrate body of a defeated naga, or holding the creature in its beak, is to this day one of standard iconographic depictions of the creature in Indo-Tibetan and Southeast Asian Hindu and
Buddhist art. The Garuda has a human torso and the head of a bird.¹⁰

A MONGOLIAN SHAMANIST INVOCATION WITH A GARUDA

Now let us consider a text where the Garuda is explicitly named, which bears a structural and thematic relationship to the Armenian spell considered above. This is an invocation, recorded in 1944, of a Mongolian female shaman [ekener böge], Tungchinggarbu.¹¹ The substratum of the text, notably in the final section on the otherworldly land of the shamans where the Garuda is mentioned, belongs to the pre-Buddhist Mongolian shamanist tradition; there are also appeals to the Buddhas and enumerations of the monasteries of the Tibetan Buddhism that became in the Middle Ages the Mongolian state religion. The prayer begins with invocations of the paradise Sukhavati, the Samvara Buddha, and Manjushri. With offerings and the burning of incense, the shamaness proceeds to purge the world of demons and pestilence. She invokes Khan Hormuzta Tengri, i.e., the Lord (khan, presumably translating a Sogdian form of Persian khoda) God (tengri, again translating a Sogdian equivalent of older Iranian baga or yazata) Ahura Mazda of Zoroastrianism—a borrowing of the pre-Buddhist period.¹² The concluding part of the prayer is worth citing in its entirety:¹³

Our land of the Shamans,
Of the four groups of Shamans is
A place unreachable to man,
The realm of death, our country.


North of Köl kökü
The low plain west of Künji yamen
Is the place of the desert's guardian ghosts.
A very high peak
And grown in front of it,
Eighty-thousand branch-shaped,
Forty-thousand leaf-shaped,
Forty-thousand root-shaped,
The Ongghot\textsuperscript{14} of each leaf of
The single tree.
Around its central branch a poisonous serpent is rolled,
On its top bird-king Garudi is chanting.
[Oh,] Lords of the nine passages,
Mounted on nine white horses,
With steel riding-crops,
Accompanied by ferocious tigers:
Begone all who entered from outside,
Adversaries and grief!

The affinities of this section of the Mongolian prayer to the Armenian spell are striking: the shamaness is performing a ritual to rid her client of demonic affliction and disease. To accomplish this she invokes the power of the Buddhas themselves and of an impressively numerous array of Buddhist and pre-Buddhist Mongolian sacred sites and beings; cf. the Armenian invocations of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, several assemblages of 365 saints, and diverse holy objects such as the nails of the Cross and the napkin of Christ. In the text from the Urbatagirk, the healer is instructed to have actual nails on hand for the ritual: one is reminded of the various objects the shaman utilizes in his performance dramatically to evoke the presence of the otherworld beings and objects described in his song. A magician's client, once he believes in the supernatural origin of disease in the first place, will be psychologically

\textsuperscript{14} This is a word for a kind of spirit, metal images of which are stitched onto a shaman's robe.
strengthened and in a better position to be healed when he is assured that his healer’s arsenal is both powerful and large.

Shamanic songs in northern Asia generally contain a narrative also of the shaman’s journey to the otherworld: this part of the text partakes of the genre of the heroic tale. For the shaman must traverse great distances, often at preternatural speeds, overcoming dread obstacles, in order to gain the object of his quest. This is either a powerful supernatural being who will aid him, or one who has in thrall the patient’s soul and must be overcome by force or guile. Though the shaman himself accomplishes these tasks, assuming the hero’s role, he often has, in addition to his magic arsenal (cf. the hero’s talking steed, lightning sword, and so on), helpful associates in the spirit world. For the Mongolian shamanism, these are ongghots, tengris, and the armed divine horsemen-guardians; the Armenian Christian healer is assisted by a band of angels and archangels. The number of these is significant: the shamaness mentions nine horsemen; and the otherworlds of Siberian and Mongolian shamanism are often stacked levels numbering multiples of three—9, or 27. The 365 Armenian saints “known only to the Father” correspond in number to the members of the body and, of course, to the days of the year. Without the five intercalary days, one has 360, the good and literally round number of the degrees of a circle, the days of the duodecimal year, and the even the windows around the Zoroastrian world-mountain Terag.

If one attempts a restoration of the original Armenian text from the imperfect versions cited, these occulted saints would inhabit three worlds neatly stacked in three vertical levels, too: sun, earth, and sea. The reason this cosmic symmetry is important is that magical rituals have to be performed with precision to be effective, with the presumption that the worlds and beings they affect operate by discoverable rules. The best way to represent a cosmos ordered by rules is to impose upon it mathematical symmetry. Roman magicians were called mathematici; the difference, though, between the magico-religious point of view and the scientific is that the former imposes a preconceived and partially arbitrary “intelligent design” upon the universe; the latter seeks to discover such rules
and patterns as may exist, through repeated observation and experimentation.

The shamaness emerges at the end of her song into the land of the dead, to which shamans have special access. In the midst of it is the unimaginably great tree upon which sits the Garuda, chanting, with a poisonous serpent coiled below. This is evidently a dangerous creature, but a sacred one, with whom the shamaness can parley to accomplish her mission of healing. It dwells in the realm of death, but it can kill the poisonous serpent that represents, perhaps, fatal disease. Its chant is not described, and may be presumed to be of corresponding power to do good or ill. Significantly, chanting is the only activity of the Garuda mentioned. The shamaness’ narrative would seem to be an Indo-Iranian spell, recast in the environment of Mongolian shamanism, in which a powerful bird on a cosmic tree in the otherworld is hidden to destroy the dragon or serpent that personifies disease. As we have seen, the Mongols had contact not only with Buddhists, but with Zoroastrians as well; so the earliest form of such a spell might have reached them from a region where both Vajrayana Buddhism and the religion of Ahura Mazda flourished. The Central Asian East-Iranian realm of Sogd—whose script, through the intermediary stage of Uighur, became that of classical Mongolian—seems the likely candidate, given the propensity of Sogdians to travel long distances on business. And Buddhist Sogdian texts, being kindred to the Vajrayana tradition, are rich in spells.

The Sogdians, a people of the Iranian periphery, enjoyed a plethora of religions and a correspondingly rich artistic culture entirely unaffected by the iconoclasm of their Sasanian

15 Sogd, Sogdiana, Sogdia derive from a word meaning “burnt” (cf. Pers. sokhtā), i.e., “purified, holy”. The principal cities of the country were Samarkand and Bokhara; the language, close to Bactrian, now survives only amongst the few speakers of a language bearing the name of the “Ice river”: Sunny and Shady Yaghnobi. Though never many in number, Sogdians were anciently everywhere. Sogdian merchants were numerous and culturally influential in 6th-century China; and the town of Sudak in the Crimea was originally Sughdak—a Sogdian settlement. The old name of the Sea of Azov, Surozh, most likely also derives from the name Sogdian.
neighbors. Unlike the Sasanians and again like the Armenians, their noble houses, rather than a centralized state, largely determined the distribution of power. It is reasonable that Sogdia and Armenia, though separated from each other by thousands of miles and by profound differences in cultural milieu, should nonetheless produce parallels such as this spell—if indeed there was a Sogdian prototype inspiring or even underlying the Mongolian text considered above. In Armenia, such a spell would have come, not from Sogdia of course, but from Parthian Iran of the Arsacid period. The dogmatic rigor of the Christian faith would have altered the text—and re-evaluated the role of the Garuda—far more than was the case in the Buddhist culture in which modern Mongolian shamans operate. And indeed we have observed these changes, which are in keeping with the general pattern of the transformation of mythological types in Christian Armenia.

What might the creature in the Parthian spell have looked like? Zoroastrian lore is rich in birds: the karshiptar, "black-wing", i.e., raven, conveys religious messages to the other world from this; in Armenian heroic epic, it is a talking raven [agraw] who guides Pkhr Mher [Mithra the Younger] to the cave in Agrawuc kar [Ravens' Rock], at Van, where he is to pine in immortal confinement till Doomsday. This is obviously the Corax, "Raven", of the initiatory grades of the Roman mystery religion of Mithraism that had its beginnings in the Armeno-Iranian world, in Anatolia. The raptor called in Avestan vareghna-, literally "ram-smiter", might be the original of the heraldic bird of the Armenian naxarar house of the Mamikoneans: bas-reliefs at çaçaç kar, Gomer, and Geghard, for instance show an eagle-like bird en face gripping in its talons a ram or sheep. The divinely-bestowed, luminous glory, Avestan khvarenah-, Armenian loan-word par(k), sometimes takes the form of a bird. But the senmurwlsimorgh, mentioned above, seems the best candidate for the magic bird of the spell, given its prominence over time in Persian literature and in magical tradition. There is even some suggestion of secondary demonization: the fifth-century Armenian writer Eznik of Kolb writes in his Refutation of Sects that the archdemon Ahriman, desiring to show that he was able to create but chose not to out
of mere spite, made the peacock. The Armenian word for this bird is *siramarg*, an alternate form of *simorgh*: the supposed vanity of the male peacock's beautiful tail feathers, together with his ugly feet (Satan can be very handsome, but his ugly feet give him away), have made him in Christian lore, too, a bird associated with evil. And for the Kurdish practitioners of the Yazidi religion in Armenia and nearby countries, *Malak Ta'us*, the Peacock Angel, is a hypostasis of Satan, albeit a repentant character in their mythology. In Iranian epic, Rostam, a character subsequently endowed with mystical features, is closely associated with the *simorgh*: but other magical types include the Avestan hero Thraetaona (Middle Iranian Fredon, Persian Faredu, and Arm. Hruden, the latter Hellenized to Rhodanes in the *Babyloniaka* of Iamblikhos) and the first man, Gayomard. The use in the Armenian spell of the evocative, marked term *višap* indicates that we have to do, not with any kind of snake, but with a truly dangerous, powerful serpent—like a Sanskrit *naga*. The Parthian prototype might then have involved a hero such as Fredon seeking through an invocation the magical assistance of a *senmurw* against a dragon or other monster.

In the Armenian Christian text, it would plainly not do to have such a mythic bird of the pagan past, morally neutral and very powerful, described in laudatory detail or portrayed as perched on a majestic tree adorned with thousands of helper-spirits or the like. Christian dualism admits no moral neutrality: the creature, if an angel is to conjure it, must be a fiend, otherwise the angel’s intervention would be superfluous. So the eagle’s perch is transferred in successive versions of the spell, as I have suggested, from the midst of the universe to a less exalted locus at the middle of earth. In the universe, at first, it astonishes angels; on the earth, the latter call it “foul” and “Satan”. To evoke its uncanny, otherworldly quality without endowing it with glamor, the Armenian author resorted at some point, rather ingeniously, to a kind of apophasis—a detailed description of what eagle and tree are not and do not have. The Armenian bird is without wings, head, or feet; its tree, without branches, leaves, or roots.
It is clear that in doing this the author was resorting to the language and genre of the riddle: What tree has neither branches, nor leaves, nor roots, but grows? The phallus, I should think, would be Dr. Freud’s answer. What bird has neither wings, nor head, nor feet, but sings? The answer to this riddle is the same, but easier. In the Decameron of Boccaccio, that wingless uccello is the nightingale, for the latter is a colloquial euphemism for the penis: a girl tells her parents she wants to sleep on the balcony to hear the nightingale sing. The song is nocturnal intercourse with her boyfriend: when her parents discover the young lovers fast asleep together one morning, they decree marriage, and after that the nightingale sings at all hours. These solutions to a presumed riddle are of some relevance, perhaps, for demons depicted in antiquity are often ithyphallic; and sexuality, for Christians, always has a little of the devil in it. But that is not strictly necessary to our argument, which asserts only that the Christian who reshaped the spell employed the rhetorical strategy of apophasis, and the wording of the genre of the riddle came to him, ready made.

But the pleasant digression to Boccaccio is useful in another way: when a bird is best known for its song—particularly if that song has some emotional affect, or complexity sufficient to liken it to speech—then tradition, experience, and imagination will evoke the nightingale. In Armenian, the bird is known as soxak, a word Hübschmann convincingly derived from a hypothetical Northwestern Middle Iranian form—Middle Median or Parthian—from the base sah-, “speak”: “the speaking [bird]”. Persian does not preserve this word: the apparently onomatopoeic Arabic loan bulbul replaced long ago whatever native term designated the nightingale. Part of the newer word’s resilience must derive from the pleasing alliteration gol o bolbol, “rose and nightingale”, for a standard theme of Persian lyric.

Gol, "rose", derives from vard, the Iranian loan for "rose" preserved by Armenian, which, however, often uses the loan bulbul in lyrical pairings of bird and rose rather than soxak, even though the phrase has no alliterative quality. It is its voice that defines the nightingale, rather than any other feature: Greek khelidón, "nightingale", derives from the Proto-Indo-European base *ghel-, "call", from which, indeed, comes also Germanic nahti-gala. Greeks would have heard the name for the nightingale, too, in the word *klewédón, "call": this derives from another PIE root, *k^leu-/k^lu-, "hear", to which belongs Greek kleos, "fame, glory", as well as Sanskrit shravas- and Russian slava "idem".\(^{17}\)

The latter terms are of extreme importance to our investigation because of their cultural resonance and particular importance to the genre of epic poetry, with which these invocation-texts overlap. As is well known, both Greek, at the western side of the ancient Indo-European family, and Sanskrit, towards its eastern extremity, preserve in their respective traditions of heroic poetry the same expression, from the same verbal base, "immortal glory" (kleos apthhiton): this is what bards confer and heroes obtain. In the same genre, both Olympian and Vedic divinities imbibe the same "death-repelling" potion, called duroska in Sanskrit and nektar or ambrosia in Greek. Philologists came to the conclusion, from these and similar collocations, that there was a common stock of Indo-European poetic expression and thematics (notably the dragon-slaying quest, in the latter category) that predated the wider geographical dispersion of the various speakers of the earliest Indo-European dialects. In this dossier, the nightingale emerges as the Indo-European speaking/singing bird \(par\)

\(^{17}\) Julius Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern: Francke, 1948-59, 428, 605-606. In Armenian, the base *k^leu- is realized as lu-, the aorist base of lse, "hear", which contains the extension *-sko-. Arm. lir, the equivalent of Gk. kleos, might once have had the poetic importance of the latter, but the Iranian term for glory discussed above, khvarenah-, a word of uncertain etymology perhaps related to khvar-, "sun" (cf. Sanskrit surya-, etc.), replaced it long ago. Christian Greek replaces kleos with doxa; and Arm. park mechanically translates the latter.
excellence. In that respect it is a good candidate to replace, at some remove from an ancient source, the more muscular eagle of a myth, when the main point in the tale has to do not with talons, or wings, but with a powerful voice. And that brings us to our next text, which, as will be seen, is related, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Armenian spell.

**IL’YA MUROMETS AND THE NIGHTINGALE-ROBBER**

There are a number of heroic ballads in Russian whose reciters called them stáriny or staríinki—songs about olden times. The term I will use here, though, since it is used now universally for them in scholarly studies, is bylina. It is, however, artificial, anachronistic, and inaccurate: its employment with reference to a ballad dates only from the 1830’s, and was drawn from an expression “the bylina [i.e., actualités] of this time” in the epic *The Song of the Campaign of Igor’,* about which we shall have much more to say presently. The oldest of the *byliny* go back to 1619-1620; systematic collections date back to the 18th century. *Byliny* are important not only to the study of folklore, but also to that of modern Russian literature, which really began with Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837). The poet, who was fascinated by Russian folklore and wrote a number of ballads and romances based on stories culled from it, read and treasured the collection made by the Cossack Kirsha Danilov, published in 1804.\(^\text{18}\) M. Sokolov has noted that “with especial frequency we

encounter in [the earliest transcriptions] the bylina of Elijah of Murom (i.e., Il’ya Muromets—J.R.R.) and Solovey (Rus. solovei, “nightingale”—J.R.R.) the Robber.” This is the most frequently attested prose tale in manuscripts for which a recitation in the form of a bylina also exists.¹⁹

There are a number of variants of Il’ya Muromets i Solovei-razboinik, but for our present purpose it seems adequate to establish a composite version whose particulars can be analyzed in discussion.²⁰

1. Il’ya Ivanovich is born in a village of Murom, Karachaevov/Karacharov or Laptevo. He dreams of a roan horse, and his father buys it for him; so it would seem he foresees his career as an errant knight. But for the first thirty years of his life he is lame, and lies ill on the stove in the family hut.

2. Then two strangers come and in gratitude for his parents’ hospitality give their son a drink that enables him not only to walk but to acquire immense physical power—far too much, in fact, for him to remain down on the farm without endangering everybody around him. Though he is praised with the standard epithet molodeć, literally “[brave] young man”, Il’ya is also always called a staryi kazak “old Cossack”—this means more than “good ol’ boy”. He has started his knightly career late, after crippling illness. But the ethos of knighthood still comes effortlessly to him: when offered the choice of wealth or the strength and stature of a knight [bogatyri’], he properly scorns the former and chooses the latter, and embarks at once upon suitable exploits.²¹

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¹⁹ Sokolov, 292.
²¹ For the knightly exploit Russian generally uses the word podvig. This (and the telling of it) is the way one attains glory, slava. Vladimir Nabokov often
3. One day he decides to travel by the straight way to the royal capital, Kiev, there to serve Vladimir Vseslavich. The journey is to be accomplished between matins and vespers; and since the day is Easter in some variants of the narrative, Il’ya vows to avoid boi-draka-krovolitie, “battle, fighting, and bloodshed” on the way.

4. However at Chernigov (most often; in some narratives it is Sebezhp-strad or Kineshma) he encounters a vast infidel horde [silushka poganaya] led by three Tatar princes besieging the city. He “violates the great vow” [narushaet zapoved’ velikuyu] and fights. Il’ya defeats them and the grateful townspeople implore him to stay as their commander [voevoda], but he refuses: Ne dai, Gospodi, delat’ s barina kholopa,/ S barina kholopa, s kholopa dvoryanina,/ Dvoryanina s kholopa, iz popa palacha,/ A takzhe iz bogatyrya voevodu. “God forbid a master should be made a slave;/ A master, a slave; a slave, a nobleman;/ A nobleman of a slave; an executioner from a priest;/ Or also a commander, of a knight.”

—thought and wrote of what it might be like to return to Russia under Soviet rule. In one poem, Rasstrel [Execution by Firing Squad], the first stanza reads, Byvayut noch’i: tol’ko lyagu/ v Rossiyu poplyvyot krovat’;/ i vot vedut menyu k ovragu;/ vedut k ovragu ubivat’ “There are nights: as soon as I lie down;/ The bed sails off to Russia;/ And now they’re leading me to a ravine;/ Leading me to a ravine to kill me.” (Berlin, 1927: see Vladimir V. Nabokov, Stikhovoreniya [Novaya Biblioteka Poeta], St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii Proekt, 2002, 186). The poem was sufficiently important to its author that when Edmund Wilson asked Nabokov to incise a line of his own in the window glass of the critic’s guest bedroom, he chose the first two lines. Now, Nabokov had written a novel, Podvig, about a young émigré in Berlin who returns to Russia and disappears. The title Nabokov preferred for the English translation of that book is Glory: we will see in the second part of this essay the relevance of this theme attaching to glory in his work, to the poem he actually entitled Slava.

22 V.Ya. Propp, Russkii geroicheskii epos, 2nd ed., Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1958, 249, interprets these lines as Il’ya’s refusal of a change of class. One might further observe that the hero Arjuna in the Bhagavad Gita refuses to fight, not only because he would then have to kill relatives, but also because war would lead to the confusion of caste and the collapse of society.
5. Il’ya asks directions and is told that the straight road to Kiev goes through the Bryansk forest, the Smarodina river, Kalinov bridge, and the Gryazi chorny, a swampy black waste land. Neither bird, man, nor beast has used this road for thirty years, though, since the Solovei-razboinik, “Nightingale-Robber”, [O]dimant’ev syn “son of Odiman[t]”, who sits on two oak trees (the number varies, but the implication is that he is very large) and kills with his whistle all who try to pass his roadblock [zastava]. This noise is repeatedly described in tripartite fashion: Kak zasvishchet Solovei po-solov’inomu,/ Zakrichit, sobaka, I po-zverinomu,/ Zashipit, proklyatyi, po-zmeinomu “When the Nightingale will let forth his whistle, in the manner of a nightingale/ And holler, the dog, like a beast,/ And hiss, the accursed one, like a serpent....”23 Notably, the creature, though he kills birds, beasts, and men, makes a noise like a bird, beast, and serpent. This may be a telling relic of the substratum of the narrative—as I would suggest—which dealt with a man-slaying bird forced to kill serpents instead.

6. Il’ya proceeds: the Nightingale’s whistle spooks his horse, whom he collects. He fights and defeats his enemy, shooting him in the right temple with an arrow. The wounded Nightingale pleads for his life and is spared. In the skazka [“folktale”]-forms of the narrative, Propp notes, Il’ya asks the Nightingale at this point about his treasure; in the byliny, never. Il’ya puts his captive in a bag for fowl, having bound its ruchki belye, “little white hands”, and hangs it from his right stirrup. One notes confusion here: Il’ya has again violated his vow, and one would have expected an arrow to the brain to have killed his foe, but it has not. So probably in the original version Il’ya defeated the Nightingale by a spell or prayer.

7. Il’ya rides on to the village of Kutuzovo, where the twelve (or nine) sons of the Nightingale live. They offer Il’ya food, but he refuses it; they offer to buy him off, but he will not

23 Putilov, 77.
take their gold—so, seeing that he holds their father captive, they do not fight him.

8. So he arrives in time for vespers at Kiev, where Prince Vladimir’s courtiers scoff at his claim to have traveled there in a day. They do not believe his story about the Nightingale, either. Prince Vladimir commands the bird to whistle, but it retorts that it will obey only Il’ya, its master. He duly gives the order, and the Nightingale whistles with all its might, terrifying Vladimir and killing his entourage. Il’ya asks the Nightingale why it has let fly with all, instead of half, its might: it replies that it was bound and feared death. Il’ya takes it off to Kulikovo field—the site of the Russians’ epic battle with the Mongols—and beheads it. The poor Nightingale had been loyal to its new master; this cruel, sad dénouement seems to me to be an interpolation: the Drachenkampf requires not a defeated, but a dead dragon (cf. Jabberwocky: “He killed it dead/ and with its head he went galumphing back.”) Originally, Solovei-razboinik would presumably have been usefully employed killing poisonous snakes with its uncanny screech. But all ends well for the good ol’ Cossack: his liege lord grants the beamish Muromets honor and riches.

Though the bylina has been illustrated numerous times,24 there is really no description of the appearance of the Nightingale-Robber. On the one hand, he is very big; on the other, he can be put in a bag for fowl (though Il’ya has grown to larger-than-life stature himself). He is a bird; but he acts and speaks at times like a man. So he is shown in a woodcut [lubok] noted above as a bird-man of human size: the image summons recollections of eagle and siren. Putilov comments on the tale:

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24 Ibid., opp. 80, reproduces a 19th-century lubok, or folk woodcut; see also the illustrations by Vladimir M. Konashevich, 1940, and Nicholas K. Roerich (who was later to become famous for his paintings of the Himalaya, Tibet, and Mongolia, and his yogic teachings), 1910, in Skazka v Rossi, St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyi Russkii Muzei, 2001, 134 pl. 149 and 162 pl. 156.
The heroic character of the bylina, as well as the presence in it of social motifs (the peasant Il’ya’s clash with the prince and the boyars), are entirely clear. The difficulty inheres in understanding the meaning of the quest accomplished by Il’ya. In this context the image of the Nightingale-Robber is of fundamental interest. This image is contradictory and, in many respects, enigmatic. The Nightingale’s outward appearance is not revealed in the balladic variants: there are both monstrous and wholly human features. It is apparent that in the history of the epos this form is a transitional one between monstrous foes who belong to another world and the historical enemies of the Kievan state. Nor is the character of the actions of the Nightingale altogether clear: he is neither oppressor nor conqueror....  

One hopes to resolve the contradiction sensed in the latter remarks by showing that the story is a magical historiola, with its roots in Indo-Iranian mythology, that was recast in the terms of a martial quest. V. Ya. Propp also finds that the tale fails, strangely, to conform fully to earlier or later types, and regards it as a degenerated and therefore late form of the folktale type of the heroic quest involving a battle with a monster—the type to which the Drachenkampf, or battle with a dragon, belongs—and argues:


25 Putilov, 452.
In the development of epic the moment comes when the heroic combat with a monster is already unable entirely to satisfy the aesthetic prerequisites of the folk. Combat with monsters of this kind begins to lose its heroic character. It begins to acquire an adventurous and entertaining character. Precisely this is observed in the bylina about the Nightingale-Robber.\(^{26}\)

Some objections may be raised to Propp’s thesis. First, variation of the quest narrative does not necessarily imply a linear process of degeneration. It is equally possible for the existing themes of the quest and the combat with a monster to be employed in other, synchronic types of narrative. In another context, I have argued that the Gnostic Hymn of the Pearl is a poem intended to preach Manichaeism that employs the themes of quest and dragon-combat while reversing the heroic and social values implicit in these, with the aim of surprising the conventional expectations of an audience. The Gnostic text is thus a deliberate fusion of two different genres and views of life: the written religious treatise or sermon and anti-cosmic mood of the Manichaeans, and the oral epic and life-affirming heroic quest.\(^{27}\) In the case of the tale of Il’ya Muromets and the Nightingale-Robber, it seems to me we are dealing with a magical narrative that possessed from the beginning some aspects of the heroic tale; but as the story was absorbed into Russian folk culture, these heroic features became most pronounced, conditioned by the environments of the genres of skazka and bylina that received it. Propp speaks of a process of degeneration; yet surely one must consider the antiquity of this very tale, relative to others in which that supposed process of degeneration has not occurred.

One might, therefore, compare more usefully the Russian tale to the Armenian spell and Mongolian shamanistic chant discussed earlier. The visit of the two strangers to Il’ya’s home,

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\(^{26}\) Propp, 243.

and their blessing of healing by way of thanks for his parents' hospitality, should remind one immediately of the visit of the three strangers to the welcoming abode of the patriarch Abraham. The three are angels; and in Christian exegesis they prefigure the Holy Trinity. One of the most famous Russian icons, the Old Testament Trinity of Andrei Rublyov, depicts them seated at table. It is also relevant that in the story of the pursuit and capture of the child-stealing witch Lilith reproduced in talismans against childbed fever in Byzantium, Armenia, Russia, the Jewish Diaspora, and elsewhere, three armed angels chase the demoness. Il'ya's quest takes place on Easter: one recalls that the Armenian spell discussed above is part of a ritual of healing to be performed on Friday ["urban"]. This is an unlucky day because of what is euphemistically called "Good" Friday, the day of Christ's crucifixion; and on it supernatural forces of evil are least constrained, requiring therefore the exercise of the most potent magic.  

Il'ya's Paschal vow not to fight or shed blood may have to do, then, with magic: on this marked day he must employ other powers to overcome his uncanny foe.

It is also possible that the substrate was not wholly a borrowing from the Mongolian refraction of an Indo-Iranian text, but partook also of an ancient native tradition—a pagan Slavonic narrative closely cognate to, rather than merely derivative from, the Indo-Iranian material. In such a case, if indeed some or most of the material reshaped as a ballad came from an ultimate Indo-Iranian source through an intermediary

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28 Arm. "urban" derives from Hebrew "arvit", "evening (service)", i.e., "erev Shabbat", the eve of the Sabbath. Arm. preserves the latter word, too, for Saturday: "sabat"—Sunday bears the Greek name Kyriaké. Arm. Kriaki, i.e., "the Lord's day". When I was a student of Armenian at Columbia College, my instructor, Dr. (now the Very Rev.) Krikor H. Maksoudian, who had studied at the Armenian seminary in Jerusalem, related that a priest got drunk one Good Friday: when others warned him that God would see and punish him, he retorted in all seriousness that this was the one day a person might sin with impunity, since God was—temporarily—dead. Such beliefs are not uncommon in Christendom: mayomberos, practitioners of black magic in the larger context of the Afro-Cuban religion of Santería, nourish their ngangas, or skull-vessels, with the fresh blood of animal sacrifices on Fridays.
Tatar-Mongol transmission, it would have found a ready-made niche in the kindred mythological conceptions of the Slavs themselves. The prophet Elijah (Rus. Il'ya) is considered to have assumed in Christianized Russian folk belief the functions and personality of the pagan thunder-god Perun. The prophet, whom people invoke for rain, is imagined riding across the sky in a fiery chariot (flying without wings?), smiting with his thunderbolts unclean forces. Perun, who lived atop the world-tree, was believed to struggle with the serpent-being Volos, who lived at the tree’s base: Volos was a chthonic deity, the guardian of cattle and other wealth. He presided over oaths, and was a god of the dead. In a precursor of the bylina, then, the roles would in the drama have been distributed thus: A human Elijah comes to a bird-like Perun and by his divinely-granted prophetic verbal power forces the latter to serve him and fight Volos rather than harm mankind. This pattern would conform to the Armenian and Mongolian types, though the latter two mention višaps and nagas for the Garuda to kill, whereas in the Russian text the Nightingale-Robber becomes only Il’ya’s servant.

If we deal with a magical text from which armed force is excluded, what, then, of the notable interlude at Chernigov? Il’ya fights a whole war there. In the scheme of a heroic quest, this episode is necessary: the overgrown and impassable straight road from Murom to Kiev, a line bisecting the heart of Rus’, is blocked by both human and supernatural foes, and a proper hero must confront and conquer both. He is also, as we have seen, tempted at Chernigov to become a voevoda—an office that a prince, not a knight, generally held—which would require abandoning both his sacred choice of the calling of a knight-errant and his vow to go directly to Kiev and to offer fealty to Prince Vladimir. Note that wealth was an option at the moment of his choice; and in the episode at Kutuzovo this temptation, offered by a dozen soloveichiki, is also successfully turned aside. As students of the tale have long ago noticed, Il’ya experiences the standard Indo-European triad of obstacles or adventures on

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his way. I might add that one has to do with religious matters (the supernatural Solovei-razboinik); one, with nobility (the office of voevoda); and one, with possessions and food (the Solovei-razboinik’s sons). Priests, warriors, herdsmen: this is the standard tripartite division of the ancient Indo-European castes or classes, the mixing of which Il’ya quite traditionally wishes at all costs to avoid. It has been argued whether the battle for Chernigov is an interpolation, a later addition, but this construction of the matter misses the point. It is an organic component of a standard heroic quest narrative; and even if it contradicts Il’ya’s determined vow not to use weapons or draw blood (a vow he breaks thrice), it has to be there. The story consists of two overlapping genres, heroic epic and magical tale, and if the encounter necessitates some inconsistency, that is nothing too grave in literature.

For Il’ya does not kill the Nightingale in combat, though he shoots it and will kill it later on: in confronting what in an Urtale would have been a supernatural adversary to be overcome only by magical means, he keeps his vow. Though variants of the story differ in describing the manner in which Il’ya vanquishes the Nightingale, and all imply some violence, the point seems to be that the battle is a mental one: when the Nightingale whistles and terrifies Il’ya’s horse, the knight keeps his wits about him and calms his steed, too. That makes sense if the substratum is a spell or shamanic song: one must deploy spiritual power to control an otherworld opponent. In the case of the Song of the Pearl, the young Parthian prince defeats the dragon, not with a sword, but by “Magian” chanting—i.e., the recitation of spells or mantras. The Mongolian shamaness in her song manages to enter, thanks to her office and gift, the land of death where she can gain access to the powers of the Garuda, seated on his tree. The angels and archangels, when they meet the headless eagle, Mother of All Evils, on its branchless and bottomless tree at the center of the universe, rely upon the diverse spiritual powers of Jesus Christ to force it to use its power against dragons and other very big, poisonous snakes (višaps, nagas!) rather than men. Correspondingly, Il’ya does not kill the Nightingale; he defeats it and becomes its master. Its
whistle is now at his service; he, at Prince Vladimir’s—and its powers are thus turned to good and holy ends.

A Tataro-Mongol source has long been surmised for the bylina: it seems that a shamanic song of the kind we have examined above would be the best candidate. The ballad is a third way the story can be told of how to make a large, powerful bird endowed with human speech and uncanny song use its powers to help mankind. I have proposed an Indo-Iranian source for the root narrative spell and suggested a path of transmission from Sogdia to Mongolia, and from Parthia to Armenia. In both cases the host cultures accommodated the material within existing genres and systems of belief, altering it accordingly. The same thing seems to have happened in transmission of the tale from Mongolia to Rus’: it was partially reshaped in accordance with the Christian heroic epic form where it found reception. As we have noted above, the actual appearance of the Nightingale-Robber remains a point of ambiguity, and perhaps this must be so, since although eagles can carry off rams, babies, and even, in one case, a fetching Phrygian teenager named Ganymede who was tending his flock when Zeus, *patér andrón te theón te*, decided to enjoy recreation instead of procreation for a bit, nightingales do not get all that big. A Garuda-size nightingale would look decidedly ungainly to a rose. Why the apparent substitution?

THE SONG OF IGOR’S CAMPAIGN AND ITS DISCONTENTS

The Russian word for nightingale, as we have seen, is solovei, a word displaying the usual East Slavic lengthening (*moloko* “milk” instead of *mleko*, etc.). The Old Church Slavonic form is, accordingly, *slaviti*, “Nachttigall, [Gk.] aédón”, a word which Vasmer understands to refer to a color, “gelblichgrau”, from a base *solv*. He adds, “Den berüchtigten Solovei-razboinik der russ. Volksdichtung wollte O. Mollerts mit einem mächtigen Mordwinen (17 Jhdt.) bei N.-Novgorod
identifizieren." Vasmer and subsequent investigators, including Keenan, regard the derivation of the word for nightingale from the same base as slovo and slava as Volkszeitmologie, and there is little doubt they are right. Recent scholarship has put forth the suggestion that another base, meaning to hop or jump, might be the origin of solovei.

As to the discussion of the bylina, greater misgiving must be expressed. While it is possible that the tale of Il’ya Muromets and the Nightingale-Robber might have reminded some Russians of a particularly morbid Mordvin (the name has been thought to be Iranian, from a form related to Pers. mard-khor, "man-eater"), the tale was already in existence early in the 17th century; and it seems to this writer special pleading to relocate the Nightingale-Robber from his comfortable perch somewhere between Chernigov and Kiev all the way back, east of Moscow, to Nizhnii Novgorod and to force what is evidently at its root a supernatural tale into the prurient bed of an eminently forgettable historical incident. Vasmer in his entry on the nightingale has nothing approving to say of the hugely important literary and semantic connection of slavii[solovei] to speech and fame. Though he was not, strictly speaking, obligated to do so by the exigencies of linguistic examination, the omission is troubling: ancient Russian literature has explicitly linked slavii to slava, everywhere and always, and never to *Gelblichgraulichkeit.

In recent decades historians of scholarship have devoted critical scrutiny to the role deeply ingrained prejudices can play in the study of other cultures than one’s own. This is a legitimate undertaking, though writers pursuing a disingenuous political agenda of their own have abused the exercise. Western Christian students of the Arab and Islamic world may have expressed bias, but very often it was explicable, even justifiable, on the grounds of the behavior of Islamic states towards both

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30 Max Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1953, II, 690-691. Keenan, 217 n. 300, rejects the etymology of slavii[solovei] from slu-, "hear", as mistaken, but, as will be seen below, recognizes the immense poetic importance of such an interpretation of the bird’s name.
Christian subjects and European countries. But might one suggest that in the case of German study of the Slavs, we encounter a less ambiguous pattern of scholarship at the service of political malfeasance? German scholars, who have led the way in Slavonic as in other branches of philology, have exercised considerable ingenuity to derive the term Slav, not from the base cited above that produced slovo, slava, but from sklavos “slave” (or even more demeaning bases still). Though there is no evidence any slavyanin ever meant by thus designating himself that he was a mamulk, as it were, they propose this partly on the grounds that Slavs formed a considerable part of the human cargo of the Pontic slave-trade, from the Byzantine age down through the Ottoman period.

31 I have in mind the egregious Orientalism of the late Edward Said, a scholar of modern European literature with no professional training in Oriental studies. Said proposed that European scholarship on the Near East, beginning essentially in the late 18th century, has been marred by an unjustifiable bias against Islam in general and against Arabs in particular. In a note above on the scroll provided by Prof. Hagopian of Marsovan, one found it necessary to review concisely the circumstances of the latter’s death: he was murdered in the first genocide of modern times, which was carried out ostensibly in the name of Islam. The culprit was the only Near Eastern political entity, holder of the Caliphate, whose military power and geographical proximity for half a millennium had made it a concern to Europe, and whose mistreatment of its Christian minorities had for decades enraged public opinion. One recalls that the Turks occupied all the Christian lands and peoples of southeastern Europe—Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, and others—and had attempted to take Vienna. That oppression culminated, for the Armenians, in the Genocide of 1915 noted above, in the course of which Jane Wingate’s informant, the learned and generous Prof. Hagopian, met a hideous death. This was not an Arab empire—though it ruled most Arabs. It was Ottoman Turkey. But of the Turks, and of the reasonable fear and dislike their political and religious policies inspired, and of the Armenians, and of a Genocide carried out from the shores of the Aegean to the mountainous frontiers of Iran, Said has nothing to say. Armenian history stands as a demonstration of the essential mendacity—and cold inhumanity—of his argument.

32 One must recall that, not even a decade before the publication of Vasmer’s dictionary, Heidelberg was an enthusiastic bastion—as was every other German university—of an ideology that consigned the Slavs to the status of Untermenschen and exploited all the means of the philological and other sciences to justify the extermination of the Jews and the enslavement and
The German philologists and their followers evidently find of slight relevance to their investigation the common Slavic designation of the Germans themselves, nemets ["dumb, unable to speak"]. The latter is obviously a term meant to contrast a neighbor speaking a harsh and unintelligible tongue with one’s articulate and glorious self. This was a well-known neighbor; and the closer one is to an alien neighbor, the worse the enmity. Thus, although Russian acquired useful words we have seen like the title knyaz’ ["prince"] and the name of that title’s bearer, Vladimir, from Germanic, Russians also say, Chto russkomu khorosho, nemitsu smert’ ["What’s good for a Russian is death for a German.”]

So if indeed the main thing about the nightingale that the early Slavs noticed was its drab color—a suggestion rather uncomplimentary in its implication that the sklavoi were either deaf or boorish, and one which I am strongly inclined to take cum grano salis despite the general approbation with which this etymology has been received—then that perception sets them apart from nearly every other nation and language, for whom the nightingale, as we have seen, is pre-eminently the bird who sings varied songs, the bird of poetry, the bird of incantation. That is also the main feature of the eagle of the Armenian spell and the Garuda of the Mongolian shamanistic chant; and one suggests that this feature of powerful speech dictated the transformation of the bird in Russian reception into a nightingale. But the Armenian and Mongolian birds are also powerful raptors, which the nightingale decidedly is not; so the gradual extirpation of the Slavs. It is interesting that even today it seems de rigueur in Western scholarship to deny to the Slavs an antiquity of their own on the grounds that the term Slav is first attested in writing after an arbitrary cut-off point of the fifth century A.D. We know that the Finns call Russians Venalainen, and ancient references to the Veneti by Tacitus and others probably have to do with Slavs, but since the latter term is not used—even though it is also argued that it means "slaves" and cannot therefore have been an original self-designation, slavyanin as "speaking, articulate, famed" being a latter misunderstanding—then Veneti will not qualify for discussion of the self-evidently very ancient language group to be designated as Slavic. This is a circular argument in which the Slavs are set up to be the losers; and it is impossible to suppose that it is not motivated by a deep-seated prejudice.
epithet *razboinik*, meaning a robber or highwayman, would have been added to modify the name. (Vasmer would see it differently, following the Mordvinian hypothesis: "Vgl. Dazu die Sippe von mordw. salams, ’stehlen’, salitsa, ’Dieb’"—as though some esoteric rhyming-pair involving a pun on “thief” were to be adumbrated.) Whatever the remote etymology of *slaviisolovei*, it is at any rate entirely irrelevant to the understanding of the word by Russian-speakers themselves in their literary culture, where it always means a bird connected *kat’ exokhen* to the word and to glory.

The *solovei* is usually regarded positively. In the folktale *Ptichii yazyk*, “The Language of the Birds”, a merchant and his wife have a son, Vasillii. While they are at table, a nightingale in a cage keeps singing, and the merchant swears he will give his wealth away to anyone who can tell what the bird is saying. Their six-year-old son demurs, but when his parents urge him to speak and to conceal nothing, he tells them the bird is saying the day will come when his parents will be his servants. They are distressed and later that night put the sleeping Vasya in a boat and push it off to sea. The *solovei-veshchun*, “Nightingale-Sage” (note the compound usage, and cf. *Solovei-razboinik*—J.R.R.) escapes from its cage, flies out to the boat, and perches on the boy’s shoulder. They are rescued by a ship’s captain, who ignores the bird’s warning, interpreted by Vasya, that they are about to be damaged by a squall. After the ensuing storm, though, the chastened mariner heeds the bird’s advice to put into hiding to avoid twelve pirate ships. They resume their journey and strike anchor at Khvalynsk, where the king suffers from the incessant squawking of a raven and its wife. He promises to give the hand of his daughter to anybody who can get the black birds to fly away so he can enjoy peace and quiet. However anyone who accepts the challenge and fails will be beheaded. Vasya’s nightingale explains that the ravens are arguing about whether their son belongs to his mother or father, and have been asking all this time for the king’s judgment. “To the father!” declares the monarch, and they fly away. The boy is ennobled and richly rewarded, and in the course of his travels he stops at a house where he is shown due honor. But its inhabitants turn out to be his parents. The nightingale’s
prophecy is fulfilled, the family are reconciled and Vasilii brings his parents to Khvalynsk, where they live happily.\textsuperscript{33}

The \textit{locus classicus} for the complex, stressed, poetic use of \textit{slavilsolovei} in Russian, though, is the \textit{Slovo o polku Igoreve}, “The Song of Igor’s Campaign” (Nabokov) or, more concisely, the “Igor Tale” (Keenan). In the 810 lines of the epic, the word \textit{slava} “glory” occurs 15 times; \textit{slovo} “word (with all the nuances, when necessary, of \textit{logos}, the Word—J.R.R.)”, three times; and \textit{slaviisilovii} “nightingale”, four times. There are also numerous proper names with the element -\textit{slav}-, even Gorislavich, which Nabokov in his translation renders as “Malglory”:\textsuperscript{34} in Prof. Keenan’s words, “the sound of Slavic glory is heard once every three verses,”\textsuperscript{35} though the word Slav itself does not appear.

One cannot discuss the \textit{Song} without some reference to the vexed question of its authenticity. The \textit{Song} is a literary masterpiece that in its gorgeous strangeness and literary perfection stands alone in Old Slavonic, somewhat as \textit{Beowulf} does in Old English. Both texts were preserved in unique manuscripts; but unlike the Cotton MS. containing \textit{Beowulf} that survived conflagration and found a safe haven in the British Library, the manuscript of the \textit{Song} was lost in the great Moscow fire of 1812. An edition of the Slavonic text with translation and annotation was printed at Moscow in 1800, and a handwritten copy was made for the Empress Catherine: nothing else survives. An agent of Count Aleksei Musin-Pushkin had acquired the manuscript from the archimandrite Ioil’ of the Spaso-Yaroslavskii monastery around 1790; it was a miscellany, bound together with texts of the \textit{Tale of Opulent India}, the \textit{Wisdom of Ahiqar} (Rus. Akir), and the Byzantine epic \textit{Digenes Akritas}. The \textit{Song} describes the unsuccessful campaign of a

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Narodnye russkie skazki iz sbornika A.N. Afanas’eva}. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1978, 196-199. This beautiful volume, which has afforded this writer many happy hours of bedtime reading, was the generous gift of my dear friend Oksana Fyodorovna Nikol’skaya, whose wonderful hospitality I have enjoyed year after year in St. Petersburg. It is a pleasure to record here my gratitude to her.

\textsuperscript{34} Nabokov, 102.

\textsuperscript{35} Keenan, 216.
prince of Kievan Rus', Igor', in the spring of 1185 against the Polovtsy (or Cumans): Bilbo Baggins might have called the poem "Almost to the Don and back again." Over the years, various scholars have sought to demonstrate that the Song was a forgery and no such manuscript ever existed. This was a period, after all, when enlightened Europeans were sedulously discovering for their nations native heroic epics whose antiquity and substance might release them from a cultural and spiritual fealty to the Greek and Roman traditions, or the Bible. It was the time of James Macpherson's bestseller, Ossian. Most recently, Prof. Keenan has argued that the gifted scholar and pan-Slavic patriot Josef Dombrovsky, a contemporary of Musin-Pushkin's, stitched the Song together, dipping frequently into the waters of the Zadonschchina ("What happened beyond the Don"), a much later work of far less literary merit. That would not make the Moravian savant an utter falsifier, at least not by the somewhat flexible standards of scholarship and originality of the age: the Kalevala, too, is more a compilation by Lonnrot (1835) of various sources than a long and continuous original text. It is now accepted by many researchers that much of Ossian, to which a decidedly unromantic mist of disrepute and scandal clung from the time that Samuel Johnson loudly denounced the work as a forgery, was possibly genuine material that Macpherson assembled and published, albeit indulging in generous authorial liberties.

The other contents of the miscellany that ostensibly contained also the lost manuscript of the Song seem to me to present the grounds of an argument for its authenticity. There is a mediaeval Armenian miscellany to which the printing tradition generally assigns the title of its most popular component, Zruyê płnjê kataki, the "Tale of the City of Bronze", an edifying adventure story most likely of Buddhist origin that was transmitted to the Near East and became an episode in the Thousand and One Nights. The Armenian manuscripts, followed by printed books (the last of the latter in Classical Armenian was published in the latter half of the 19th century; translations into the modern Western dialect continued into the 20th), situate the Tale amidst other stories of edification and entertainment, notably the Wisdom of Ahiqar, which was, of
course, also included amongst apocryphal texts of the Bible from very early times. The Armenians of mediaeval times (and later) enjoyed stories about distant India and heroic narratives—the Alexander Romance and their own Sasun epic. Though the Akritic cycle was not translated into Armenian, it took shape in the region of Melitene (modern Malatya), on the Euphrates border of Armenia; and various characters, scenes, and themes in the Byzantine epic are of local, Armenian origin. It is certain that Josef Dombrovsky, Musin-Pushkin, the latter’s buyer, and the needy archimandrite Ioil’ were innocent of Armenology in general and of the character and contents of mediaeval Armenian compilations for instruction and enjoyment in particular; but the volume that included the lost manuscript of the Song fits admirably into a kindred tradition of the compilation in manuscript miscellanies of edifying and entertaining texts that the Armenian evidence parallels and corroborates grosso modo.

Then there are the Ossianisms that have been noted in the Song. Do these tend to cast doubt upon, or buttress, claims of authenticity? Nabokov writes, “Throughout the Song there occur here and there a few poetical formulas strikingly resembling those in Macpherson’s Ossian. I discuss them in my Commentary. Paradoxically, these coincidences tend to prove not that a Russian of the eighteenth century emulated Macpherson, but that Macpherson’s concoction does contain after all scraps derived from authentic ancient poems.”36 This prescient comment anticipates the re-evaluation of Macpherson’s work in recent scholarship; and the several references in the Commentary are, accordingly, not (or not just) a tease intended to keep the reader wondering whether the Song is genuine or not. Nabokov was, as a poet and writer as well as a literary scholar, interested in the enormous impact of Ossian on Russian literature itself.37 His attention to Ossianisms is thus

36 Nabokov, 12.
37 Yu.D. Levin, ed., Ossian (Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Literaturnye Pamyatniki), Leningrad: Nauka, 1983, contains a Russian tr. of Macpherson as well as a huge section of Russian prose and poetry on Ossianic themes by writers
including Karamzin, Muraviov, Derzhavin, Polezhaev, Glinka, Zhukovsky, and Küchelbecker. Even if, as Nabokov argues fairly, Russians in the late 18th and early 19th centuries generally did not know English well enough to read Ossian in the original, the impact of the work was instant, profound, and long-lasting. Pushkin in his Lycée years and later, retold and imitated Ossian. I offer in translation here three of the more important poems on the theme, spanning a century and illustrating different concerns. Lermontov strives for romantic inspiration by half-imagined ancestral roots (he was in fact part-Scottish). Gumilyov in the midst of modern decadence invokes the clarity of a heroic past. Mandelstam offers a more subtle meditation on literary authenticity and heritage.

*Mikhail Yur'evich Lermontov*

*Ossian's Tomb*

Beneath the veil of fog,  
In the plains below a stormy sky  
Stands the tomb of Ossian  
In the hills of Scotland mine.  
Thither flies my slumbering spirit  
To breathe deeply of its native gale  
And from the grave sunk in oblivion  
Again to give life to my soul.   (1830)

*Nikolai Gumilyov*

*Ossian*

Heavy, leaden cloud scudded 'cross the sky,  
The moon incarnadine, as if a fatal wound, among them.  
Cuchulain the strong, champion of green Erin,  
Fell at the sword stroke of Svaran, the king of Ocean.

Ominously sobbed old sybil's imprecations;  
The sea, churned to foam, rose and fell,  
And Svaran, in ecstatic storm of jubilation  
Met Fingal, the lord of the waste land, hero of heroes.

They join in fight and slip on bedewed boulders,  
Breaking each other's mighty, ursine shoulders,  
And heed the tidings of the keening winds  
Of the great battle of the plain in mighty terror.

When I tire of embraces and caressing words,  
When I tire of quotidian affairs and thoughts,  
I hear the air atremble with their mighty curses;  
I see the heroes on the hilltop grim and full of anger.   (1907)
straightforward and proper. Prof. Keenan, defending vigorously his lonely thesis, takes to task his adversaries. This is understandable: there is a lot of knock down, drag out writing in a field where the stakes are high and emotions are strong. And Keenan’s is an encyclopaedic work of consummate scholarship. He suggests that “the most imaginative practitioners” in modern times of the study of the Song “to the end (almost universally) of affirming its 12th-century authenticity” are Roman Jakobson and Nabokov. But he observes also that the latter “eventually took (as he so often did) a dodging, ambiguous stance on the matter of authenticity (‘we shall have to cope with eerie doubt...’).” Keenan is no less generous about the literary quality of Nabokov’s translation, which he calls “precious.” By this logic, if you accept the authenticity of the text then that is because this was a predetermined position, not one arrived at by scholarly investigation—since that can lead only to Keenan’s lonely assertion that the Song is a forgery. But if you find the text to be authentic, yet decline to make a dogmatic assertion to

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Osip Emil’evich Mandelstam

I have not heard the tales of Ossian,
I have not drunk the ancient wine;
Why then do I perceive the bloodied moon of Scotland
And the battle plain?

And in a silence ominous I sense
The martial roll of harp and raven called,
And in the moonlight clansmen’s
Wind-driven tartans flicker, curl.

I have received the charmed inheritance
Of foreign songsters’ migratory dreams:
Our own heritage, our boring neighbors—
We’re long, unabashedly contemptuous of these.

And perhaps this is not the only treasure
That, skipping grandsons, to their sons will go,
And again a skald will shape another’s epic
And pronounce it as his own. (1914)

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38 Keenan, 137, 138 n. 2, and 189 n. 213.
that effect, allowing that you may be wrong, or at least that the
text as we have received it may contain interpolations or
alterations in transmission (a condition not unheard of in the
history of ancient manuscripts), then that is a "dodge". Keenan
does not specify other places where the great, scrupulous, and
fastidiously honest scholar Nabokov was "often" a dodger.
Keenan cites Nabokov's comparison of passages in the Song to
Ossian, without, however, noting Nabokov's suggestion in his
Introduction, cited above, that such similarities may tend to
support the authenticity of the Caledonian poem. So Nabokov's
references are meant to imply the opposite of the conclusion
towards which Keenan tends, and in support of which he cites
them. The characterization of Nabokov's style as "precious"
(one might as well call Keenan's turgid—but what for?)
doubtless disturbs the immortal shade of one of the greatest
writers of Russia and America as much as the buzzing of a gnat
at the tail of an elephant. Yet one has no doubt that, were
Vladimir Vladimirovich among us to reply to these
disparagments as he did to Edmund Wilson's ill-considered
critique of his much longer translation and commentary on
Pushkin's Eugene Onegin, he would mete out to the hapless
savant a spectacular and condign public horsewhipping in print.
If he thought it worth the trouble.

THE BARD BOYAN, SQUIRRELS, AND NIGHTINGALES

The unknown narrator of the Song refers several times to the
older bard Boyan:

Boyan bo veshchii, ashche komu khotyashe pesn' tvoriti, to
rastekashetsya mysliyu po drevu, serym v'lkom po zemli,
shizym orlom pod oblaky.

O Boyane, soloviyu starago vremen! Aby ty sia pl'kly
ushchekotal, skacha, slaviyu, po myslenu drevu, letaya
umom pod oblaky, svivaya slavy oba poly sego vremen,
rishcha v tropu Troyanyu chres polya na gory...
For he, vatic Boyan,/ if he wished to make a laud for one,/ ranged in thought/ [like the nightingale] over the tree;/ like the gray wolf/ across land;/ like the smoky eagle/ up to the clouds.

O Boyan, nightingale/ of the times of old!/ If you were to trill [your praise of] these troops,/ while hopping, nightingale./ over the tree of thought:/ [if you were] flying in mind/ up to the clouds;/ [if] weaving paens around these times./ [you were] roving the Trojan Trail,/ across fields onto hills...\(^{39}\)

Nabokov in his Commentary notes:

In thought over the tree: misliyu po drevu. This has taxed the scholarship and artfulness of numerous commentators. At least two species of squirrel (evolved from mis', mouse) have been made to perform in the branches of this metaphor. But apart from the fact that the same image in another form occurs ... and that a genuine squirrel is properly named belya at [line] 349, it seems clear that the logical or clerical lacuna here between “thought” and “tree” should be filled with slaviem (“in the guise of a nightingale”), thus completing the triple formula...

The commentators include the dean of the Russian Symbolists, Vyacheslav Ivanov, whose St. Petersburg “Bashnya” [“The Tower”] was a meeting place of the literati of the capital. On 25 December 1916 he wrote Zamyslen‘e Bayana ([“Bayan’s [sic] Conception”], tr. by J.R. Russell from the 1995 edition, ser. Novaya Biblioteka Poeta, St. Petersburg):

\(^{39}\) Nabokov, 30.,32.
To S.M. Gorodetsky

Grandsons, do you hold fast
The patrimonial teachings
Of the swans' noble order?
Have you not forgotten
The singing of Bayan
Famed from the forefather
Of the youngest tribe
In the lays of ancient time?
Have you kept the intonement's enchantment?
Like a squirrel, along the branches
Of the world tree,
Bayan's conception
Plays and hides
From the roots to the crown,
And frightens and delights.
Imagine—and he's there. Look—he's here!
Who will chase after the sage? Who will guess where he is?
Where in the blink of an eye will he be?
There is for him no space, no time.
Now all of him leans
Down over the well's deep—
He falls
As if entering the ground,
And now he'll be buried...
But just look up! Who is hanging in the height
And swings?
Thus flows the mage, like a squirrel, on the tree...

And the oak's branches drowse,
Through them spread the blue-gray clouds,
And a shifting canopy in star-hue
Of the highest heavens grew.
And the oak's roots are strong,
Their subterranean tendrils sleep,

And downward grow to heavens deep,
And with leaves of stars is their forest crowned.
(Variant: lines 33-34: “Their subterranean branches straining/ Grow deep to the subterranean skies.)

Ivanov’s poem is a world-tree, like that of the Garuda, or of Perun, though I suspect its proximate source is the Norse Yggdrasil: the squirrel in it plays hide and seek. This reminds one immediately of “Hide and Seek”, a well-known painting in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, by the Russian émigré artist Pavel Tchelitchew, whom Nabokov knew, rather disliked, and parodied mildly in a play. The painting conceals various creatures and symbols, including one Nabokov would have liked and noticed—a butterfly—amongst the infinite branches and twigs of a world-tree, where a little girl plays. Russians like squirrels: a popular chocolate confection is called Belochka, “Little Squirrel”; and a few years ago I was handed a flier outside the Pionerskaya metro station in St. Petersburg advertising the services of a stomatological clinic whose satisfied customers enjoyed the gnawing abilities of a bright-eyed, bushy-tailed squirrel. I think Nabokov was reluctant to part with the creature, though critical evaluation of the text of the Song demanded he do so. Instead, the squirrel makes a leap from the branches of Kievan Rus’ to upstate New York: in the novel Pnin, a squirrel appears at moments where near death or sharp memory bring the academic émigré hero close to Nabokov’s potstortonnost’—the Otherworld—where beloved

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40 Tchelitchew (i.e., Rus. Chelishchev) was flamboyantly gay. Though Nabokov was personally averse to homosexuality, his gay brother, stranded in occupied Paris, was murdered by the Nazis for his orientation. Nabokov’s father, who died protecting a friend from a right-wing assassin’s bullet, had sought to decriminalize homosexuality in Russia; so acceptance of gay people and support for their rights was as essential a component of Nabokov’s creed as a Russian liberal as was his violent and uncompromising detestation of anti-Semitism in any form. He was a firm supporter of the State of Israel. The idea of homosexuality as sexual inversion was useful in the construction of an outsider in a world of reversals and mirrors, as we shall see presently in the discussion of his novel Pale Fire.
faces from a lost Russia are restored.⁴¹ One, indeed, is Pnin’s first love, Mira Belochkina [Little Squirrel], a Jewish woman murdered by the Nazis. So, squirrels hopping about, appearing and hiding on the world tree bring one a glimpse of meaning from beyond the barrier of existence. Nabokov plays more complex games here. As Gennadi Barabtarlo notes in his learned commentary on *Pnin*, citing Peter Lubin’s study “Kickshaws and Motley” among others, Nabokov believed that Cendrillon’s “pantoufle de verre” [Cinderella’s glass slipper] was not of glass, but of *vair*, squirrel fur, cf. Rus. *vevertsa*. The motif preoccupied Nabokov, for it recurs from the beginning to the end of his American period: in *Bend Sinister* (“a girl’s tiny slipper trimmed with moth-eaten squirrel fur”), *Lolita* (“her eyes were vair”), and *Ada* (“miniver-trimmed slipper”). But he also finds a crucial use for the Cinderella glass that the image of the squirrel (with its references to Cinderella’s slippers of squirrel-fur) replaces in the novel.

Pnin’s wife Liza, a cheap soul who writes vulgar poems,⁴² has left him for a blowhard German (of course, given the author’s aversions) aptly named Wind, a psychiatrist (Nabokov hated Freud). It is not clear how much of Pnin there is to the son, Victor, who visits him from school. Outwardly the meeting is not successful: Victor is not hungry and does not care for the soccer ball Pnin offers him. But the two dream the same thing; and later on Victor sends Pnin an aquamarine punchbowl whose beauty is a certain revelation to Pnin of the profundity and beauty of the boy’s soul, and of his love. On the night Pnin, at last confident of the security of his teaching post at Waindell College, holds a housewarming party, his guests admire the punchbowl. As they are departing, Pnin’s chairman of department (a German, again), tells the Russian he is not to receive tenure—home and job are all lost. Pnin goes into his

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⁴¹ Véra Nabokov insisted that *potustoronnost* was the key to her husband’s artistry and philosophy; see Vladimir E. Alexandrov’s superb monograph, *Nabokov’s Otherworld*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

⁴² Diabolically funny, obscene parodies of the early Akhmatova: Lydia Chukovskaya reports that these offended and infuriated the great poetess.
empty, empty home to clean up, remembering to make a plate of scraps for a neighborhood dog, for a human’s misfortune should not deprive an animal of pleasure. 43 While washing up, Pnin lets fall a heavy nutcracker in the soapy water; there is a sound of shattering glass, and for an agonizing moment the hero thinks he has broken Victor’s gift. At that moment, the narrator tells us, he looked very old. But the bowl—and love, and meaning, and the texture of Pnin’s identity—is unbroken, whole, and true

Nabokov, as we have seen from his comment on the Song and his novel Pnin, could not bear to part with a squirrel who was not there. How much more, then, would he have had to say about a nightingale who was. But as is usual with Nabokov, the good reader is invited to play a game of hide-and-seek to find out what it is. The first point to be made is that Nabokov was

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43 This small detail, in the context of the episode, is not only as heartbreaking (Russian serdtserazdirayushchee, “ripping the heart violently to shreds”, puts it better) in its perfect placement and artistry as the death of Anna Karenina. It is the great vindication of Nabokov as a sternly moral writer in the great Russian tradition of Pushkin and Tolstoy, and the ultimate refutation of those who regard Nabokov as a post-modern cynic playing brittle intellectual games. Games there are—but they are for real. It is not hard to find other assertions of a deeply felt and responsible decency in the writer’s œuvre; what is more astonishing is the failure of those who find Nabokov facilely clever, to perceive them. Consider Nabokov’s angry advocacy of the kind Gregor Samsa, in his lecture on Metamorphosis and later in Strong Opinions: Vladimir Vladimirovich saw Gregor’s family as proto-Nazis, and went to some lengths to prove that the hero had been transformed, not into a cockroach, but into a pleasantly roly-poly beetle. If he’d discovered his wings, he could have flown out the window, to roll around happily in the company of other beetles—like Cincinnatus, in Invitation to a Beheading, who at the end walks away from the dystopia of the novel, to find others like himself! (Nabokov apparently read German quite well, though of course he averred that he barely knew the language.) Or notice Humbert’s admission, at the center of Lolita, that he had left a trail of slime across dreamy, trusting America. Who could possibly read this and consider the novel amoral or obscene? In the case of Pnin one notes, however, that the author was prepared to let “my poor Pnin” die—his friends at The New Yorker protested, and Nabokov heeded them. He passed the test, and more: Pnin jumps novels, to become a happy, tenured professor beyond anyone’s capacity to harm.
acutely sensible of the brevity of the masterpiece under study: in his introduction, he notes that the Song "consists of 14,175 letters or about 2850 words", which he has divided into 860 lines. The notes in the Commentary are generally very focused, and deal with a line or two. But on p. 92, quite unobtrusively, the translator inserts a relatively short note—on lines 1-70! That is quite a large chunk of the text: it looks like Nabokovian humor, hiding something of serious significance. Here is the note:

1-70. Under the pretext of trying to decide what style to adopt, the old, involved, grandiloquent style of Boyan, or something more in keeping with a contemporaneous subject— the would-be singer of Igor’s campaign asks himself how would Boyan have begun, invents examples of Boyan’s political idiom (63-70), as if to see how they fit recent events, toys with them, rejects them—but in the meantime he has craftily and successfully fashioned of them the beginning of his story. Thus, in his Pamyatnik [The Monument], Pushkin in 1836 parodied a poem by his predecessor Derzhavin (1743-1816) on a Horatian theme ["Exegi monumentum..."]], in order to smuggle in his own secret aspirations, his own secret pride, under the cloak of high mummery.

This is Derzhavin’s poem of 1795, in my translation:

I raised to myself a monument wondrous and eternal. 
It is harder than the metals and o’ertops the pyramids: 
Neither whirlwind nor swift lightning will break it, 
And the flight of time will not cause it to crumble.

So!— I will not altogether die, but a large part of me, Escaping decay, will be alive after my death, 
And my glory [Rus.: slava] will grow, not fade away 
As long as the world esteems the Slavic race.

Rumor [Rus.: slukh] of me will spread from White Sea Waters to the Black;
Where Volga, Don, Neva flow; from Ripheus, flows Ural:
Amidst numberless peoples every one will recall
How I arrived at fame from obscurity because

In light Russian verse first I was to dare
Advertise Felice’s moral graces,
In heartfelt simplicity to converse of God
And with a grin to tell the truth to Tsars.

O Muse! Take pride in service justly earned.
Who scorns you—treat them with contempt yourself,
And with casual and unhurried hand
Crown your brow with immortal dawn.

Here is Pushkin’s *Exegi monumentum*, written in 1836, one year before the poet’s death. I have italicized lines where the Russian is identical, or nearly so, to Derzhavin’s.

*I have erected for myself a monument* not built with hands:
To it the people’s path will not be overgrown with grass.
Higher has it reared its unquiet head
Than the pillar of Alexander.

No, I shall not altogether die: my soul in intimate lyric
Will outlive my ashes and escape decay,
And gloried [Rus.: *slaven*] shall I be, as long as in this sublunar world
Even a single poet yet shall live.

*Rumor* [Rus.: *slukh*] of me shall traverse great Rus’ entire;
And every tongue existing there, me acclaim:
The proud son of the Slavs, and Finn, and still wild
Tungus, and the friend of the steppes, the Kalmyk.

And long will I be beloved of the people
For the feelings of good that my lyre aroused,
For in my brutal age I glorified Liberty
And for mercy for the fallen, called.
To God’s command, *O Muse*, be heedful,
Of offense, unafraid, demanding not a crown.
Praise and slander accept with equal grace,
And do not argue with a clown.

The common features of the two poems fall into three closely related categories: 1) A monument, and escape of decay, both of which are related to immortality; 2) The glory [slava, slaven] and rumor or fame ([slukh], from the same root as the latter), which guarantee that immortality; and 3) The Muse, who confers the poetic gift whereby fame and glory are achieved.

Out of modesty or, more likely, the sort of game of hide-and-seek he plays with his cherished careful reader, Nabokov does not mention his own *Exegi monumentum*. It is the 124-line *Slava*, composed at Wellesley, MA in 1942, which he translates as “Fame” (*Poems and Problems*, 1970, no. 31, pp. 102-113). It contains a direct and ironic reference to Pushkin in lines 73-76, where a grotesque figure counseling despair says,

> Net, nikto nikogda na prostore velikom
> ni odnoi ne pomyanet stranitsy tvoei:
> nyne dikii prebudet v neveden’i dikom, drug stepei dlya tebya ne zabudet stepei.

No, never will anyone in the great spaces
make mention of even one page of your work;
the now savage will dwell in his savage ignorance,
friends of steppes won’t forget their steppes for your sake.\(^{44}\)

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\(^{44}\) Another line, in Nabokov’s poem *O praviietyakh* (“On Rulers”, Cambridge, MA, 1944), reproduces the rhythmic signature of this strophe of weary disgust at the inevitable sameness and hopelessness of the future: *Umiraet so skuki istoriki za Mamaem vysyo tot the Mamai* (anapaestic trimeter, which he did into English thus: “The historian dies of sheer boredom:/ On the heels of Mamay comes another Mamay (anapaestic tetrameter = dlya tebya drug stepei ne zabudet stepei).” And Tatar tyranny dully precedes that of the pogromist Romanov, the cockroach-whiskered Ossete.
In his footnotes to his English translation, the author cites Pushkin’s lines on the Tungus and Kalmyk, lest the Anglophone reader miss the reference. The poem divides in two, in two different ways; thematic and metric. In lines 57 and following, Nabokov evokes a Russia with a threshold [porog], “a path drenched by maples in violet blood” [tropa v sya v lilovoi krovi] and “ditches” [kanavy]. Blood and a ditch: rearrange anagrammatically and symbolically kanava and porog, change the season from despairing autumn to hopeful spring, and you have the analogous line with ves’ v cheryomukhe ovrag “all in racemosa the ravine” to whose edge the dreamer, returned in sleep to Russia, is being taken to be shot (Rasstrel, “Execution by firing squad”, Berlin, 1927). The racemosa is a spring tree blossom used by the Symbolist poet Konstantin Dmitrievich Bal’mont as an emblem of love, and it is emotionally charged in Russian poetry.\(^{45}\)

\(^{45}\) As noted above, Nabokov etched the first lines of this poem in glass in Edmund Wilson’s guest bedroom, where writers were encouraged to leave a favorite strophe. Mandelstam’s poem Chto poyut chasy-kuznechik, 1917, printed in the collection Tristia, is apposite to discuss here because of its highly symbolic use of the images of both cheryomukha and solovei. Osip Mandel’shtam, Sobranie sochinii v II tomakh, G.P. Struve and B.A. Filippov, eds., Washington, D.C.: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1964, 1, 69, no. 98, my tr.: “What does the cricket clock sing./ Fever rustles,/ And the dry stove mutters./ This is the red silk burning./ What are the mice doing, gnawing/ Life’s hull so thin?/ This is the swallow, and Kore/ Unfastening my barque./ What is the rain on the rooftop muttering?/ This is how black silk burns./ But the racemosa will hear ‘Farewell!’/ Uttered even at the bottom of the sea./ For death is blameless./ And nothing can be helped./ Since in its nightingale-fever (Chto v goryachke solov’inoi)/ My heart stays warm.” M.L. Gasparov, Osip Mandel’shtam, Stikhoto sreteniya, Proza, Moscow: Biblioteka Poeta, 2001, 630, proposes the explanation that “the poet himself, in the nightingale-fever of love and creativity, has an intimation of the proximity of death. The boat of his life is gnawed through, he is sinking, and from the bottom of the sea he sends his love—racemosa, a symbol from Bal’mont—his final ‘Farewell’. The swallow for Mandel’shtam is an intermediary between this world and the world of shades; the daughter is perhaps Antigone leading her blind father Oedipus to his place of rest.” I render dochka here as Kore, since Persephone is a girl Mandel’shtam mentions more often; and she belongs better to the milieu of psychopompoi and crossings of the Styx.
If one superimposes the poem of 1942 upon that of 1927, it expresses a heartfelt nostalgia that the mind's conscious knowledge of tyranny must refuse. Also, in roughly the first half of the poem the dactyl is very prominent [i serdtse prósitsya, i serdtse méchetsyač tak i kátitsya óstroyu ósip'yu pód goru, and so on]. In lines 44-47, Nabokov introduces and stresses [Perechitie i ostanovites' na etikh strokah, "Reread and pause upon these lines"] an image of the magic Sirin bird, his old nom de plume, and the word volshebnik, "wizard", which is a partial anagram of his own name. The maker of magic, its own creature, is the poet himself: after the evil guest’s discouraging words, the poet laughs, i vnezapno s pera moi lyubimyi sletaet anapest, “and at once from my pen nib a flight of my favorite anapaests rises”—and a reader, a body, and slava are all but an “empty dream” then. The work of the poet in its facets becomes itself transcendence: he is his words, Sirin-bird-bard.46

The reversal of tone and sense, from lonely, despairing, and earthbound to exultant and soaring, is signified by a mirror-like

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46 At the end of the title poem of his collection Chast' rechi [A Part of Speech], Joseph Brodsky employs a mirroring play of which both English and Russian are capable in this case to express the idea that one informs, is informed by, and is part of the spoken word, especially when it is the bard’s grammatically and rhetorically rigorous word: Ot vsego chełoveka vam ostavotsya chast'/ rechi. Chast' rechi voobsche. Chast' rechi. “What gets left of a man amounts/ to a part. To his spoken part. To a part of speech.” In English, “spoken part” must resonate also with the “...poor player/ That struts and frets his hour upon the stage/ And then is heard no more”: mortal man, in the Scottish play, Act V, Scene vi. To understand fully Brodsky’s conception of the sound of the poem itself as the immortal part of its maker and his ultimate expression, one must refer to the poem Alexander Genis calls Brodsky’s Pamyatnik: U vsego est' predel:/ Horizont—u zrachka, u otchayan'ya—pamyat'/: dlya rosta— rasshirenie plech:/ Tol'ko zvuk otdelyat'sya sposoben ot tel:/ Vrode prizraka, Tomas:/ Sirostvol/ zvuka, Tomas, est' reč'! “Everything has its limit:/ The eye, the horizon; memory, for despair:/ Height, one's shoulders squared./ Only a sound is capable of detaching itself from bodies./ Like a ghost, Tomas./ The orphanhood/ Of sound, Tomas, is speech!” (Litovskii noktyurn, XVIII, in Uraniya). This immortal speech, detached from the decaying flesh, is not repetitive, though, but unique: the verse Whitman declares in “O Me! O Life!” that each man may contribute to the eternal, powerful play.
reversal of meter itself: dactyl (§ - ) to anapest (- - §).

The ability to see this world in the looking-glass is Nabokov’s special gift, and liberation, and glory. At the end (lines 120-124) he stresses the image:

No odnazhdy, plasty razumen’ya drobya,  
uglublyayasi’ v svoyo klyuchevoye,  
ya uvidel, kak v zerkale, mir, i sebya,  
i drugoye, drugoye, drugoye.

But one day while disrupting the strata of sense  
and descending deep down to my wellspring  
I saw mirrored, beside my own self and the world,  
something else, something else, something else.

Nabokov’s nightingale, his slavii of slava, is a bird who  
transports one through the looking glass and transforms the  
quotidian into the marvelous. But it is also slovo, the word itself,  
which shapes and is shaped by the poet; and sound alone is  
capable of detaching from this decaying flesh, sound carrying  
word into glory and immortality. Where Nabokov mentions the  
nightingale outright, he foregrounds it in punning and names it  
in a mirror-like etymologizing reversal, too:

47 In Strong Opinions, 98. Nabokov declares, “I am as American as April in  
Arizona,” a locution which “conceals and transforms so many clichés of  
American culture” (Elizabeth K. Beaumour, Alien Tongues: Bilingual Russian  
Writers of the “First” Emigration, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press,  
1989, 82). Since the Nabokovs used to go butterfly-collecting in the Western  
states every summer, it is not a dishonest declaration; but it clearly plays  
upon the expectation of “...as apple pie”, and surprises one with the  
substitution by the strong spirant /zl/ in the last word of the expected  
labial/liquid pattern (April, apple, pie) yet rounds the strophe poetically by  
echoing “American” with “Arizona”. But the word American (- § - ) has a  
dactyl; Arizona (- - §-), an anapaest; so when Nabokov departs from the  
cliché for the exotic, liberated and liberating new vision, he uses this marker  
of a meter seeing itself in the mirror, and beholding something new,  
something else.
Among the animals that haunt our verse, that bird of bards, regale of night, comes first: scores of locutions mimicking its throat render its every whistling, bubbling, bursting, flutelike or cuckoolike or ghostlike note

Regale + night › nightingale, Ger. Nachtigall; bird/bard provides the association of the poet’s craft and coin, slovo “word” and slava “glory”, with slaviš/solovei, “nightingale” to follow.

PALE FIRE

We have seen that Nabokov encoded through Horace, Derzhavin, and Pushkin his own bardic claim to glory in a footnote in his Commentary to the Slovo o polku Igoreve that discusses the unnamed author’s equally furtive claim, made through the prelude describing Boyan, the nightingale of olden time. There is nothing new about such oblique contrivances: Virgil’s seems a Pythagorean numerical puzzle. Given the

49 Pythagoreans, and Platonic readers of the Timaeus thereafter, were interested in the tetraktys, a figure of 9 (i.e., 3x3) points plus one to make the perfect number 10. Virgil accordingly encodes himself in a triad of places into the Aeneid:
1) Spectator of one’s own picture. Virgil declares Jupiter’s covenant with—and decree of the future of—Rome, which divides into periods of 3+30+300 years, plus infinity (equal to the ineffable Unity), i.e., 3+3+3+1 tetraktys. This covers the events of the poem itself and shortly thereafter. In this early part of the book, Achates and Aeneas arrive at Carthage and see their own past on a new bas-relief.
2) In Book VI in Hades, a vision only a bard can vouchsafe, Achates runs past a relief of Icarus that is not there. So the bardic power of ekphrasis is stressed without the intervention of any picture at all. This is a second, more spiritual level of art. And indeed here it is decreed that others will be better painters and sculptors: Rome’s genius is to be the higher logos of reason, expressed through Law.
3) Aeneas receives his shield, which portrays the future Empire. He delights in the pictures, understanding nothing of them, and takes up willingly the burden of his nation’s future. This third experience of art,
importance Nabokov ascribed to form, one must consider the relation of his scholarly publications to his fiction. His extraordinary novel *Pale Fire* (1962) consists of an edition poem of 999 lines, the 1000th of which would have been identical to line one. Its author, John Shade, is a reflection and ghost: he does not live to write that last line, though we know what it is. An Introduction and Commentary enclose the poem: the editor, Charles Kinbote, is himself a mirror-character. He is either the deposed king of a semi-Slavic, semi-Scandinavian country, Zembla; or he is the deranged Russian professor Botkin. He lives in a rented house. Its owner, a judge, may be stalked by an escaped criminal, Jack Gray; or else an assassin, Jacob Gradus (who himself has a mirror-double, Sudarg of Bokay, a master of—what else?—glassmaking), has been dispatched by the revolutionary régime to kill the king. Pekka Tammi argues that the “ready model” for *Pale Fire* is “the scheme of a scholarly edition adopted by Nabokov in his four-volume *Eugene Onegin* (1964), finished before the novel.” On its mirror-worlds, she observes, following Věra Nabokov, that “it may well be on the

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50 “I was the shadow of the waxwing slain/ By the false azure in the windowpane/ I was the smudge of ashen fluff—and I/ Lived on, flew on, in the reflected sky.” I wonder whether Shade’s first vision, and his subsequent musings on objects reflected in the glass and seen as though deposited upon the ground outdoors, might owe something to one of Nabokov’s favorite poets, Vladislav Khodasevich. This is *Berlinskoe* (“Berlin poem”: Chto zh, ot oznoba i prostudy), 14-24 Sept. 1922 (Stikhovoreniya, [Biblioteka Poeta, Bol’shaya Seriya], Leningrad: Sovetskii Pisatel’, 1989, 161, no. 175), in my tr.: “Well, then, for chill and cold/ There’s cognac or hot grog./ Here’s music, the clink of plates./ And a lilac sort of dusk./ // And there, beyond the thick, big/ Polished glass./ As though in a darkened aquarium./ A blue aquarium—// Multi-eyed trams/ Swim between submarine lindens./ Like electric schools/ Of shining, lazy fish./ // And there, slipping into the nighttime rot/ On the thickness of the alien glass/ In the carriage windows is reflected/ The surface of my table./ // And, penetrating into a stranger’s life/ Suddenly with disgust I recognize/ My lifeless, severed/ Head at night.”
ultimate indeterminacy of such questions (as whether Zembla exists or not any more than anything else in *Pale Fire* exists within an agreed reality—J.R.R.) that much of the joy of reading this novel hinges.” It is Nabokov’s tribute to Pushkin, his own 20th-century *roman v stikhakh*, “novel in verse”. Alexander Dolinin agrees, in his essay on Nabokov’s translation of *Eugene Onegin*, that “now and then the authorial persona of the commentary (on Pushkin—J.R.R.), not unlike the protagonist of *Pale Fire*, grows out of proportion and starts to supplant the reality of Pushkin and his novel by self-projections....” He suggests Nabokov intended the Commentary in *Pale Fire* to mimic the structure of that written for *Onegin*, “which, in his words, builds up the character of Pushkin ‘by means of ... digressions or brief interpolations, nostalgic yearnings, sensuous enchantments, bitter memories, professional remarks, and genial banter (II.170)’.”51 Nabokov uses all these discursive strategies to create a living, detailed picture of Pushkin’s work, reading, life and times. Kinbote, by contrast, employs the structure of the commentary on a text to write about himself and his perhaps delusional world of Zembla. Shade is a heterosexual, and the poem deals with his love for his wife Sybil and their grief over the suicide of their daughter, Hazel, which occurs at the exact midpoint of the poem. The commentator is homosexual, loathes Sybil, and is entirely indifferent to Hazel. He will typically take a single word out of context and use it as the pretext for a long footnote about palace intrigues or paederastic dalliances in Zembla. His motto might have been, “Only disconnect.”

Again, Nabokov, as we have seen, does the opposite in his own scholarly work: the short note to a long chunk of text in his Commentary on the *Song*, far from obscuring or distorting Boyan, places the ancient bard within a catena of poetic apologiae whose leitmotif is *slovo* and *slava*—and *slavii*, too. The *Song* deals with the epoch of the Varangian presence in

Rus'; and one recalls the mixed Slavo-Scandinavian milieu of Zembla in *Pale Fire*. Could Nabokov's work on the *Song* have been as germane to the idea of *Pale Fire* as his work on *Onegin*, or perhaps even more so? Nabokov had loved the *Igor* epic since his school days, and he studied it at Cambridge. He collaborated on a translation with Roman Jakobson and Marc Szeftel (the latter, Galya Diment has argued in her *Pniniad*, was perhaps the model for Pnin) through the late 1940's; and he put finishing touches to his work on the *Song* in Corral Log Cabins, Afton, Wyoming, in August 1952. Kinbote completes his work on Shade's poem at the fictional "Cedarn, Utana"—obviously an amalgam of Utah and Montana (Wyoming lies between them). One would expect this correspondence alone to have put Nabokov's chief biographer on the track of a link between *Pale Fire* and the *Song*; but in the index to Brian Boyd's monograph, *Nabokov's Pale Fire: The Magic of Artistic Discovery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), I find no mention of *Slovo o polku Igoreve*.

But Priscilla Meyer, in her earlier study *Find What the Sailor Has Hidden: Vladimir Nabokov's 'Pale Fire'* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), had seen the influences plainly: she notes how Nabokov seeded *Pale Fire* with references to Norse literature in order to create Zembla and to reassert old Viking-Russian connections; she writes that Nabokov's commentary on the *Song* was "the literary-historical point of departure for *Pale Fire*," and she points out the note to line 681 in *Pale Fire* with its reference to the Zemblan forger of "a famous old Russian *chanson de geste*, generally attributed to an anonymous bard of the twelfth century." (One must keep in mind Nabokov's propensity to play hide-and-seek: since the forger belongs to the mirror-world of Zembla, in some hypothetical real world the *Chanson* is probably genuine!) As to *Onegin*, she recognizes its influence on *Pale Fire* and goes so far as to term Nabokov's study "a literary autobiography that

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mimics a commentary.” But Meyer, who in her admirable work of scholarship found most of what the sailor had hidden, still did not unearth the pamyatnik: there are plenty of happy discoveries awaiting the attentive reader still. “Kinbote places himself,” Meyer writes, “at the center of a series of circles focused on self rather than on the expanding universe that his scholarship should have revealed to him.” In his footnote on Boyan in the commentary to the Song, though, Nabokov renders homage to the poets of Russia, from the Slavonic bards to the 18th century to Pushkin, and on into the present time, their words ever alive and echoing, the holy words of poetic power radiating across the universe as if borne on the wings of eagles and sung by the birds of speech who regale the night.

We are perhaps some distance from a magic eagle in illo tempore, its power mastered by saints and their words of power in an Armenian spell. But the verses of the Russian Symbolist Nikolai Gumilyov belong to a kindred poetic culture and heritage of East Christian faith and Indo-Iranian-tinged myth. So one may catch both slovo and slava, in the charged primordial Word of Creation, logos and mantra, poem and prayer, that paralyzes an eagle and frightens the stars:

53 Meyer, 41, 53, 55, 63, 140. John Lyons, “Pale Fire and the fine art of annotation,” in L.S. Dembo, ed., Nabokov: The Man and His Work, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, 157-164. points out the similarity of Nabokov’s comment in Onegin, II, 79, that he is prevented by “a barbarous regime” from going to Leningrad to consult playbills in libraries to Kinbote’s complaint in Cedarn that he has no access to a library and must quote references from memory. This seems to me only a very distant comparison. Afton, Wyoming is much closer to Cedarn than the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library. It is important also to stress that for Nabokov the American West, which he visited in the company of a loving family, was a place of beauty and continuous marvel. For Kinbote it is all misery and exile—and here, too, Kinbote is the antithesis, the mirror-opposite of his demiurge. Lyons does not seem to have recognized the influence of the Song in Pale Fire.

54 Meyer, 96.

The Word

On the day when above the newly-made world
God inclined His face,
They used to make the Sun halt with the Word;
By the Word cities were laid waste.

And the Eagle would not beat his wings,
The Stars fled, clinging to the Moon,
When, appearing as a rosy flame,
The Word upon heaven sailed.\(^{56}\)

But for the lower life there were the numbers
Like domestic animals harnessed to the plow.
For the number, intelligent, conveys
All of meaning’s necessary shades.

The grey Patriarch, who had subdued
Both good and evil ‘neath his hand,
Determined not to assay sound
Engrossed the Number on the sand.

But we forgot the Word alone
Shines in the midst of this world’s woes:
The Gospel according to St. John,
The Word is God declared.

We fixed as its boundary
Nature’s mean limits, though:
And like bees in an abandoned hive
The words now dead smell foul.

\(^{56}\) I oryol ne vznakhval krylami/, Zvyozdy zhalis’ v uzhase k lune/, Esti, tochno rozovoye plamya/, Slovo proplyvalo v vyshine.
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fig. 1
fig. 3

fig. 4
THE EARLY ARMENIAN HERMIT: FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE SYRIAC SOURCES

Edward G. Mathews, Jr.

In a previous article, also dedicated to this volume’s honoree, I have already noted that I had the great honor to pursue my studies under Prof. Nina Garsoian “at the zenith of her teaching career”.¹ Her many seminal contributions to the field of Persian influence in the Armenian sphere will be required reading for generations to come.² She has wished—I think—that I would commit myself to unearthing the various strata of Syriac influence on early Christian Armenia.³ While I fear that I have

¹ E.G. Mathews, Jr., “The Life of Maštoc as an Encomium: A Reassessment,” Revue des études arméniennes 24 (1993), 5. I am pleased to be able to so honor Prof. Garsoian again; not only is she a tremendous scholar and an inspiring teacher, but she has always been a friend and a source of great encouragement to me personally.

² See especially N.G. Garsoian, Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians (Collected Studies 218), London: Variorum Reprints, 1985; eadem, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Paimuttiwtk) (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989; eadem, L’église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d’Orient (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 574), Louvain: Peeters, 1999; eadem, Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia (Collected Studies 648), Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999; other items can be found in her complete bibliography, at the beginning of this volume.

failed her miserably in this more general investigation, having spent most of my time on a single—and relatively late—corpus of works, I am nonetheless pleased to offer this little introductory investigation into the Syriac sources for the history of the earliest stages of the eremitical life in Armenia.

It is due largely to the work of Nina Garsoian that scholars are now aware that the history of the beginnings of Christianity in Armenia was distorted already by early Armenian historians. At the head of this tradition stands the *History of the Armenians* composed by a certain, almost too aptly named, Agafangelos, whose Greek—not Armenian—name means “Bearer of Good News”. This work recounts the situation of Armenia at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century, focusing particularly on the missions of Grigor Lusaworîč. This source claims that Christianity was introduced into Armenia by Grigor from Byzantium, and in particular from Cappadocia. The role of evangelization played by the Church of Syria was also long obscured by this view of Armenia’s origins, which Robert Thomson has aptly dubbed “the received tradition”. This same bias has also left its prejudicial mark on studies of early Armenian monasticism.

Just over a century ago, Erwand Ter-Minassiantz published an important monograph on the relationship between the churches of Syria and Armenia down to the thirteenth century. In the first chapter of this work, he supplied some evidence, largely linguistic, of Syrian influence on early Armenian

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4 This phrase, used to designate the works of Agafangelos, Elišè, and Mówšè Xorenâç, whose greccophile histories have significantly determined the lens through which nearly all subsequent Armenian historians have viewed their own history, has rightly received general acceptance; see R.W. Thomson, tr., Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976, vii, xvii-xviii; and idem, tr., Moses Khorenats’i, *History of the Armenians* (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, 61.
monasticism. In the same year that this study appeared, Hagob Thopdschian published the first critical inquiry into the origins of Armenian monasticism. In his study, Thopdschian carefully examined the early Armenian sources and concluded, in support of the traditional view, that the earliest Armenian monasticism developed in the fourth century from the cenobitic style of monasticism associated with Byzantium and specifically with that developed by Basil of Caesarea. His argument rests primarily on two points: on his preference for the account of Agathangelos, who makes the Syrian bishop Daniel a disciple of Grigor Lusaworić; and on a list of a dozen Armenian monastic terms for which he supplied Greek equivalents.

In the very same year, in a later fascicule of the very same journal, Ter-Minassiantz took issue with Thopdschian, claiming that his conclusions "must be rejected as untenable and completely erroneous." He observes that Thopdschian compiled his list of parallel vocabulary indiscriminately, taking

6 Numerous other publications preceded this article of Thopdschian but these dealt primarily with the archaeology or history of well-established medieval monasteries, and generally handed down traditional legends or accounts; they were very uncritical of the sources. For a list of some of them, see G. Amadouni, "Le rôle historique des hiéromoines arméniens," in Il Monachesimo Orientale Atti del Convegno di Studi Orientali che sul predetto tema si tenne a Roma, sotto la direzione del Pont. Istituto Orientale (9-12 aprile 1958) (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 153), Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1958, 279-281.
8 E. Ter-Minassiantz, "Einige Bemerkungen zu Dr. H. Thopdschians Artikel 'Die Anfänge des armenischen Mönchtums'," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 25 (1904), 630: "So kommen wir zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Versuch Thopdschians, das armenische Mönchtum aus Cäsarea abzuleiten, als unhaltbar und gänzlich misslungen zurückgewiesen werden muss."
no consideration of when and where the Armenian terms were used, and that his Greek parallels were just that: parallels with no direct influence; parallels with Syrian monastic vocabulary were just as easy to find as Greek, and in the case of ււ իւ իւ իւ “mourner,” the word is clearly a direct borrowing from Syriac and cannot have come from Greek. Later, oft-cited studies, such as the more recent article of Amadouni, nonetheless maintained—curiously, with no recognition of either the study of Thopdschian or that of Ter-Minassiantz!—that a cenobitic form of monasticism was clearly established in Armenia in the fourth century, and that it had been brought there by Grigor Lusavorić from Cappadocia.9

While it is now generally acknowledged that the nascent Armenian church was influenced by both the Byzantine and the Syrian churches (by the latter primarily in the south and by the former in the north), no real study of early Armenian monasticism has been attempted since the article of Amadouni. It must also be added here that with regard to the question of monasticism in Armenia, none of the studies mentioned above made any attempt to distinguish between the cenobitic and the eremitical forms of asceticism. The earliest sources do not—at first glance—seem to speak of any cenobitical lifestyles, and earlier arguments to the contrary were often due to lexical anachronisms (see further, below). Garsoian has herself demonstrated the tenuous nature of the sources that claim Basilian influence.10 She has even suggested that the cenobitic lifestyle did not enter into Armenia before the late fifth century, perhaps even the early sixth century, and that this lifestyle came

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not from Cappadocia but from Palestine.\textsuperscript{11} Today, it is generally conceded that the earliest Armenian asceticism developed in the south and was therefore primarily influenced by Syrian models, but this position has remained more one of consensus, or one of assertion, than one of scholarly demonstration; no real serious study has been done since the time of Ter-Minassiantz to set out in any detail just what this influence was.

It is not the purpose of this article to construct such a detailed synthesis; alas, the sources do not permit such a thing.\textsuperscript{12} It has rather the much simpler purpose of gathering together certain scattered details, from both the early Syrian and the early Armenian sources, in order to highlight in greater detail than has been done heretofore the close connections of early Syrian eremitical asceticism with what can be known of the earliest Armenian asceticism. It seems to me that the connections can most clearly be seen through a careful examination of the terminology that is applied to these hermits, and by an attentive comparison of the description of the respective eremitical lifestyles. Each of these has been attempted before, but only in very brief and unsystematic fashion.

\textsuperscript{11} N.G. Garsoian, “Le témoignage d’Anastas Vardapet sur les monastères arméniens de Jérusalem à la fin du VI siècle,” Travaux et Mémoires 14 (2002), 267: “...cela nous amènerait peut-être à l’hypothèse que c’est dans les monastères palestiniens et hiérosolymitains de la seconde moitié du V et du début du VI siècle, à l’époque où leur prestige atteignait justement son apogée, et non dans la Cappadoce basilienne du IV, que nous devrions chercher les modèles des fondations cénobitiques dont les premiers indices en Grande Arménie ne peuvent être écelés, au plus tôt, avant la fin du VI siècle.” See also her draft paper, “The Problem of Early Armenian Monasticism,” in which she develops this argument further. For an opposing view, see the study of A. Terian, “An Overview of Armenian Monasticism,” forthcoming in a Festschrift for Michael E. Stone; I would like to thank both Professors Garsoian and Terian for their great generosity in making available to me these not yet published papers.

\textsuperscript{12} Prof. Garsoian and I hope to publish a monograph on the origins of eremiticism and cenoitic monasticism in Armenia.
VOCABULARY

In his monograph of over a century ago, Ter-Minassiantz had already brought attention to certain ecclesiastical vocabulary that clearly stems directly from Syriac, as well as to a number of obviously Greek terms that came into Armenian, not directly but via Syriac. Of these terms only one, and perhaps a second, can be termed in any sense ascetical or monastic vocabulary: Ṽηηηη “mourner”; and, perhaps, ῶηηη “fast,” both of which are clearly direct borrowings from Syriac. Vööbus later added a few terms to this general list but his additions included no ascetic or monastic terms beyond those two already adduced by Ter-Minassiantz. In a previous article in this journal I brought attention to a few ascetical terms which, while not direct borrowings from Syriac, were clearly calques on Syriac terms and which helped to shed a little more light on the connections between Armenian and Syrian asceticism in their earliest stages. This particular list was compiled strictly to show contemporary Syriac parallels to very specific terms that were used in one long description of the Armenian ascetic Gind, found in VI.16 of the Buzandaran Patmutiwnk.


14 For the first term, see the list below; for the second, this term is clearly not restricted to a formal eremitical or monastic life, but it does clearly derive from Syriac Ṽηηη, Ṽηη.

15 A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 197), Louvain: Peeters, 1960, 355. It is very possible that two other terms he mentions, Ṽηηηη Θη and Ṽηηηηηη, also came into Armenian via Syrian ascetics, but as they are not specifically ascetic terms they are not treated here.

The following list is intended to be a bit more comprehensive. It is a listing of terms used as titles of ascetics, which are found chiefly in three early Armenian sources, namely: Korinw, *Life of Maštoc*, the *Buzandaran Paimutiwnk*, and Agafangelos, *History of the Armenians*, with occasional references to other works. Their underlying Syriac counterparts have been drawn from contemporary Syriac sources, primarily five ascetic texts: four mêmrê, or poems, and one letter, once thought to have come from the pen of Ephrem, the great fourth-century Syriac poet and biblical commentator.

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17 It should be noted here that of the few instances taken from Agafangelos, *History of the Armenians*, some of the wording, and therefore the vocabulary, has been borrowed from Korinw’s *Life of Maštoc*; see Thomson, *Agathangelos*, lxxxviii-lxxxix.

18 These five poems are described by A. Vööbus (*History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II*, 2-10), who defended their authorship by Ephrem. Two of the mêmrê and the letter were edited, with German translation, in E. Beck, ed., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones IV* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 334-335), Louvain: Peeters, 1973, 1-16, 16-28, 28-43, respectively. I have nearly completed an edition of the other two mêmrê, with annotated English translations of all five texts; see below.
mourner տղամարդ 19 տղամարդկանց 20 պատանի 21 պատանիկներ 22 պատրաստակ 23 պատասխան 24 պատրաստակի 25 պատրաստակություն 26 պատրաստակություններ 27 պատրաստություն 28 պատրաստություններ 29 պատրաստություն 29 պատրաստություն 30 պատրաստություն 31 պատրաստություն 32 պատրաստություն 33 պատրաստություն 34 պատրաստություն 35 պատրաստություն 36 պատրաստություն

Desert-dweller ալգերիա ալգերիաներ ալգերիաներ ալգերիաներ ալգերիա
Enclosed/cloistered քանդակ քանդակ քանդակ քանդակ քանդակ
Mountain-dweller տեղակայում տեղակայում տեղակայում տեղակայում տեղակայում
Toiler/laborer ամուսին ամուսին ուժ ուժ
Solitary ենթարկվող ենթարկվող ենթարկվող ենթարկվող ենթարկվող

19 Պատրաստակ այս անգամ սկսվում է որպես գույն գովազդ, Քրիստոսյան Զգում, 4հ. Վենեցիա: San Lazzaro, 1933, VI.16, p. 274; N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawsstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmuwnk), 239. The Armenian references in this list are meant to be rather representative than comprehensive.

20 The Syriac title “քանդակ ամուսին ենթարկվող” [head of the mourners], Arm., քանդակ ամուսին ենթարկվող, applied to Gind in the Buzandaran (Պատրաստակ այս անգամ սկսվում է որպես գույն գովազդ, Քրիստոսյան Զգում, VI.16, p. 274; N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawsstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmuwnk), 239, is found in Syriac sources used of a number of famous figures, including Antony the Great, Evagrius, Symeon Stylistes, and even Barsauma of Nisibis; see R. Payne Smith, ed. Thesaurus Syriacus, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879, 1901 (reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1999), col. 15.

21 Պատրաստակ այս անգամ սկսվում է որպես գույն գովազդ, Քրիստոսյան Զգում, V.25, 26, VI.16, pp. 223, 224, 274; N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawsstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmuwnk), 205, 206, 239, 240.
This term is not found in the five Syriac texts mentioned above, but the idea of the toil and the labor of the ascetic is prevalent in all of them. The term itself, however, is found in E.W. Brooks, ed., John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints I (Patrologia Orientalis 17.1), Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923, 50, where it is used in conjunction with solitary and mountain-dwellers as if it were one of the most common terms for a hermit.
One must also add here the following two terms:

monastery քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք Քաղաք
hermit քաղաքի քաղաքի Քաղաքի Քաղաքի Քաղաքի Քաղաքի Քաղաքի Քաղաքի

While these last two terms are clearly calques on their Syriac counterparts, perhaps even coined specifically for the new ascetic lifestyle, the Armenian word քաղաք is, like its Syriac counterpart, a widely attested general term for any dwelling. The Syriac word, ܕܝܪܐ - dayrå, which only later came to be used specifically of a monastery, is in early texts still used in its general meaning of any dwelling—whether it be a man-made construct or not. Many early scholars have translated this word anachronistically and have thus provided a very inaccurate picture of early Syrian asceticism; exactly the same phenomenon has occurred in Armenian with the term քաղաք. A number of scholars have likewise presumed the existence of monasteries in early Armenia simply because they find the term Քաղաք. The term Քաղաք, however, seems to have been coined specifically on the analogy of the Syriac, ܕܝܪܐ - dayrå, one who inhabits the Քաղաք, or ܕܝܪܐ - dayrå.

37 There also exist the alternate spellings Քաղաք and Քաղաք.
Other terminology in their monastic usages, such as ἱρμοτομεῖν, ἱρμαρίφ, ἰμμαραῖον, that were noted by Thopdschian, are not to be found in these early texts and are, therefore, not treated here.

DESCRIPTION OF LIFESTYLE

The foregoing list of Syriac vocabulary—not simply the terminology but also the strikingly analogous usage—with its early Armenian counterparts ought to be sufficient evidence that early Armenian asceticism derived almost exclusively from its Syrian neighbors. Above and beyond this, however, strong resemblances to the contemporary descriptions of early Syrian hermits are to be found even in the very brief descriptions that have survived of the lifestyles of the early Armenian ascetics. In addition to the comments of Ter-Minassiantz noted above, Arthur Vööbus has painted, in very quick and broad strokes, a description of the parallels between the early Armenian and Syrian ascetic lifestyles.40 In the same article referenced above, I brought together two isolated texts, one Armenian and one Syriac, that manifested very similar descriptions of early Armenian and Syrian asceticism.41 None of these brief attempts, however, has really conveyed how close and how consistent the similarities in the Armenian and the contemporary Syrian descriptions really are. It is to be hoped that the following comparison of texts will bring into sharper focus and set out in greater detail the extent of these similarities.

We might begin with two brief general descriptions of Armenian asceticism: the first from Koriwn’s Life of Maštoc, the second from the Buzandaran, describing the lifestyle of Gind and his companions:

40 A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient I (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 184), Louvain: Peeters, 1958, vi-viii; idem, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient II, 353-358; on 358 he says: “There is no doubt that the early Armenian monasticism received its character and pattern from the Syrian monks.”
[The blessed Maštoč] subjected himself to all types of spiritual discipline—solitude, dwelling in the mountains, hunger, thirst, living on herbs, [dwelling] in dark cells, clad in sackcloth, with the floor as his bed. Very often, while standing in vigil, he would satisfy his need for sleep and a night’s pleasant rest with a [mere] blink of his eyes. And he did all this not a few times.⁴²

They lived in the desert, in inaccessible rock-hewn caverns, or in caves in the ground, having but one garment [and] going barefoot; they were abstemious, eating only herbs, vegetables, and roots. They wandered about like wild beasts in the mountains, covered with skins, hides, and goatskins, bearing want, suffering, and anguish, straying through the desert in cold and in heat, in hunger and in thirst, for the love of God.... Like flocks of birds, they dwelled in the clefts of the rocks, in stony caves, with nothing, possessing nothing, sparing themselves nothing, and giving no care to their bodies.⁴³

From these two very similar descriptions, we can note the following emphases:

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⁴² M. Abelyan, ed., Կարճ կրթագրություն Մայրության ժամանակ, § 4, p. 86; Աստվածաշինության առաջաբանության վկայական համարվության և բացազատման հարցներ, կառավարման, արհեստական և բնագավառային առաջաբանության, զարգացման և զարգացման պնդոմների հորացման համար, կառավարման, կարգավորման, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պնդոմների կապը, զարգացման հորացման և զարգացման պ

⁴³ Ուշադրություն հասարակության իրավունքի ժամանակ, VI.16, pp. 274-275; թուրքիական բազմազանության խիստ հայտնաբերություն և բազմազան բազմազանության խիստ հայտնաբերության, համարվության և բազմազանության խիստ հայտնաբերության, երևանհայ զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտնաբերության, զարգացման և զարգացման հորացման խիստ հայտ

N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 239.
(1) dwelling in mountains, caves, deserts, etc.
(2) diet of herbs, roots, etc.
(3) garments of sackcloth, animal skins, etc.
(4) vigils

In each one of these four categories, we will set out the parallel descriptions, principally taken from the same Armenian and Syrian texts as those consulted for the vocabulary lists compiled above. For the most part, the texts will be left to speak for themselves. Note should be made here, however, that the Syriac texts are mostly poetic texts, and because of their style, which to modern readers may appear rather prolix, somewhat longer selections are required. It is hoped that the parallels will nonetheless be quite clear.

Dwelling Place

As noted above, the dwelling place of these ascetics is to be found in those places most remote from civilization: mountain peaks, dens, caves, or inaccessible caverns. Compare:

Arm:
[Maštoč] established many and countless groups of monks in inhabited as well as in uninhabited places, countless groups in lowlands, in mountains, in caves, and in cloisters. From time to time he showed himself as an example to them. From all the monasteries he took with him a few pupils to retire into the mountains and to live in caves. They secluded themselves in caverns....

44 M. Abelyan, ed., TextWriter, l'Armenie, §22, p. 128; trans., 293. The first sentence of this quotation is used, almost verbatim, of Grigor Lusaworić in R.W. Thomson, tr., Agathangelos, History of the Armenians, 379.
[Bp. Daniel's] dwelling was set in uninhabited mountains.... And on this spot [Haçecâ Draxt (Ash Grove)] was the place of St. Daniel's cell, the cave that he had made his dwelling....

There were two anchorite religious living-in-the-mountains. The name of one, who was a Syrian by race and who lived on Mt. Lion, was Şalitay. The name of the other was Epiłan. He was a Greek by race, and he lived on the great mountain called the Throne of Anahit, which was the home of the pagan gods. Both of them were disciples of St. Daniel.... These were men of angelic life, nurtured and living in the desert, and they were able to perform the greatest signs and their actions were known and familiar to all.

The blessed saint Epiłan had been a disciple of the great Daniel together with Şalitay, and he had been nurtured from childhood in the desert. After the death of the great high-priest Nersēs, he went and dwelt in the desert of Great Copk at a place called Mambrē on the river named Mamuşēl. And he dwelt in rocky caves, ...he was constantly in the desert and wrought the greatest signs and miracles. He filled the land of Copk with solitary-communities and gave teachers.... He also ... filled the land of Ajniük with solitary-communities.

St. Gind filled all the deserts with solitaries and all the inhabited places with communities, and in the world he corrected and set down many regulations for mankind, according to the God-loving religion. But for his own lot, he took as a dwelling place the desert from which spring the sources of the Epрат River. He lived there

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45 Ῥοβίλον Ροκηφήνων Ρωμαῖς Ροκήν. III.14, p. 48; trans., N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 87.
46 Ῥοβίλον Ροκηφήνων Ρωμαῖς Ροκήν, V.25, p. 223; trans., N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 205.
47 Ῥοβίλον Ροκηφήνων Ρωμαῖς Ροκήν, V.27, p. 225; tr. N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 206-207.
in “a cleft of the rocks”, where the earlier dwelling of the first Grigor had been located. And the name of the place was Oskiḳ.\textsuperscript{48}

Albianos, an honest and God-loving man ... himself at frequent intervals went out to deserted mountains where he made himself an example. He took various of the pupils from their dwelling places and went to live in the mountains in solitude [and] in grottoes and in caves, ... he passed many days in desert places, at the source of the Euphrates River, dwelling in grottoes and caverns in the ground and on the summits of mountains.\textsuperscript{49}

Men, who are in the flesh ... go far from their homeland in the desert, in uncultivated region ... they take flight into hidden recesses and into mountainous [or] desert places.\textsuperscript{50}

\textbf{Syr:}

Take the bird as your model
and do not abdicate your Naziritehood.
Do not lust after the cultivated and inhabited land
lest you request death for yourself.
Do not abandon the caves and clefts
lest you hand a good man over to the dead.
Do not delight in cities\textsuperscript{51}
and do not hate the hills.
For concerning these clefts and caves
it is a small thing to tell their stories;
but among the rocks and crags

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{48} Φωκαίριον ἔρρημον ὑποστηθεὶς ἡμῖν ἦσαν ζωήν. VI.16, pp. 275-276; tr. N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwn)}, 239-240.

\footnotetext{49} R.W. Thomson, tr., \textit{Agathangelos, History of the Armenians}, 381, 383.

\footnotetext{50} Ψηφιζέ, ἔρρημον ὑποστηθεὶς ἡμῖν ἦσαν ζωήν [Word of Advice Concerning Monastics] in \textit{Psiφίζε}, \textit{Ψηφιζέ, ἔρρημον ὑποστηθεὶς ἡμῖν}, [Elišè, Works], Venice: San Lazzaro, 1859, 159. Again, Armenian liturgical prayer remembers this; see the ἐπικοινωνία for ἀρχαιοκρυπτήριον ἑνίκτης [Night Office], which may actually stem from Yovhannis Mandakuni: Φανεροὶ ἐπικοινωνία ἐν ἑνίκτης, 20 \[For those who dwell in mountain places and in caverns and clefts]. I thank both Yervant Kutchukian and Fr. Daniel M. Findikyan for their help here.

\end{footnotes}
have dwelt distinguished men.  
In a cave dwelt Elijah  
and on a mountain peak Elisha.  
John dwelt in the desert  
and in the wilderness Our Lord prayed.  

Delight in the dwelling that is in the wilderness  
so that your dwelling will be Paradise.  

Let us go and see those victors in discipline  
who separated themselves and went out;  
they renounced the inhabited land and humanity  
and dwelt in the wilderness and the desert.  
Let us go and see their dwellings,  
though they live like dead men.  
Let us go and see the caverns made  
for them among the cliffs.  
Let us go and see the deprivation  
of those men who fled from society.  

High places are their chambers,  
and ledges are their habitations.  

For they have no regard for the grave or the end,  
nor are they anxious for their lives.  
Wherever the end of one of them  
arries, there is his grave:  
One conceals himself among the rocks,  
and his end is fulfilled therein.  
There is another who hides himself among the crags,  
and there it becomes his grave.  
There is one whom snow buries  
inside a cave, and that is his grave;  
and another whose person it enshrouds  
and whose limbs it buries.  

52 Ibid., II. 21-24.  
53 Ibid., II. 1. 69.  
54 "On Solitaries and Hermits," II. 75-79, in E.G. Mathews, Jr., ed., Mêmrê on  
Solitaries and Hermits by Mar Isaac the Teacher, forthcoming.  
55 "On Solitaries and Hermits," I. 142.
O men of God, you have discerned that your dwelling should be in the mountains and that you should dwell in waste lands and in deserts, enjoying communion with that God who gives peace to all.57

You have hastened to the desert, and you too have dwelt among the grasses of the earth in order to effect a reconciliation and from there to depart to your paradise, and that the glory of Eden might be returned to you ... you have become companions of the beasts instead of [enjoying] the society of angels and you have eaten grass instead of spiritual food, so that if you seek the ranks of seraphim, they might come after you and take you up from beneath the crags to the towers of fire, and they might snatch you from the grasses of the earth up into the heights, and they might make manifest your secret caves, and they might open the gates of your caverns, and they might make you fly upon the clouds.58

Along with the location of this lifestyle in the hills and in caves, etc., mention is frequently made of the fact that these ascetics often live in the company of, and in harmony with, animals:

Arm:
Epiπán “was constantly with the wild beasts of the desert, and bears and pards gathered to him.”59

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57 E. Beck, ed., Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones IV, 28. Although the editor, Dom Edmund Beck, published these texts under the name of Ephrem, he himself did not consider them authentic. Current scholarship also holds these texts to be non-authentic, but their true authorship does not affect our argument, as they were still composed in the late fourth or early fifth century. In E.G. Mathews, Jr., ed., Memre on Solitaries and Hermits by Mar Isaac the Teacher, forthcoming, I hope to demonstrate the authorship and the date of these texts.
59 Φαύλουνν̂ Πάτραςον̂ Πάτραςον̂ Φαύλουνν̂ Πάτραςον̂ Ζημις, V.27, p. 225; trans., N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 206.
For Šalitay, too, "wild beasts were the companions of his life through all the days of his life." 60

And it is told of Šalitay, perhaps even before the more famous version associated with Jerome, that he had healed a lion whose paw had been pierced by a reed. According to the Buzandaran, this lion was only one of his many—"more than twenty"—such companions, as well as other "wild beasts". 61

**Syr:**

Let us be companions to the mountain-dwellers
and neighbors to the anchorites,
who mingle with the beasts
and take their pleasure among the birds.
They mingle constantly with the stags
and exult among the fawns.
They have become lamps in the mountains
and the [animals] come constantly to them.
Beasts come to them
and weep for them with their groans. 62

You have become companions of the beasts instead of [enjoying]
the society of angels and you have eaten grass instead of spiritual
food. 63

**Diet**

While these texts often speak of the hunger and the thirst of the ascetics, they also highlight the fact that when they did consume food the primary nourishment of these ascetics was

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60 *Φυλασσόμενοι Βουζάνδαραν Γιάννης Χριστόφορος Ζωήγος*, V.26, p. 224; trans., N.G. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Pamutian)*, 206.

61 *Φυλασσόμενοι Βουζάνδαραν Γιάννης Χριστόφορος Ζωήγος*, V.26, p. 224; trans., N.G. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Pamutian)*, 206, and see note on 319-320.

62 "On Solitaries and Hermits," II. 190-192, 194, 213.

whatever nature provided: herbs, roots, pulse, and such like. Compare:

**Arm:**
The disciples of Maštoč "secluded themselves in caverns and ended the day by receiving their daily nourishment from herbs."

For the Bishop Daniel, "his food was the roots of plants."

Of Šalitay it was said, almost as if it were an expression for this ascetic life, that "he had eaten grass with the anchorites-of-the-desert."

It is reported that among the disciples of Epišan there were "some among them who from their childhood had never eaten any food except for herbs and water, and as far as the taste of wine, they knew not what it might be."

As already noted above, the disciples of Gind "were abstemious, eating only herbs, vegetables, and roots."

"[Albianos and pupils] made herbs their daily food."
Gaianē and her company were also described as living solitary lives and “eating vegetables”; literally, they were “pulse eaters” [φυταντες ἐστιν οἱ ποιμνικοὶ].

Although not attributed directly to such ascetics, a similar description is given in Yovhannēs Mayragomeči’s *Homily on the Rigor of Fasting*, concerning some serious fasters:

For some of them content themselves with only herbs [γυμναι γης] as nourishment, and others dine only on fruits for nourishment; some eat only bark from trees or roots from grasses, while others appease themselves with a small bit of pulse [μήλη].

**Syr:***

Drink water from ponds
so that the river of Eden might give you drink.
Eat the leaves of trees
so that the tree of life might provide for you.
Take your nourishment from seed
that your wing might receive life.
Hunger that has eaten away at your flesh
will throw you the blessing of Eden.
Thirst that your tissues have drunk
will make the font of life flow for you.
Fasting that has dried up your face
will brighten His face and He will come to meet you.

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72 “On Solitaries,” ll. 70-72, 81-83.
Their table is the herbs of the mountains
and their victuals what is in their belly.
Their meal is wild herbs
and their dinners are roots.
Their drink is water from ponds,
wine dripping from rocks.  

They set up a table in the wilderness
and on it are set out roots.

It is these who, in the place of delicacies, feed on grass and roots;
It is these who, in the place of tables at dinner time
set the grass they take for food upon their knees.
It is these whose drink is water in the place of wines.

Before him is his table, in whatever place he finds himself;
whenever the time comes, he gathers up small herbs,
and chews on them,
for by the herbs that he gathered he refreshes himself in faith.
The leftovers that remain he leaves behind and departs from there,
because he heard that word, "Be not anxious about tomorrow."

Garments

These ascetics clearly had no concern for their attire, as their
only garment was a single piece of sackcloth or animal skin:

Arm:
From the descriptions already given above, "Maštoč ... was clad in
sackcloth," while Gind and his companions had only one garment
of skin or hide.

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73 "On Solitaries and Hermits."
II. 144-145.
74 Ibid., 193.
76 Ibid., 21-22.
77 Φαποτούρ τοποτούργηση Φαμύντικι Πασμάτον, VI.16, p. 275; trans.,
N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Παστός Βυζαντινός
(Buzandaran Patmafiwnk), 239.
In addition to these:

“Aristakès ... wore a hair shirt.”

Bishop Daniel “had only a single garment of skins.”

“Arostom, the brother of Bishop Pawstos ... wandered in the desert and the mountains dressed in skins.”

Syr:
Take delight in the sackcloth in which the righteous triumphed in their contests.
Come, let us also see their bodies that are clothed with their hair.
Come, let us also see the sackcloth of those who prostrate themselves in prayer.

To a king silk is harsh
while to them sackcloth is soft.

Fine linens and silks avail [them] nothing,
but the sackcloth of the mourners is splendid.

It is these who have exchanged silks for rags or nakedness.

They bear the burden of their hair and the sufferings from their garments;
some put on horse-cloth, and some coverings woven from straw.

79 Φιλιαμαρνετρ φωςοματημενν Φωματιναμαμ μυρ Ζωμανγ, III.14, p. 48; trans., N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 87.
80 Φιλιαμαρνετρ φωςοματημενν Φωματιναμαμ μυρ Ζωμανγ, VI.6, p. 269; trans., N.G. Garsoian, The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk), 235.
81 “On Solitaries,” II.1.63.
82 “On Solitaries and Hermits,” II. 85-86.
83 Ibid., II. 200-201.
85 Ibid., 21.
It is said of Bishop Daniel that he generally wore a pair of sandals, but wore a pair of shoes when he crossed rivers.\textsuperscript{86} It is also said of Şalitay that he wore shoes, but the Buzandaran seems to make the point that he too wore them only when crossing a river.\textsuperscript{87} Nonetheless, most of these ascetics preferred to go barefoot as did the followers of Gind.\textsuperscript{88}

The Syriac sources admonish the ascetic to:

Take delight in and love going barefoot
for it tramples down the head of the dragon.
Loosen and throw off your sandal, lest a snare seize your foot.\textsuperscript{89}

And in the place of fine sandals, they fit themselves with barefeet.\textsuperscript{90}
Blood pours from their feet from always being barefoot,
and their bodies suffer from the squalor that is upon them.\textsuperscript{91}

The hardships of these ascetics were manifold as “they spared themselves nothing and gave no care to their bodies”,\textsuperscript{92} this included sleeping on the ground, as did Maştoc\textsuperscript{93} and Aristakēs.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Φυλάκω} \textit{Βασίλης Εὐαγγελίου Φαύπινθφ Λυγαγ.}, III.14, p. 48; trans., N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Paawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk)}, 87.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Φυλάκω} \textit{Βασίλης Εὐαγγελίου Φαύπινθφ Λυγαγ.}, V.26, p. 224; trans., N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Paawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk)}, 206.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Φυλάκω} \textit{Βασίλης Εὐαγγελίου Φαύπινθφ Λυγαγ.}, VI.16, p. 275; trans., N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Paawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk)}, 239.
\textsuperscript{89} “On Solitaries,” II. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{90} E. Beck, ed., \textit{Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones IV}, 18.
\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Ibid.}, 21.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Φυλάκω} \textit{Βασίλης Εὐαγγελίου Φαύπινθφ Λυγαγ.}, VI.16, p. 275; trans., N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Paawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutiwnk)}, 239.
\textsuperscript{93} M. Abelyan, ed., \textit{Λαμπρος Λυγαγ.}, §4, p. 86; trans., 275.
\textsuperscript{94} R.W. Thomson, tr., \textit{Agathangelos, History of the Armenians}, 392, 393.
Ps.-Ephrem says of these hermits that:

It is these who lie on bare ground instead of beds, and instead of soft pillows they set their heads on rocks.\(^95\)

**Standing vigil**

**Arm:**

It was noted above already that among the many spiritual disciplines practiced by Maštòc, "Very often, while standing in vigil, he would satisfy his need for sleep and a night's pleasant rest with a [mere] blink of his eyes. And he did all this not a few times."\(^96\) Aristakes too, in language reminiscent of Koriwn, "often spent the sweet repose of night—the need of sleep in wakeful vigils on his feet."\(^97\)

Elišē provides a brief sketch of how some ascetics passed the vigil:

Having completed their daily service, they have preferred to be occupied with prayer from the early night until the morning, and they read the Holy Scriptures. Then those who have the grace of teaching provide some commentary for the consolation of those listening. They recount how the world came to be from nothing, and in the gathered listeners they plant wise counsels from the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. And they teach in this fashion until those listening forget all worldly concerns and lose all memory of the necessity of food and drink. And they so rejoice in the love of God that they no longer consider themselves to be in a body but in heaven, and with this pleasure they pass the duration of the night until morning.\(^98\)

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\(^96\) M. Abetyan, ed., *Ղիստրակ Ղազեր,Ղազեր Ղազեր,Ղազեր, Ղազեր*, §4, p. 86, trans., 275 [with modifications].


\(^98\) բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեղ, բերեğ
Syr:
The mark of vigil that has blackened your pupils
will acquit you at the Judgment.\footnote{99}

Come, let us see their figures
which are distorted by their vigils.\footnote{100}

Their fasts are their offerings
and their vigils are their riches.\footnote{101}

CONCLUSION

There is precious little evidence in early Armenian sources
concerning the earliest forms of Armenian eremitical life. The
foregoing study has, it is hoped, demonstrated that despite this
paucity of source materials, there is indisputable evidence that
this early form of Armenian asceticism finds its roots in the
Syriac world. All the early Armenian terminology clearly
derives from Syriac, either directly or by manifest calques even
if, in certain instances such as the Syriac \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\c{c}ar\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{a}}}}}}}}}}, there is not
one single Armenian word used to translate it. The comparative
descriptions show that the Syriac and the Armenian texts
adduced here each manifest a marked tendency to highlight the
very same features of their eremitical lifestyles; and here too
there is a remarkable similarity even in the details: caves,
caverns, herbs, grasses, pulse, etc.

It is to be clearly noted that the connection just
demonstrated between early Armenian and Syrian eremiticism
is not a connection with Syrian asceticism broadly interpreted,
but specifically with a particular eremitical lifestyle that is most
vividly depicted in one small group of Syriac texts, all of which
seem to describe a Syrian ascetical lifestyle in the early fifth

\footnotesize\textit{christianismes orientaux} (Cahiers d'orientalisme 20), Geneva: P. Cramer,
\footnote{99}{"On Solitaries," II. 1. 84.}
\footnote{100}{"On Solitaries and Hermits," I. 91.}
\footnote{101}{Ibid., I. 149.}
century, contemporary with the Armenian texts cited. The eremitical lifestyle found in these texts does also share strong similarities with that found in the Historia Religiosa of Theodoret of Cyr,\textsuperscript{102} as well as with several Ps-Ephrem texts such as the Mēmrē on Abraham Qidunaya and Julian Saba,\textsuperscript{103} not to mention numerous other Ps-Ephrem ascetical texts, both Greek and Syriac.\textsuperscript{104} In light of the evidence brought forth above, however, it seemed superfluous to introduce these, or any other witnesses which, while showing certain similarities, still do not manifest the same degree of identical features.

It ought also be noted that to demonstrate that early Armenian eremiticism is directly and integrally derived from a single type of Syrian eremiticism demonstrates no more than just that. Several other questions are clearly left unresolved, being beyond the scope of the narrow purpose of this article. These further questions certainly include such important things as the identity of the proponents of and adherents to this ascetical lifestyle, its underlying ascetic impulses, and its origins. The respective matters of the geographical and chronological termini of this common lifestyle are also questions of great importance. Even the question of jurisdictional borders at this time is a question that is not without great interest and pertinence. The southern regions of Armenia, particularly Tarōn and Vaspurakan, were for a long time under the jurisdiction of Antioch (until the formation of the Armenian alphabet Syriac


was the liturgical language in these regions)\textsuperscript{105} despite the fact that sources such as the Buzandaran seem to presume that these regions and even the environs around Nisibis are to be included in the territory under Armenian jurisdiction. The so-called Satrapies (Gk. τὰ ἑθνη, Lat., gentes) clearly had both Syriac and Armenian names in the sources.\textsuperscript{106} Whether the Syrian Bishop Daniel was a disciple of Grigor Lusaworič or not does not alter the fact that all the early ascetics whom the author of the Buzandaran names were his disciples.\textsuperscript{107} Thus, while there should be no further doubt of the fact of the influence of Syrian asceticism on the earliest manifestations of the eremitical life in the early Armenian Church, numerous questions still remain. It is to be hoped that some of them will be clarified, if not resolved, with further study.


\textsuperscript{106} N.G. Garsoian, \textit{L’église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d’Orient}, 10-23.

\textsuperscript{107} N.G. Garsoian, \textit{The Epic Histories attributed to Pawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmufwnk)}, 367, where she doubts the tradition that Daniel was appointed overseer of Tarôn by Grigor Lusaworič.
Vardan of Aygek, as he came to be called, was born in the village of Maraṭa, near Aleppo, in the last quarter of the 12th century. Thus he grew up in a time when the royal power of Cilicia's Armenian kingdom was reaching its zenith under King Lewon II/I (1186-1219) and his daughter Zabel's second husband, Hefum I (1226-1270). When Vardan died in 1235 or so, Hefum was nearing the end of the first decade in his long reign, and the future of the state appeared bright.

It seems that during the years of Vardan's youth and early career the waxing of the secular power was accompanied by a corresponding wane in the fortunes of the Church, whose prelates King Lewon in particular sought to bend to his own will. Vardan may have been a toddler at the time the great Catholicos Nersēs Šnorhali (1166-1173) died, and may thus have partaken to a degree in the "silver age" of Armenian culture. But the formative years of his Cilician education, which seems to have been completed by 1207 when he was in his early thirties, were lived in the atmosphere of growing conflict between the goals of Cilician-style ecumenism, which also suited the agenda of the royal court, and those of more conservative opinions in the Armenian homeland.

It was a conflict King Lewon wanted to end. Upon Catholicos Grigor Tlay's passing away in 1193, Lewon brought to the throne of St. Grigor the Illuminator one of his most junior descendants, as Grigor V, passing over more able (but presumably less tractable) candidates in the process of selecting

1 He was perhaps the nephew of Nersēs of Lambron, the prodigious bishop of Tarsus (1175-1198), according to Nersēs Lambranči, Ծառունակոչ ի Հայոց առաքելություն, Հայոց եկեղեցի (Meditations on the Orders of the Church and a Commentary on the Sacrament of the Eucharist), Venice: San Lazzaro, 1847, 143.
someone whose spiritual overlordship would be acceptable to the Armenian homeland as well as to the Cilician kingdom. By bringing the youthful Grigor V to his illustrious progenitor and namesake’s See, Lewon set the stage for one of the most unedifying episodes in Armenian church history.

The young catholicos turned out to hold opinions of his own, and they were in line with those of the homeland conservatives rather than with those of the Cilician royal court. He and the king were soon in open conflict, and the single, stormy year of Grigor V’s catholicosal reign (1193-1194) ended in his imprisonment and death under mysterious circumstances that earned him the epithet Karavež [On the Rocks]. His demise opened a chasm between king and homeland Church that was not healed by the subsequent election as pontiff of the elderly Grigor Abirat, one of the men Lewon had passed over in the previous election and a confirmed ecumenical liberal. In 1203 Abirat in turn would be succeeded, with Lewon’s blessing, by John of Sis, who had been instrumental in the arrest of the unfortunate Grigor V.

Given the state of church politics at the time, it is perhaps no wonder that Vardan from Mara’â developed into one of the Armenian Church’s greatest writers on personal piety. In a time when one could not do much about the situation of the Church at large, one could strive to keep one’s personal relationship with God and man on the right road. For an age which understood disasters both natural and political to occur as a direct result of ungodliness in the behavior of those who professed to be believers, maintaining one’s spiritual life

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untainted was of paramount importance not only to one's own eternal welfare but also to the welfare of society at large.  

Under the circumstances it was both profitable and needful to meditate on the future results of one's deeds. Vardan's writing Վարդան Քնկացքի է. Ուրիշմայի Ուկալուհի [On Hell and the Sleepless Worms] has little appeal to modern tastes, but it is not surprising that thoughtful people like himself and his audience were counting then, as indeed they do now, on the prospect of an ultimate celestial justice for evils that went apparently unpunished in this world. The related issue of how in this sublunary sphere one was to go about The Distinguishing of Good and Evil at all, a matter to which another of his works is devoted, posed at times an agonizing conundrum.

The most famous manifestation of Vardan's moralizing interest was his Ուրիշմայի [Book of Fables], also called Ուրիշմայի [Book of the Fox], a collection numbering between sixteen and sixty moral tales, depending on the manuscript. Its stories are vivid, witty and full of humor. The protagonists are not only animals but humans as well: in Vardan's pages kings and judges, lustful hermits and spiteful women, stupid thieves and wily merchants together with flatulent donkeys, astute snakes, pigs, lions, bears, and plants—and of course foxes—not only make moral points but cause us to laugh as well. The collection has been edited and translated

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3 A collection of Vardan's hortatory prose was published as part of the Venice series of Ancient Armenian Literature, Արհեստական Արևելք [Writings of the Ancients]: Վարդան Ուրիշմայի Ուկալուհի, Ուրիշմայի [Vardan Vardapet of Aygek, Exhortations], Venice: San Lazzaro, 1956.

4 According to N. Polarian [Bogharian], Զորքարթուրբ [Armenian Writers], Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971, 278 this was written at the request of a certain "Thaddeus the Priest", perhaps in 1229.

5 Ուրիշմայի [On Hell and the Sleepless Worms]. Ibid. The same Thaddeus mentioned above also requested this work, which may have appeared likewise in 1229.

6 For a bibliography of translations and editions, as well as secondary literature, see Robert W. Thomson, A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, 212-213. An outline of Vardan's life and works is given in Polarian, Զորքարթուրբ, 276-281.
multiple times. Its tone is key to an understanding of Vardan’s thought and teaching: the basis of everything he writes is a gentle desire to see humankind, especially Armenian humankind, mend its ways and open itself to the blessings and grace of God.

Vardan’s writing on the integers, published and translated here for the first time, had as its intended audience the Armenian brotherhood of the ecumenical enclave known as Sew Lër. In light of this fact the christological exposition to which the last part of the homily is devoted becomes very interesting indeed. Was Vardan “preaching to the choir” and telling them what they already knew and believed, or was he countering the influence of other, foreign notions to which their ecumenical environment had exposed them? In any event, the erudition of the audience was not exceptional; the language of the homily is simple, and the style straightforward, rather than high-flown and learned.

This text, entitled Πρὸς Ἐρμή τὸν Μούσαν Σώματος [Words Concerning the Ten Integers], represents one of three early companion pieces in Vardan’s literary corpus. Neither it nor its slightly later cousins, The Ten Merchants and the Eight Snares (written in 1220 or earlier, in Drazark) and the Exegesis of the Meaning of the Ten Merchants (1227) has been studied, but they are potentially of considerable interest for their homiletic, didactic and exegetical content. Sandwiched between the more doctrinal florilegium of citations Against the Heretics (1205-1207) and the Response to Abp. Michael of Antioch (1229), the

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7 On the monasteries of that area, see L. Ališan, Φράγματα [Sisuan]. Venice: San Lazzaro, 1885, 405-413. There, monasteries of Syrian, Armenian and Greek monks were later joined by others of Georgians and Latins. In the preambles to his writing, «Σωματὰ τοῦ Μούσαν Ἐρμήος» [In Rebuttal of Yapping Criticizers], Baznavēp 126 (1968), 273-277 (English translation forthcoming by the present author). Vardan says that he is writing from the holy mountain, specifically “from the Valley of Tawsx”, to Syrians, Greeks and Armenians.

8 Comment on the very interesting christological views Vardan expresses here must await a comparison of this material with his other homilies.

9 See above, n. 2.
homily On the Ten Integers appears to have been written in the same time frame—possibly even in the same year—as Vardan’s collection of twenty hortatory homilies, produced at the behest of a certain Prince Baldwin of Cilicia,\(^\text{10}\) which cover a mix of subjects doctrinal (The Orthodox Confession of the Holy Trinity) and inspirational (On the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Ineffable Repose of the Just; On How the Dead Are Now; On Good Works).\(^\text{11}\)

It is unusual for a homily to be devoted entirely to musings on the mystical meaning of integers. That the numbers had such meaning, however, was assumed; sacred arithmology had long been a standard component of biblical exegesis\(^\text{12}\) and indeed of philosophy, cosmology, history, and even grammar.\(^\text{13}\) (While

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\(^\text{10}\) Apart from the information that these homilies were penned in response to a letter from him, nothing more is known of this Baldwin [ՔԲԱՐԶԵՆ / ՔԱՐԶԵՆ]. H. Acaryan, Հայերեն Ղրղզերենների առանձնահատուկ բառարան [Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names], vol. 4, Erevan: Petakan Hamalsaran[i] Hatarak CJyn, 1948 mentions only that he was related to “Barsel the Priest and Prince Smbat”.

\(^\text{11}\) The homilies are found in SJ 936, 195-294. Their headings, together with excerpts, are given in N. Polarian [Boghourian], ՐԱՊԸԲԸՀ ԲԱՐԶԵՆ ԲԱԶԱՐԵՆ ՎԶԵԲԸՀ [Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts], vol. 3, Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1968. Baldwin is pictured together with Vardan in a miniature on p. 194 of the MS, (Catalogue, 476) and the text of a letter from Baldwin to Vardan (196r-v) is recorded in the Catalogue (Catalogue, 476-77).

\(^\text{12}\) R. W. Thomson, “Number Symbolism and Patristic Exegesis in Some Early Armenian Writers,” Handĕs Amsĕreay 90 (1976), cols. 117-138. Number symbolism was not limited to exegesis by any means; even a work such as Yovhannēs Ŭjneč’s Commentary on the Hours, to give only one example, makes great use of sacred arithmology. See his ՍԵՐԵԶԻՆ ԮԲԱՐԶԵՆ ԲԱԶԱՐԵՆ ՌԱՆՑ ԲԱԶԱՐԵՆ ՔԱՐԶԵՆ [Commentary on the Armenian Church’s Hours of Common Prayer], Istanbul: 1730.

\(^\text{13}\) For a general overview of numbers and their antique and medieval interpretation, see Annemarie Schimmel, The Mystery of Numbers, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, especially the bibliography devoted to writings on individual numbers. As Schimmel gives no bibliography specifically for the number ten, which will figure largely in the present homily, we should add the following references as well: H.A. Brongers, “Die Zehnzahl in der Bibel und in ihrer Umwelt,” Studia Biblica et Semitica
this is not the place for detailed remarks on the subject of late medieval number symbolism in the literature of that period, a handful of interesting parallels to Vardan's thinking will be pointed out in the notes to our text.)

Vardan's was an age that delighted in the discovery of parallels that pointed to an underlying—or overarching—order in the universe. In particular, perceived parallels between sequential segments of salvation history produced a profoundly satisfying sense of the divine continuity that runs in a prophetic thread from the beginning of creation through the history of the first Chosen People, the dispensation of Christ and the history of the Church (and of the Armenians, as a component part of that Church; indeed, as a new Chosen People) ahead into the eschaton. That thread tied together not only the temporal ages and eternity, but secular history and sacred, the physical world and the transcendent.  

Varan points out in the course of his

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Theodor Christiano Vriezen, Wageningen: Veenman u. Zonen, 1966, 30-45; Abraham Terian, "A Philonic Fragment on the Decad," in Frederick E. Greenspan, et al., (eds.), Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel, Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984, 173-182. The latter helpfully points out the references to the number ten which are sprinkled throughout Philo's Quaestiones. See also R. Ervine, "Vardan Vardapet's Song on the Ten Commandments," St. Nersess Theological Review 8 (2003), 12-83, esp. 64-66. Vardan again refers to the Ten Commandments in his unpublished Commentary on the Pentateuch; though the commandments were ten in number, paralleling the ten creations, God wrote them in two groups of five because their keeping would involve the five senses. This configuration, moreover, foreshadowed the four evangelists plus the book of the Acts of the Apostles: the text as given in MM 1267, f.5r reads: ἱδρῆθεν θεος ὑμῖν ἔργα ἁγίασθε ἔργα ὑμῖν ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις. Εἰ μὴ ἔργα ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις. Εἰ μὴ ἔργα ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις. Εἰ μὴ ἔργα ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις ἐν ἁγίοις. (The orthography of this excerpt has not been emended.)

This view of salvation time was more than a dry exercise in typology, where "a=b". Like the Armenians' beloved St. Ephrem and others of the Fathers, Vardan viewed the Old Testament as promise, the Church as reality, and the eschaton as fulfillment: "The type was in Egypt, the reality in the Church; the sealing of the reward will be in the kingdom." Hymns on Unleavened Bread 11.7.9. Tr. R. Murray, "The Theory of Symbolism in St. Ephrem's
sermon salient parallels between events in each of the world's ages; the way in which each new age provides an expansion in our understanding of—an exegesis on, if you will—the great divine Plan for humanity's creation, salvation and re-creation.\footnote{Of course such a view of history is not unique to Vardan—it can be found eloquently expressed in the \textit{Teaching of St. Gregory} (see the English translation by Robert W. Thomson, \textit{The Teaching of Saint Gregory [AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1]}. New Rochelle, NY: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001)—but he expounds on it in exceptionally great detail. One might compare Grigoris Aršaruni, \textit{Ukkhm\bar{e}''ap L\textit{\textbeta}\texttt{p}ym\texttt{\textbar}m\text{	extbar}nd\textit{\textbar}} [Commentary on the Lectionary], which also concentrates on the parallel between the Old Testament and the mystery of salvation in the New Testament: For example, it was on the sixth day that man was created, and on the sixth day, in the sixth millennium, he was saved by Christ's Cross. As suits the liturgical topic, Grigoris interprets the Old Testament narrative in terms of its realization through Christ's dispensation, and the re- enactment of the latter in the Church's liturgical celebrations. K. Crakian, ed., \textit{\textbeta}\texttt{p\textbar}\texttt{p}ym\texttt{\textbar}m\texttt{\textbar}nd\textit{\textbar} [Grigoris Aršaruni's Commentary on the Lectionary], Venice: San Lazzaro, 1964; French translation by Leon M. Froidevaux, \textit{Grigoris Aršarouni, Commentaire du lectionnaire} (Bibliotheca Armeniaca, Textus et Studia 1), Venice: San Lazzaro, 1975.} This Plan had been revealed from the beginning. Thus each of the seven days of Creation as outlined in Genesis provided an essential component of the newly minted world, and at the same time laid the foundation for a step in the future salvation of the Man who had not yet fallen. These fundamentals were aptly displayed, for those who had "eyes to see"; they could be detected even in the number of the day on which a specific creation took place. On the first day in that first age, for example, God created light—a metaphor for Himself—on the day, that is, whose number was one; the number which has nothing else before it and which is the cause of all other numbers. On day two, he created the upper and lower waters, a pair as productive of life as the human pair Adam and Eve were soon to become. It was in the second age that the life-producing waters were revealed to be waters of judgment; Noah's Flood was a lively exposition on the connection between water
(whether of birth or baptism) and judgment that will be expressed again in fulness at the final Judgment. The third day has an obvious connection with the triune nature of the divinity; a harmonious distinction in unity. On the third day Paradise was created, the site of Humanity’s harmonious existence; in the third age that harmony was disrupted by the division of the languages at the Tower of Babel. Mutual comprehensibility was restored at Pentecost, and will come to fulfilment in the harmony of the eternal kingdom, the new Paradise. And the exposition continues in like manner through days four, five, six and seven.

Other points typical of Vardan’s thinking are also made in the course of the homily. At least two of these should be mentioned. First, an exceptional amount of thought was devoted in Vardan’s age to the matter of what exactly was meant by man’s creation “in the image and likeness” of God. A variety of explanations were offered.\textsuperscript{16} For Vardan the answer, at least in this context, is disarmingly simple: God is triune, and so is man—God is expressed as Father, Son and Spirit and the human being as mind, soul and flesh. But Vardan goes a step further; in his opening prayer, there is a specific correspondence established between the functions of each trinity’s component entities: God the Spirit operates in a special way on the mind; God the Son, on the soul; God the Father, on the flesh (as its original creator).

The very complex question of what the Incarnation implied about human nature was of course a long-standing one, with implications for (among many other things) issues surrounding

\textsuperscript{16} Vardan’s contemporary, Vanakan Vardapet (1181-1251), in his compendious, unpublished \textit{S\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p h\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}l l\textit{h\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}u\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}m\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}a\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}n\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}h\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}p p} [Questions and Answers] (in preparation by the present author), gave several different answers to the question of exactly how Man is the image and likeness of the Creator: (1) To be in God’s image is to be created incorporeal, immortal and self-controlled—to be in God’s likeness is to be able to create in one’s own likeness (2) In the final analysis, Man is the image, the likeness of God; rational like the Rational, self determining like the Self Determining, ever moving like the Ever Moving; immortal like the Immortal. He was created holy, and so if he sins, he is condemned (3) Nyssa says that what He had He gave—incorporeality and immortality and wisdom and other such.
what we might now call the "start of life" debate. Vardan is careful to say not only that "the Word took sinless and incorruptible flesh from the Virgin, for wherever God has been united, there neither sin nor corruption can approach," summarizing to his own satisfaction a long history of christological debate, but he adds that at Christ's conception, "In the twinkling of an eye He was like a child of forty days, with all his members perfect," expressing one contemporary understanding of fetal viability, and also adds that His flesh was created "from the blood of the Virgin".

THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript from which the present text is taken is MM 8356, dated 1322, less than a century after Vardan's death, and produced in Karmrik Anapat. Its scribe and owner was Stepanos the Clerk [qηlμ]. The manuscript comprises 230 paper sheets, 18 cm. by 12.6 cm, in a very clear bolorgir hand. The lines are widely spaced and there are only a modest number of standard abbreviations. The homily occupies sheets 110-130; page numbers are noted in parentheses.

As will be pointed out below, there is a significant lacuna in the text; however, as this is the only copy of the homily presently known, there is no way to repair the loss. Much of the punctuation in the Armenian is added by the translator; however, spelling irregularities in the ms have been preserved.

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17 It is the only ms listed by Polarian in ԶմԻ Գհեկհեղ՝ 270.
TRANSLATION

VARDAN AYGEKC’I’S HOMILY ON THE TEN INTEGERS

Praised are you, O Spirit of the Father, cleanser and purifier! By your free, purifying grace cleanse my mind of every transgression that is not pleasing to your will.

Blessed are you, O Jesus Christ, Word of God, born of the Father’s heart! By your blood wash my rational spirit of every sin not in your will.

Glorified are you, O good All-Father, uncreate and timeless, by your mercy Cause and Life of all of us who exist! Blot out of my flesh every evil deed which is foreign to your will.

O co-existent and inseparable Holy Trinity, O Light and beam inextinguishable! Chase away from me the darkness of sin and by your illumining renew my own triune self—soul, mind and flesh. Unvengeful godhead, cause to dawn in my benighted soul the light of wisdom, whereby I may be able to speak, in a manner pleasing to you, a word concerning the unattainable and unspeakable mystery of your divinity. (111v) Bestow also upon my hearers an upright heart and settled faith in your will, whereby they may comprehend the force and the mystery of my discourse. Which runs as follows:

Now, God the Father is uncreated and without beginning. There is nothing prior to him, neither time nor any other thing. Rather, he is the Origin and Cause of everything that is—for which reason God is also called the Mother of us creatures.18

God is also inapproachable Light. For which reason he made the beginning of the world from light, and from that light he brought into existence the ranks of fiery beings on the first

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18 Grigor of Narek in his Եղբայրներ Երգավոր Սիրոռեան Եղբայր [Commentary on the Song of Songs] (included in his Երգավոր Սիրոռեան [Writings], Venice: San Lazzaro, 1840; English translation by the present author, in press) stresses the Motherhood of God numerous times. Vanakan Vardapet, too, in his Questions and Answers takes students to task for finding the concept of the divine maternity disturbing.
day, as well as six other marvelous works.\textsuperscript{19} Thus did the creatures become manifest: having been created by God, they multiplied in their species.

In the same way, the number one is the Origin and Cause of all integers, and there was no other numeral before it. Rather, it was Light\textsuperscript{20}, and the other numbers appeared and were born, coming forth from the One. It is their Mother, and from the Monad the numbers grow individually. Human life conducts itself (112r) by their light.

In the same way, the First Day of creation is Light, since Day is defined as, or means, Light.\textsuperscript{21} And there was no other sort of day before it. Rather, it was the Cause and Origin and Mother of the other days, and in coming forth from it were the other days manifested, and they multiplied as individual entities.

By the same token, the First Age was the Origin and Mother of the other ages. And there was no other manner of age before it. Rather, the other ages became manifest as they came forth

\textsuperscript{19} Vanakan’s \textit{Questions and Answers} lists not only the seven original creations, but their New Testament parallels:

\textbf{QUESTION:} How many creations were there on the first day?

\textbf{ANSWER:} (1) the heavens (2) the angels (3) light (4) the elements.

That makes seven. The selfsame [creative] Trinity on the day of Epiphany displayed seven [parallel] works: Heaven [parallels] the church; the earth, the people; the water, the font; the air, the grace of the Holy Spirit; the light, the Gospel; the angels, men: the fire, the warmth of love—the Spirit, desiring to fan [that warmth] hovered over the waters, and here [on Epiphany] He descended [over the waters] in the form of a dove. But elsewhere, Vanakan says that on the first day of creation there were seven works: fire, water, wind, heaven, earth, light, darkness.

The idea that the creations of the first day were seven is also to be found in the Book of \textit{Jubilees}, and in the \textit{Book of the Bee}, ed., Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1886, whose author was a contemporary of Vardan.

\textsuperscript{20} The wording \textit{בֵּית הָאָרֶץ}"וּ עָנָא" is, it seems to me, deliberately reminiscent of that in Gn 1:3, and implies that Number was the original illuminative principle of creation.

from it and increased. The first age was called Light, for during it was Enoch translated into the supreme and marvellous brilliant Light that is the glory of God.

The number two is likewise imbued with great meaning, for it bears in itself the mystery of Adam and Eve. Just as the number two was born and detached from the Monad and came forth and was plainly manifest, so also by the Creator’s command was Eve born and detached from Adam, and Man was plainly manifest as complete. And there grew (112v) from them individuated human beings.

Thus, too, was the second day born and detached from the first day, and was plainly manifested. On it, by God’s command, the upper and the lower waters were divided, and the firmament was set over against the watery vault that is the atmosphere.

By this same token, the flood occurred in the second age, and distinctly separated from one another the wicked and the good. It clearly depicted for us the terrible Day of Judgment when the accurate separating of the wicked and the good will take place.

The number three is also exceptionally well adorned, and it expresses to us wondrously glorious mysteries. For it is a type of the co-existent, inseparable Holy Trinity.\(^{22}\) Like the number two, the number three also came forth from the Monad and was made manifest. In this way the Son and the Spirit came forth from the Father Cause, and were manifested—but with no interval, and with no beginning, and indivisibly: (113r) the Son begotten of the Father’s heart, and the Spirit by emanation and outpouring of the Father’s nature. In every way they are without incompleteness, and they are equal to the Father. If one of them is said to be incomplete or lesser or smaller, or is removed, the Godhead stands deficient and imperfect. A human being, too, is spirit and flesh and mind—behold, a trinity, created in the image of the indivisible Holy Trinity! It too constitutes a single human

\(^{22}\) Vardan Arewel’či, in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, 13r also associates the number three with the Trinity and with the third day of Creation, but he emphasizes its symbolic connection with the light which illuminated the first three days of Creation, and with the trumpetings and lightning flashes of the third day at Mt. Sinai [Ex 19].
being, and a single nature. If one of them is missing from the person, the person is not a complete human being.

Too, on the third day the dry land was adorned, by God’s command, with vegetation and plants, flowers and fruits, and God’s Paradise was planted in Eden.

Also, in the third age, the Paternal Spirit came down and destroyed the Tower, and divided the languages. People were scattered and adorned the earth. This symbolized and evidenced to us the descent of the Holy Spirit into the Upper Room, (113v) upon the group of Apostles. It gathered up the divided tongues into one language and armed the Apostles with tongues of fire, wherewith they destroyed the “Tower” of evil people’s unbelief, and satan’s hell.

Therefore, because the mystery of three is so awesome and so delightful, come, my children, let us too confess the holy and inseparable and co-existent Trinity without deficiency. Let us cleanse our spirit, flesh and mind of every sin, and adorn our souls with the flowers and fruits of benevolent deeds, in the spirit of the third day and in honor of the holy Trinity.

The fourth number also has stored up in itself many treasures of virtue [for] those who are able to gather them up and preserve them. First is this: God brought into existence ex nihilo the four elements—fire, water, earth and air. And joining these opposites, (114r) he unified them with each other, and from them he created all creatures as quattuorpartite. Too, he caused four rivers to flow from the Garden of Eden. Also, Ezekiel saw four awesomely formed animals with the chariot of God. God’s ark was quadrilateral; the Cross of Christ had four arms; and the writers of Christ’s Gospel are four.

Moreover, when God created man, He set within him four virtues, and made of him God’s chariot [and] resting place.23

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23 The four virtues are a standard topos of medieval anthropology. Among the many places where they are mentioned see, for example, Tigran Karapetyan, “Kirakos Erznkači’s On the Eight Thoughts of Evagrius,” St. Nersess Theological Review 5-6 (2000-2001), 39-118, esp. 52, 96-97. The four virtues are explained in David the Invincible Philosopher, Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy, tr. B. Kendall and R.W. Thomson, Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983, 62-66. Grigor Tašewači interprets the four
The first of these [virtues] in us is prudence; that is, rationality, [given to us] so that we may remember God without ceasing and bless him in words, and so that we may speak what is good—what is beneficial to our hearers and to ourselves. Let us flee from unprofitable words; as we have demonstrated in our discourse on talkativeness, many are destroyed by the tongue in this life and in the next.

The second [virtue] in us is ire; that is, anger. This is called valor, [and was set within us] so that we may without ceasing stand ready and valiant in every good work that God loves and desires. And (114v) if anger comes to us from our ire, we will set it, like a watchdog, against satan and against sin; we will not be angry at our brother.

The third [virtue] within us is desire, [which is given to us] so that we may desire God with immediacy, and good works too, and not desire sin or the love of this world, as indeed the divine scriptures exhort us.

The fourth [virtue] within us is justice. It is a balance, and does right by others: it also directs us, as a driver directs a chariot. By means of it we weigh our lives rightly and keep our flesh in service to our spirit, lest it rise up against [the spirit] and kill it through sin. At the Judgment, too, we—woe is me!—shall speak what is just and right, and we shall be judged. There are many who are holy but cannot recognize what is right and speak what is correct and right. Therefore let us attempt also to speak what is just, and at all times let us put justice as our driver, so that it may direct our ways—our desire and valor and rationality—towards God. Thus will we become God’s chariot, just as Adam was when he was innocent.

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24 Grigor of Narek’s Commentary on the Song of Songs uses the image of humanity as God’s “chariot” and resting place to illustrate his understanding of the allegorical meaning underlying Sg 1:8-10.
Too, on the fourth day (115r) the diffuse light was gathered up and placed into a material object, by God’s command, and the greater and lesser luminaries rose into the heavens for the glory of God, the adornment of the heavens and the requirements of time, and for the service of humanity. This symbolized the boundless and uncreated Light which, in the fulness of time, would be “gathered up” in the womb of the virgin Mary and be joined to the “material” of our flesh.

It was for this reason that God came to Abraham in the fourth age and gave him the good news concerning Isaac’s birth, the significance of which was assuredly fulfilled in Christ, for through him were the nations of earth blessed. 25

In this manner the number five, too, is full of manifold meaning, for gathered up in itself it contains the type and mystery of our five senses, and it advises us to preserve them in the will of God. 26 These are the five senses and their functions in us: with our eyes [we are] to regard the creatures (115v) and bless their Creator [Rom 1:19-21]. We are also to regard every human being with gentleness and goodness, and without jealousy, not to look upon them with blame and dislike or partiality or wickedness.

With our ears we are to listen in agreement and obedience to God’s commands and to his admonition, and to good words for our soul’s benefit. We are not to listen to unprofitable and destructive utterances, filthy speech, gossip, incitement, calumny, and other inappropriate volubility.

With our nostrils we are to breathe in the fragrance of the knowledge of God and the savor of good works and of the life to come. We are not to emasculate [our sense of smell] and inhale the scent of sin and worldly passions with liking and avidity.

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25 This phrase occurs frequently in Genesis; e.g., Gn 18:18 / 22:8 / 22:18 / 26:4.

26 The Ῥῃῥ Ῥῃ Ῥῃ Ῥῃ Ῥῃ Ῥῃ [The Book Which Is Called Repeatable Discourses], Istanbul: 1737 comprises discourses attributed to Gregory the Illuminator; of these, discourses 9 and 11 deal at length with the qualities of the purified senses.
With our sense of taste we are not to be drunken nor gluttonous and [thereby] become enemies of the cross of Christ.\textsuperscript{27} Rather, we are to “chew upon” and “taste” God’s laws.\textsuperscript{28} As the Prophet says, “Your word is sweeter to my palate than gum, and than honey to my mouth” [Ps 118:103].

(116r) With our hands, our sense of touch, we are not to steal nor deprive, not to strike anyone, not to touch what is unclean—which is the gate to hell. Rather, we are to lift our hands ever in prayer and supplication, to work with our hands [1 Thes 4:11] and give to the poor [Gal 2:10], and to have compassion on the needs of the indigent.

These are the five “windows”\textsuperscript{29} in us that good and evil enter, and it is by them that a person works the deeds of light and the deeds of darkness. For this reason Christ refers to all the ranks of those doers of good [who will stand] at his right hand, as “the five wise virgins,” and he refers to all those who have departed this world impotent, [who will stand] on his left, as “the five foolish virgins” [Mt 25]. For this reason, too, the rich man referred to the nations of the world as his “five brothers”, to whom he wanted to send a messenger, so that they would not come to that place of torment where he himself was [Lk 16:23].

It was on the fifth day of creation, too, that God created the great whales and the birds who adorned (116v) the air and the mountain forests.

And in the fifth age the people crossed the Red Sea dryshod, and Moses soared up the Mount and spoke with God, and Joshua crossed the Jordan, and Solomon built the temple.

Too, it was on the fifth day of the week that Christ, the king of glory, washed the feet of the disciples and caused them to “soar” higher than the heavens, to the light eternal.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{27} An allusion toPhp 3:18.
\textsuperscript{28} In the context of Sg 5:13 Gregory of Narek’s Commentary on the Song of Songs devotes a long passage to a description of the vardapet’s duty to “chew” on the word of God in order to make it more easily digestible by others.
\textsuperscript{29} Reading քառերենք [windows] for քառերենք [commandments].
\textsuperscript{30} Using various forms of the verb “to soar” [թո օրեր] the homilist is drawing a metaphorical connection between the trajectories of the birds created on the
The number six likewise has many brilliant and powerful meanings. The first is this: we humans possess six [directions of] motion, and no more: up, down, right, left, forward, and backward. God requires that we keep our movements blameless, in the following ways: Do not proudly uplift yourself as satan did. Do not stoop down through sin and descend into the abyss. Do not stray to the right—that is, do not become proud when you are praised, and do things “as a show to people” [Matt 6:1]. Nor [should you stray] to the left—that is, do not become careless (117r) through sloth and drift away from good. Do not wander on ahead—that is, do not undertake good things which you cannot accomplish, and do not torment yourself or strain unduly in penances that you are not able to bear; too, concerning God, neither speak nor analyze beyond what is written. Do not fall back either—that is, do not neglect good works, thinking, “God is merciful,” and do not be lazy in investigation concerning good works and concerning the first and latter coming of Christ our God.

On the sixth day of creation the greatest quadrupeds and beasts were created. Man was created in God’s image at the sixth hour and was placed in Paradise. Thus, the world became orderly and adorned. The work of the five days was not orderly, as man had not been created, who was the order and adornment of the world. It is for this reason that Friday [athanatos] signifies order.

fifth day, Moses in the fifth age, and the Apostles on Maundy Thursday. The word translated here as “dryshod” is lit. “dry-winged”.

Yovhannēs Erznkaçı in chapter 6 of his Zvemonere βlēmēnēychw ἐνθεομηθηκα [Compilation of Commentary on Grammar], ed. L. Xačeryan, Glendale, CA: ALCO Printing, 1988 (annotated English translation forthcoming by the present writer), gives the basis for the limitation of the motions to six, when he says, “Every substance is circumscribed by six aspects: top, bottom, front, back, left, right.”

This interpretation of the word is also found in Vanakan Vardapet’s Questions and Answers, where he says, “The name of the sixth day was called ἀθάνατος that is formation of man”, but he adds a second as well: “and again, it is called ἀθάνατος because verily bad news was given to sinful humanity.” The connection of Friday with bad news is reflected in the modern vernacular application of the term ἀθάνατος [black Friday] to a
In the sixth age God was incarnate of the Virgin. He raised the stinking Lazarus (117v) fresh and fragrant, as a type of Adam. And on the sixth day, which is Friday, the Lord ascended the cross and restoring the ruined human race he set it in order, adorned the creatures, and illumined Adam.

The number seven is even more congenial, and is praised among ancients and moderns. The ancient wise men said that seven was indivisible and uncontainable, and they said that it was like the first number, the motherless Monad. They wrote that they split the head of Athena and took the number seven from her brain—33—in other words, people discovered wisdom with difficulty, and received it from God.

Thus, by his seven transgressions, Adam lost seven graces.34 Cain’s transgressions were seven,35 and his punishments were


33 This seems to be a garbled version of the more usual statement that Athena corresponds to the number 7 because she was “born from the brain of Zeus”; thus, she was not the product of male/female reproduction, just as 7 is not the product of masculine/feminine numerical factors. This explanation is given by Yovhannes Erznkači in chapter 6 of his Compilation of Commentary on Grammar. He goes on to mention the “seventh year, honored by the Jews”, the seven planets, and the letter ԕ (with its numerical value of 7) as the name of God.

34 Vanakan’s Questions and Answers lists Adam’s gifts, transgressions, and punishments in the following form:

QUESTION: What are the seven gifts of Adam, which God gave to him?

ANSWER: (1) humanity (2) spirit (3) mind (4) will (5) knowledge (6) rationality (7) practicality.

QUESTION: And what are his seven faults?

ANSWER: (1) that he desired to become God (2) that he believed the serpent (3) that he obeyed his wife more than God (4) that he ate of the fruit (5) that he hid (6) that he did not repent by saying, “I have sinned.” (7) that he said God was the cause—“the woman that thou gavest me....”

QUESTION: What seven punishments did he receive?

ANSWER: (1) that he was stripped of his immortal nature and fell to the rank of the animals (2) that he was deprived of the tree of life and fell out of the Garden (3) that he lived opposite the Garden and was worn away
seven. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, was translated alive. There were seven candlesticks. The seventh day was the day of rest. The grace of the Holy Spirit is seven-fold, and (118r) the atonement was seven days. God is blessed seven times a day.

with envy (4) that he sowed seed in the sweat of his brow and with labor (5) that he lived with pain and weeping and suffering (6) that before his own death he beheld the death of his wife and sons (7) that he was dissolved and went into the womb of the earth; that is, into the grave.

Vanakan's Questions and Answers lists the seven sins as the following: (1) jealousy (2) taking [Abel] to the field by treachery (3) murder (4) that he was the first murderer (5) that he was a fratricide (6) that he set a bad example in this world (7) that he lied to God. Compare M.E. Stone, Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve, Leiden: Brill, 1996, 190. There, in the text called "History of the Forefathers", the first sin of Cain is his offering of an unacceptable sacrifice, while the sin of "setting a bad example to the world" is omitted from the list. See also Edward G. Mathews, Jr. (ed.), The Armenian Commentary on Genesis Attributed to Ephrem the Syrian (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 573, Scriptores Armeniaci 24), Louvain: Peeters, 1998, 50 where the sixth transgression is the grief and misery Cain caused to his parents. Cf. the seven sins of Cain as given in John Chrysostom, Hom. in Genes. 19.xviii (English translation in Robert C. Hill, ed., St. John Chrysostom, Homilies on Genesis 18-41 [Fathers of the Church 82], Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990).

Vanakan's Questions and Answers lists the punishments of Cain as the following: (1) You shall be accursed (2) You shall till the soil (3) It shall no longer give you its fruit (4) his wandering (5) his trembling (6) his being taken away from the presence of God (7) that no one would kill him. In the list of Cain's punishments given by the "History of the Forefathers" (Stone, Adam and Eve, 191), the second punishment is given in incomplete form ["that he wet the earth with blood..."], while punishment six, Cain's being removed from the presence of God, is omitted. See also the notes to Stone, 190-91. In addition, compare Mathews, The Armenian Commentary on Genesis, 50-51, where the punishments are (1) You shall be cursed from the earth (2) It shall no longer yield to you [its] strength (3) continual terror (4) the trembling of flesh (5) that he was estranged from intimacy with God (6) the sign that [God] set upon him (7) the barrier that came between him and his parents, for he was estranged from his initial free intimacy [with them].

Perhaps this is referring to the seven-branched lampstand described in Ex 25:31-39.

Compare Vanakan's Questions and Answers:

QUESTION: Why did you not call the seventh day, "the seventh day"?
On the seventh day of creation, “God rested.” [Gn 2:2] God does not labor; how can one who does not work rest? This statement was later fulfilled in Christ, who “worked” in the flesh in this latter creation, and was laid in the tomb on the Sabbath day and “rested” from the indignities which he had endured at the hands of the wicked Hebrews. It is for this reason that Sabbath means *rest*.

The seventh age, too, is this present time. At the end of it will come the eighth age, which is exceedingly terrible.⁴² Concerning it Solomon cries out, “Give a portion to the seven, and do not forget the eight.” [Eccl 11:2] The intent of this utterance is to show, “In this life, give to the flesh a portion moderate and modest, within the will of God—victuals and drink, clothing and all the rest. And do not forget the eighth—that is, the Day of Judgment and the life to come; (118v) rather, through good works strive that you too may be able to inherit that ‘rest’ as well.”

The number eight displays another noble mystery to us. In the eighth age the creatures are restored from their worn out state, and the just are adorned bright as the sun. And it will be the final Sabbath—that is, the final rest. For God creates no

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ANSWER: On the seventh day Adam entered paradise; because of which the Hebrew translated it [the day of] “rest”, which is also the “sabbath”; that is, “rest”.

³⁹ This may be an allusion to Rom 12:6-8; Gal 5:22 lists nine “fruits of the Spirit”.

⁴⁰ Ex 29:30-37 speaks of a seven day period of atonement.

⁴¹ This may be based on Ps 118:164.

⁴² A scheme of seven ages was more common than one of eight. Referring to Sg 6:7, however, Grigor of Narek’s *Commentary on the Song of Songs* discusses the eighth millennium as the time of the eschaton and beyond. The scheme of eight ages is also found in Vanakan Vardapet’s *Questions and Answers*, which describes them in the following manner:

And these are the heads of the ages: in the first, Enoch was translated; in the second, the Flood; in the third, the Tower was built; in the fourth, the good news was given to Abraham; in the fifth, Solomon built the Temple; in the sixth, Christ became incarnate of the Virgin; in the seventh age (lacuna) ... and at the start of the eighth will be the universal resurrection.
more, nor causes to sprout, nor is he any longer mocked by human beings through their sins and blasphemy.

Too, God's law commands to circumcise a child on the eighth day. The meaning of this statement is that in the eighth age, Christ will "circumcise" the races of humankind, for he will cut off sinners and separate them from the just, and he himself will rest, for he will remove evil and enmity from their midst.

The number nine is also full of spiritual and delightful significance, for it clearly shows us all the ranks of the unembodied beings who stand in ceaseless glorification of God. Blessed are they! (119r) for passion, bodily weakness, and desire are far from them. The grace of the Holy Spirit emerges from the paternal throne and goes through their courts [as] a crystal river [Rv 22:1], and gives them life and empowers them in their blessing of God.

[The angels] have three tabernacles round about God's royal throne. It is also said that from the throne of the godhead their ranks are like a ladder, [reaching] to us. There are among them greater and lesser, like lamplight in comparison to the sun, and [they maintain] rank and obedience to one another.

In the first tabernacle, near to God's throne, are the many-eyed ones whom the Seer saw: their whole self was eyes innumerable, like the sun; the cherubim [are there] too, and the six-winged seraphim. In the middle tabernacle are the dominions, powers and principalities. And in the last tabernacle are the authorities, angels....

(122r) Now, pious and God-loving [sons], we have completed what we promised you, and acquainted you a little,

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43 Le 12:3. Lk 1:59 refers to the circumcision of John on the eighth day.
44 An allusion to Gn 28:12.
45 Ez 10:12 describes the heavenly beings as covered with eyes, but does not compare them to the sun. Rv 4:6-8 likewise describes the four eschatological beasts full of eyes, but again no mention is made of the sun.
46 The remainder of Vardan's writing on the nine ranks of angels and the significance of the number nine seems to have been missing from the scribe's exemplar, as 119v continues with what is apparently the middle of a piece on the soul after death. Then on 122r the number ten finally makes its appearance again, with a separate heading, as a separate work.
through our feeble musings, with the mysteries of the numbers up to nine. Before us lies the number ten, which is the head and completion of all the numbers, and gives us occasion to bring our theology to its culmination. Cleanse your hearts from worldly passions, and by your prayers aid my pitiful and sinful old age, so that I may be able to theologize this unattainable idea of God.

The number nine led this discussion to the bright region of the spiritual beings, and we circumambulated in thought the royal tabernacle of God. We saw that, lo, that world is fragrant and fiery, and in the midst of it is the city of the firstborn [Heb 12:22-23]. Its rampart is of precious stones, and its gates are of pearl [Rv 21:21]. The light of the godhead covers it, [Rv 21:23] and its inhabitants are of flame. It is (122v) the New Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the Mother of Peter and Paul. The luminous tabernacle of God stands in its center, and the fiery seraphs cannot look at the light of that tabernacle, while the fearsome cherub throne of God, not made with hands, is firmly planted in the middle of the tabernacle. There the unapproachable and uncontainable co-existent, indivisible holy Trinity rests seated, who is hymned with unceasing praise by every mouth. Amen.

For this reason the number ten is also filled with dignity, like the first number and the third, which plainly displayed to us the “type” of the divinity, as we wrote previously. Know, however, beloved ones, that the number ten is more perfect than one hundred or one thousand, or ten thousand, for as individuals they are individually born and grow from the number ten, just as the number ten was born from the Monad and grew. If you square ten, first one hundred is produced, and on this pattern they grow and multiply (123r) from the number ten. If you begin with the Monad and count, you will reach the number ten, and you will not be able to go higher, or to pass to anything greater than the number ten. You see, like it or not you will go back down to the Monad, which is the progenitor of all numbers, and you will say, one and ten [1]$\text{Webminster}$=11].

My sons, see how the number one is the Mother of all numbers! Likewise the number ten is the king and the head of all numbers, and it sits above them, like an emperor in
magnificence. It clearly shows us a metaphor for our theology: the divinity is supremely high, like this, and sits above the nine ranks of angels, above all thought and cognition.\(^{47}\) And he is king and head and creator of all things that exist, rational and sensible. For this reason, with unblemished heart and perfect faith let us confess God the Father without beginning and without end, incomprehensible by any mind, and inexpressible to every tongue. His being (123v) is inconceivable, and his nature, beyond examination. His existence is uncontrollable, and his greatness illimitable. His quality is unspeakable, and his quantity cannot be ascertained. His form cannot be found out, and his shape is concealed from thought. The earth cannot bear him, but he is instead the locus and stability of the world. He is far from everything, and he is near to every person. He escapes all thought, and is apart from tongue and lips, yet every mind and spirit confesses him, and every tongue and lip hymns him.

[Though] the names which the divinely inspired scriptures say and devise for him are good, God is not any one of those; rather, he is beyond the thought of angels or of human beings. He alone knows his own way of being and his name. As Christ, who is the offspring of his heart, said, “As the Father knows me, I also know the Father” [Jn 10:15] and, “the Holy Spirit scrutinizes the depths of the Father and Son” [1 Cor 2:10]\(^{48}\) and, “No one has seen the Father, or can see him, except (124r) the only begotten who comes from the bosom of the Father, has told us.” [Jn 1:18]

Too, God the Father is unborn, for he is not from anyone; there is nothing before him, and he is self-ruling, self-determined, and auto-cratic in everything, and perfect in all greatness and goodness and holiness and power and whatever is right and befitting the elevation of his creative divinity. He is the Son’s cause through begetting, and the Spirit’s by emanation, for he bore the Son without passion and without suffering at his

\(^{47}\) By contrast, Vardan Arewelči’s *Commentary on the Pentateuch* specifies humanity as the tenth rank, the completion of the original number of angelic ranks, rather than placing God as the tenth, above the angels.

\(^{48}\) In this verse, the words “the son” are not present.
birth. As God the Father himself says by the mouth of David, “From my womb,” that is, from my heart and my nature, “before the morning star I begot you.” [Ps 109:3] And the divine Solomon says, speaking for the Word God, Jesus Christ, “When the Father set the foundations of the world, I was ready by him.” [Prv 8:29-30]

The begetting was without suffering, like [the begetting of] an utterance by the mind, and of light by the sun, and of a river by a spring. This birth is beyond paternal metaphor (124v), and only he can understand it. It is a birth without time and without separation and without interval, and the one born is in every respect equal to the Father, without defect, perfect like the Father. 49

The Holy Spirit is an emnation from the Father’s being and nature, an emanation without time and without interval, and without separation. [The Spirit is] in every way like and equal to the Father, without defect, perfect like the Father. [The Spirit] is the Son’s equal in glory, not his brother; he proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son: as Christ said, “He will take from what is mine and relay it to you” [Jn 16:4].

But the Son and Spirit are not junior or inferior to the Father by so much as the twinkling of an eye, nor are they said to be so. It would be an insult to the Father rather than an honor, if the Son and Spirit were called the Father’s junior or inferior. That the father should be greater than the son and the son junior to the father is a characteristic of our animal generations—and it does happen that the father is greater and the son lesser, or that

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49 Association of Christ’s birth, specifically, with the number ten is found in Syriac tradition, where the letter/number symbolism fits aptly into calculations of the date for Christmas. For example, “Yod, the first letter of Your name fits with the 10th of the month Nisan, for on the 10th You entered the womb. Your birth is a symbol of the number of perfection, [thus] the number ten is the sum, and the sixth is the sum of sums: on the 10th [Nisan] is His conception, on the 6th (Kanon II) is His birth.” Cited by S.P. Brock, “Some Distinctive Features of Syriac Liturgical Texts,” in R. Ervine, ed., Worship Traditions of Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Press, 2006, 141-159; here, 152; from A. Konat (ed.), Fenqitho, I-III, Pampakuda: 1962-63, I. 264.
the son is more glamorous and more knowledgable than the father. (125r)

But the Son and the Spirit are without beginning, from the unbegning Father, without end from the Unending, life from Life, kings from the King, creators from the Creator, eternal from the Eternal, lights from Light, true from the True, and uncreate from the Uncreate. Three perfect persons, yet one in nature and divinity and kingship and everything else. In the deity there is neither juniority nor seniority, neither greater nor lesser, but rather in every respect Father, Son and Holy Spirit are the same and equal and co-existent.

Then, only the Father is called Father, and is so; and only the Son is called Son, and is so; and only the Holy Spirit is called Spirit, and is so. Do not be astounded at this, my sons, for it preserves the persons and their names whole and unchanging, while it preserves their nature and divinity and will and kingship inseparable, unshakeable, and One. Thus (125v) it is incumbent upon us to say that before they were distinguished, they were united, and before they were united, they were distinguished. The orthodox formula is to say, “The co-existent, holy Trinity, inseparable”: wherever you mention the Holy Trinity, hasten to add at once the [adjectives] “co-existent and inseparable”. And as far as the one nature and will and divinity and kingship are concerned, wherever you mention the Father, the Son and the Spirit are with him; and wherever you mention the Son, the Father and the Spirit are with him; and wherever you mention the Spirit, the Father and the Son are with him, for they are inseparable from one another.

And, you see, we humans are our own example [of this], for [a human being is] a trinity: spirit and body and mind. And [that trinity] is called—and is—one human being, and one nature. The sun is the same way, for it is substance and heat and light—and it is one sun, to the glory and honor of the inseparable, co-existent Holy Trinity, who is blessed by every mouth. Amen. 50

50 This is followed by the short colophon: “Let this be a memorial of Stefanos and his parents, amen.”
(126r) But in these final days one of the three persons, the Word and Son of the Father's bosom [Jn 1:18], because of our transgressions descended and put on flesh from the womb of the virgin Mary, from the bloodline of our forefather Adam, by the will of the Father and through the agency of the Holy Spirit. He united our entire nature—spirit and flesh and mind—with his divinity, since the first man had sinned in spirit and flesh and mind. And he saved our entire humanity by his truly becoming human.

And the uniting of the Word with the flesh is an incorruptible and unconfused mingling—just as our own spirit is mingled and united with our flesh and yet remains subtle and unconfused—albeit outside of time. So you can see how much more subtle and delicate the divinity is than our own spirit.

Too, just as fire mingled with iron and sunlight with air remain unconfused and undistorted, so also (126v) did the Word God mingle in union with the flesh, and remain unconfused and undistorted in His delicacy and subtlety. He likewise preserved the flesh in its density, without confusion. When they united, there was Union, and one will and one activity of the Word and the flesh, beyond all metaphors and thoughts and words. The Holy Spirit created the Word God's flesh from the blood of the Virgin; in the twinkling of an eye He was like a child of forty days, with all his members perfect, for he had originated from the divinity just as the angel said: "What is born of her is from the Holy Spirit." [Mt 1:20]

But the flesh the Word took from the Virgin was sinless and incorruptible, for wherever God has been united, there neither sin nor corruption can approach. As Christ himself said, "The prince of this world is coming, and he will find none of his evil things in me [Jn 14:30], nor can he sow them [in me]."51 The great Basil, too, testified, "As (127r) Christ's flesh did not bear our corrupted passions, likewise also his mind did not

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51 This may be an allusion to Mt 13:24-30.
comprehend sin.” 52 And Cyril bears witness, in his commentary to the Book of Leviticus, saying, “Christ’s flesh was foreign to those passionate outpourings that occur involuntarily with us, from food and drink.” 53 For it was not appropriate for him, with his divinized flesh, to be subject to disreputable, involuntary passions.

In their union, the Word removed from the flesh its needs and its will, just as fire removes from iron its blackness and coldness. As you know, the stronger overcomes the weaker; for that reason it was the Word’s will alone in the flesh, and by the Word’s consent the flesh bore those human passions which are recorded in the holy Gospel: hunger, thirst, tiredness, tears, fear, concern, sadness.

The Word allowed the flesh to (127v) suffer these things so that they would know that he had become man truly and without any doubt. Concerning this our sainted Illuminator Grigor wrote saying, “The Word merged, joined, and overwhelmed the flesh with his divinity.” 54 Gregory the Theologian, too, marvelled at this and wrote saying, “O new junction! O marvellous fusion!” 55 The great Cyril and other

52 Vardan’s florilegium  שונות  ザー ム ム ム ム ム ム ム ム ム ム, 170 includes this quotation, identifying it as being drawn from Basil’s “In Opposition to Apollinaris”. Thus far, I have not located the citation.

53  سواء  ザー ム ム ム ム ム ム ム ム, 172 contains this quotation, identifying it as being “from the Leviticus”. While the section of Cyril’s GlaPhyra dealing with Leviticus (Patrologia Graecae 69, cols. 539-590) contains statements which could lend themselves to interpretation in this manner, I have found no exact counterpart to this quotation either there or in Cyril’s Scholia on the Incarnation, which also includes material on Leviticus (E.B. Pusey, ed., [A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church 47], Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1881, 185-236). However, Clement (Strom.3.7.59) does say that Christ “ate and drank in a way individual to himself, without excreting his food.” For the Armenian Infancy Gospel’s assertion on the same point, see the annotated translation by Abraham Terian (forthcoming).


55  سواء  ザー ム ム ム ム ム ム ム ム, 121 identifies this quotation as being “On the Works of Christ.” See Oration 38.xiii.
fathers wrote that whoever divides in two the deeds of Christ, alloting the glorious and outstanding ones to the Word while alloting the lesser and weaker ones to the flesh, will be divided from his divinity.  

The indignities and sufferings and death were of the Word and of the flesh; the wonders and miracles and marvellous deeds were of the Word and of the flesh, for God the Word performed them all through His united flesh. God the Word was despised and suffered in the flesh, and the indignities and sufferings and death were not capable of reaching him. (128r) However, God the Word bore them all as his own, since the flesh was his own.

The fathers have recorded an apt metaphor of this for us: when our flesh is pierced or cut by a sword, the wound and the stabbing do not reach our spirit. Too, the fire remains united with the iron, yet when it is hammered, it is the iron that receives the blow, not the fire. Thus too, God the Word bore it all in his flesh, and he remained above all those passions. As Peter the rock of faith testifies, saying “Christ suffered in the flesh” [1 Pt 4:1]. And the Word God is inseparable from His union with the flesh, forever—at his birth, in his affronts, in his sufferings, on the cross, in death, in the grave—so that our salvation would come through God, and not through a mere mortal. For the sufferings and blood and death of a mere human being would not have saved us.

Thus, the Virgin Mary is truly theotokos, and (128v) the cross [is truly] the chariot of God, and the tomb is truly God’s resting place. Likewise also the manger. And without any doubt, it was God whom they insulted: upon God did they spit; it was God they tortured, God they killed. As Paul cries out, “We have been saved through the death of the Son of God!”  

56 In Π/π. Λαμακανικά, 108-09 Vardan cites Cyril “at Ephesus, against Nestorius”.

57 This passage is reminiscent of statements by Xosrovik Targmanié. See Garegin Yovsepian, հարություն քանդակ քայքայություն [Xosrovik Targmanié], Valarsapat: 1899, esp. 53-60.

58 An allusion to Rom 5:10.
Theologian too cries out saying, "God is crucified! The sun is eclipsed."\textsuperscript{59}

Yet, O my children, even more marvellous and glorious than this is the act which the Word God accomplished in the flesh upon this earth for our sake. For lo, we see the one Christ, who is one Son and one nature and one will and one activity, not subject to suffering, and suffering; dead, and alive; immortal, and mortal. The holy fathers observed this and boldly declared the Word [to be] flesh and the flesh, Word; as the Father from above testified, "This is my beloved son, whom you see in the flesh."\textsuperscript{60} Concerning that true union Christ also said, "Whoever has seen me has seen the Father." [Jn 14:9]

Thus, (129r) O my children, it is not appropriate to say that there are two alien and competing natures in the one Christ and the one Son, nor two wills, nor two activities, lest the [notion of] two sons creep in—[the idea] of Simon Magus and Paul of Samosata and Nestorius—and behold, the Trinity becomes a Quaternity. The Father cannot give his throne to a stranger not \textit{homoousios} with his own nature: thus, Christ is one of the Trinity, and the Trinity has a single nature.

If you say that the two wills and the two natures are separate in Christ, behold, the Trinity is a Quaternity, and has two natures.\textsuperscript{61} Since the Word is equal to and like the Father, and the flesh has been joined to the Word, and made equal to the Word, thus the flesh, too, sits at the Father’s right on the throne of glory, worshipped equally with the Father and hymned by all

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Pp}. 268 attributes this exclamation to the Theologian, without citing a specific work.

\textsuperscript{60} This is a free adaptation of Mt 3:17 / Mk 1:11; 9:7 / Lk 3:22; 9:35.

\textsuperscript{61} Declarations very similar to this are to be found in the doctrinal statement "In Response to Photius, by Order of Ašot Prince of Princes," by the great 9th century vardapet Sahak Mrut (820?-890?), included in the \textit{Pp}. \textit{Tiflis} edition, 286-287. Jan-Eric Stepan, \textit{John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture} (Gorgias Dissertations 4, Early Christian Studies 1), Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2005, 26-27. n. 85 points to this same argumentation in Timothy Aelurus, \textit{Ep. ad Epictetum} 30, and says that Chalcedon was considered to have promoted a trinitarian heresy by phrasing its teaching that Christ was of two separate elements in such a way that it introduced a fourth hypostasis.
beings. This the delightful man Daniel plainly states: "I looked, and behold coming with the clouds (129v) of heaven was one like the Son of Man, and he came to the Ancient of Days." [Dn 7:13] That is, the flesh was joined to the Word God and became equal to the Father. Stephen the Protomartyr clearly saw [this] and cried aloud saying, "Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" [Acts 7:56]—the one who came to the death of the cross by his own will, and raised himself [from the dead], as he himself, Christ, specified, saying, "I lay down my soul, and I shall take it up" [Jn 10:17-18].

He is the King of kings and the Lord of lords who will come with the Father's glory and shame the ranks of heretics and impenitent sinners. He will bless your dwelling place and your kingdom, and he will strengthen our princes and kings in his will and establish the patriarchal see and orthodox ways. He will preserve the just and grant repentance to sinners. And he (130r) will remove ... from the world and will establish his church. He will bring back the captive and heal those in pain. He will bind you to his love and wipe out your sins. He will wash away the sins of your departed loved ones, and of all believers, with his blood.

Through your prayers and those of all the saints, he will approvingly receive me with love and mercy, miserable as I am, as well as the words I have sung in praise of his greatness. And if I have been unable to theologize rightly—for his divinity is unattainable!—let him receive me and my words in his good pleasure, as he himself wills and knows, and forgive me, a sinner, and establish us all firmly in what is good. Amen.

Now, falling down I beseech all who encounter this to ask forgiveness for the sins of myself, the miserable Vardan, and my parents and brethren, relatives (130v) and teachers. Also for the commissioner and scribe of the same, Stepanos the sinner, and his father, the true priest Yohannes, and his mother Zaplun and his brothers and sisters and relatives and teachers. Amen.
Glory to the co-existent Holy Trinity, three persons and one godhead, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen. Who made me, his unworthy servant, worthy to complete this book of instruction of the holy vardapet Vardan from Marata, in this Armenian year 771 [=1322], in the reign of Lewon, the very young king of Armenia. May God grant him grace and wisdom in the will of God, for the yoke of satan’s will has become lighter, in this famous and heaven-like desert which is called (131a) Kamrik, under the protection of the Mother of the Lord and the Rock of Faith, and other assembled saints, near to the impregnable fortress of Molewon.

And for the inhabitants of this holy congregation, consecrated priests, I beg [you] to ask forgiveness for our sins: Yohannēs and Petros and the other Petros, Grigor, Yovanēs, Nersēs, Aṙamanos, Pōlos, [and] Stepanos. Also for the receiver of this holy book Stepanos the sinner, and the pious priest Yohanēs and my poor mother Zaplun, and for my brother Ţoros and my martyred brother Nersēs and my sisters Filipa and Akač, and my humble brother-in-law Ošin, and my teacher the spirit-filled old saint Yohanēs, and for our ancestors and all our compatriots. Whoever asks forgiveness [for us] wholeheartedly and with firm faith, may Christ the Hope of All grant him a hundredfold and a thousandfold. And may [Christ] be blessed forever.
ԱՐՄԵՆԻԱՆ テキスト

ՍՏԵԿ 8356

Կարճագրություն Գրականություն Երաժշտության
Վարպջակ Հայոց Ժողովի

Հարմարության է հոգի Հայոցական արվեստին, մտնում է Հայոցական գրականության ճանապարհով։ Ընդհանուր համար, եթե տարերական գրականության գրականության ճանապարհով հանդես է եկած, որ այս հարցը

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62 ընդունվել
երբեք է իր եղբայր լույս է տեսնում և է իրականացնում հիշատակ իր ծառայության համար, ինչ է զգացվում ոչ տեղեկ, տեղեկ, տեղեկ, տեղեկ, տեղեկ (122) հանդիպած տվյալների մեջ: Այսօր են բնական էոթերի շարժում ստացած տեսակի համար, որը հիմնավորվում է վարկածային համարի մոտ, որը տեղի է ունեցել այս վարկածի մեջ, ինչ էլ ստեղծվել էր այս տարածքում. Այստեղ տեղի է ունեցել գեղարվեստական դիրք և տեղեկություն, որ տեղեկությունը է համարվում զգացած. Այստեղ է տեղի է ունեցել գեղարվեստական դիրք և տեղեկություն, որ տեղեկությունը է համարվում զգացած.
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Հեթանոսին միայն զարգացում է զարգացում ճգնաժամ, որը համարվում է նպատակների ռիտմիչներ և զարգացում ճգ

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դեռ կենսագրեք երկնքի պարունակված ծայր հատված, տեղի գրավեք նահանգի ու գիտակցության ուղղություն, կենսագրության անցկացուցակ ու արձանագրության պատկերներ։

Համաձայն այս համարձակության՝ հայաստանի և արևելյան լեզվերի մեջ նպատակներ էին առկա զարգացման ու Երևանի Բերդի համալսարանի ֆրանսիական ֆակուլտետի հետ կազմակերպած միջազգային գրականության դեկաբրուի հետազոտության կազմակերպման մեջ։

Գրականության մեջ զարգացման համար կարևոր էին ուսուցման հիմնարկերի վերականգնումը, որոնցով կարևոր էին համազգային գրականության դեկաբրուի հետազոտության կազմակերպման մեջ։

Վերականգնելու համար կարևոր էին ուսուցման հիմնարկերի վերականգնումը, որոնցով կարևոր էին համազգային գրականության դեկաբրուի հետազոտության կազմակերպման մեջ։

63 Համարձակություններ, որոնք ստանձնում են պատասխանություն, կարևոր էին ուսուցման հիմնարկերի վերականգնումը, որոնցով կարևոր էին համազգային գրականության դեկաբրուի հետազոտության կազմակերպման մեջ։

64 Համարձակություններ, որոնք ստանձնում են պատասխանություն, կարևոր էին ուսուցման հիմնարկերի վերականգնումը, որոնցով կարևոր էին համազգային գրականության դեկաբրուի հետազոտության կազմակերպման մեջ։
Այլ պատճառով թուրք հայկական ու արաբ և հայերի կենսաթղթերում հետաքրքրեց հայ գրականության ընթացքի խնդիրներում։ Դա բնագավառի և ժամանակակից կատարումների մասնակիցների համար հիշատակից։

67 Բարձրակերպարան, սուրբ Ներսիկ ժողովներ
68 Ամուսանցական մարգարական հայկական ընթացք
69 կերպով էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էլ էля
Հեթանոս, ուր է ծնվեց ոսկր տարի, որի տարին ըստ ըստ համագույն տեսակը նրա վրա ուներ դառնալ, որ հանդես է առնել սառը սպանատեր, որը տեսանել է կարգավորել և տեղափոխել ուղղությունը ու ծխակերտը, որը կարող է վերցնել երազե և մյուսները (124m) սառընթացը էր տարեկան առաջին օրը.

Հեթանոս տանում է ամբողջությամբ, որ այն է մարդեր, որ նրա կարող է ծնվել ճանաչել իրենց մոտ ու ճգնաժամը, որի դեմքը մեծ է քարին և առաջին տարին բարձր է կարգավորել և սառընթացը էր առաջին օրը. Ըստ այս տեսաների, որն էլ դառնում էր առաջին տարին և հանդիպեց առաջին օրը. Հեթանոս եղել է մի քանի տարի առաջ և եղել է տարեկան առաջին օրը. Հեթանոս տանում է ամբողջությամբ, որ այն է մարդեր, որ նրա կարող է ծնվել ճանաչել իրենց մոտ ու ճգնաժամը, որի դեմքը մեծ է քարին և առաջին տարին բարձր է կարգավորել և սառընթացը էր առաջին օրը.
Անաղավաղի հույն երաժշտության դեմս, ինչպես նաև հակագիտակցությունների պատճառով, սակայն, այն հիմնավորված էր հարմար ձևավորումների մեջ, որոնք կարող էին բարձրագույն հետազոտությունների գործունեությունների էապառացումների մեջ երևում են։ Այսուէ գրավելու էլեկտրական համակարգերի մեջ, ինչպես նաև բազմաթիվ համակարգերի միջև համալիր տեսքի գործունեությունը։ Այս պայմանները, որոնք կարող են ներկայացնել հարևանության և տարածաշրջանում կարևոր տեսքի գործունեության մեջ երևում են։ Այսնության այս բարձրագույն զարգացման գործունեության մեջ էլեկտրական համակարգերի հետ կիսահակվում են մեծ դեկորատիվ և արդարացած ամբողջության հետ։

Պատվության (125р.) սխեմական մասում էր մեկ այսպիսի բարձրագույն զարգացման առավելությունը, որ կարող էր գրանցվել իրենից։ Պատվավոր են ձևավորված համակարգերը, որոնք կարող են ներկայացնել հարևանության և տարածաշրջանում կարևոր տեսքի գործունեության ձևավորման մեջ։ Այս համակարգերը և նրանց ազդեցությունները, որը կարող է անցնել շատ բարձրակշռության միջև և ունենալ զարգացման համար կարճատերություն, որը կարող է ներկայացնել հարևանության և տարածաշրջանում կարևոր տեսքի գործունեության ձևավորման մեջ։

70 Այս համակարգի մասին էկոն երեխա կարող են գրանցվել դեմքի կարևոր զարգացման մեջ, որը կարող է լինել բարձրագույն զարգացման մեջ։ Երբեմն մանրածնունդ համար կարգավորված են զարգացման համար կարևորության երկար զգուշացնում։ Այս համակարգի մասին էկոն երեխա կարող է գրանցվել դեմքի կարևոր զարգացման մեջ։
Այս հետազոտությանը պատմում են երեխաների ուսման հաճախակցության, որոնք համարվում են հիմնական ուսանողներ, որոնք են պատմում են հիմնական ուսանողների ձևով և այդպիսով կազմակերպելով այս հետազոտության ազգանունների քանակությանը և հաճախ ուսուցչության գրադարանների մնացորդների թվաքանակությանը և այլ հնարավոր բնագավառների հետ կապված հաջորդ համակարգերի մեջ: Միայն տեղի են ունենում այսպիսի տեղեկություններ, որոնք պատմում են և զարգացնում են այս հետազոտության գծից էլ միակ տեղեկություններ, որոնք համարվում են հիմնական ուսանողների ձևով և այսպիսով կազմակերպելով այս հետազոտության ազգանունների քանակությանը և հաճախ ուսուցչության գրադարանների մնացորդների թվաքանակությանը և այլ հնարավոր բնագավառների հետ կապված հաջորդ համակարգերի մեջ: Միայն տեղի են ունենում այսպիսի տեղեկություններ, որոնք պատմում են և զարգացնում են այս հետազոտության գծից էլ միակ տեղեկություններ, որոնք համարվում են հիմնական ուսանողների ձևով և այսպիսով կազմակերպելով այս հետազոտության ազգանունների քանակությանը և հաճախ ուսուցչության գրադարանների մնացորդների թվաքանակությանը և այլ հնարավոր բնագավառների հետ կապված հաջորդ համակարգերի մեջ: Միայն տեղի են ունենում այսպիսի տեղեկություններ, որոնք պատմում են և զարգացնում են այս հետազոտության գծից էլ միակ տեղեկություններ, որոնք համարվում են հիմնական ուսանողների ձևով և այսպիսով կազմակերպելով այս հետազոտության ազգանունների քանակությանը և հաճախ ուսուցչության գրադարանների մնացորդների թվաքանակությանը և այլ հնարավոր բնագավառների հետ կապված հաջորդ համակարգերի մեջ: Միայն տեղի են ունենում այսպիսի տեղեկություններ, որոնք պատմում են և զարգացնում են այս հետազոտության գծից էլ միակ տեղեկություններ, որոնք համարվում են հիմնական ուսանողների ձևով և այսպիսով կազմակերպելով այս հետազոտության ազգանունների քանակությանը և հաճախ ուսուցչության գրադարանների մնացորդների թվաքանակությանը և այլ հնարավոր բնագավառների հետ կապված հաջորդ համակարգերի մեջ:
Սուրբ Ներսեսի թեոլոգիական ընթերցություն տարում է այն փաստերին, որ երբ Ներսես Հայոց հայոցական կրոնը ստեղծել է, իսկ շուտ անցելով՝ նրանց տեղեկատվությունը հասնող։ Սրանց մեծ մասը զարգացվել է ուսումնասիրությունների շրջանում, դասավանդական երևույթների համար հանգստավոր պայքարելուց սկիզբ առելով։ Այս աշխատանքների համար սրանց տեղեկատվությունը հաճախ չարմունակ է, այլ կամ պատկերազարդ է, բայց նրանց մեծագույն մասը զարգացնում է նորաբերած առմամբ, նոր տեղեկատվություն ցանցավման ուղին։

Այսպիսով աշխատանքները զգացվում են տարբեր սյուժեների և տեսությունների համար։ Սրանց մեծ մասը զարգացվել է ուսումնասիրությունների շրջանում, դասավանդական երևույթների համար հանգստավոր պայքարելուց սկիզբ առելով։ Այս աշխատանքների համար սրանց տեղեկատվությունը հաճախ չարմունակ է, այլ կամ պատկերազարդ է, բայց նրանց մեծագույն մասը զարգացնում է նորաբերած առմամբ, նոր տեղեկատվություն ցանցավման ուղին։

71 հատորում, հատորգիր, Սուրբ Ներսեսի թեոլոգիական ընթերցություն ընդգրկում է
72 հատորում, հատորգիր, Սուրբ Ներսեսի թեոլոգիական ընթերցություն ընդգրկում է.
Առաջին համար abundantly, ինչպես ենթադրվում է
զգալիորեն զարգացնելու և ունենալու իրավա
սանքով գիտական առատություն ու տեղական իրա
կանություն, որ դեռևս կարող է բարձր վարդե
ման ունենալ։ Այս համար պուրակ կարգավոր
ում ենիստ, իրավիճակը խիստ է ու գրավում է երև
առ, որով ներկայացնում է պատմություն կազմակերպ
ություն։ Այսօր պատմական առաջին կցարեւն
կարգավորման առաջարկության է
ունենալու իրավասանք, որ ընդունելու արար
քերերին հարցման է կատարվում և հետ
առաջին զանգակատունություն տալու է ենթադրվում
կարգավորվում է զգայուն գիտական առատություն
ու տեղական իրականություն, որ դեռևս կարող է բարձ
իչն և գրավում է երեկոյացում երեխաների և ռազմա
կանների զգայուն գիտական առատություն
ու տեղական իրականություն, որ դեռևս կար
ող է բարձ վարդեման ունենալու է ենթադրվու
ում ենիստ, իրավիճակը խիստ է ու գրավում է երև
առ, որով ներկայացնում է պատմություն կազմակերպ
ություն։ Այսօր պատմական առաջին կցարեւ

Համբեր են սիրյուս, արհեստ, կարմրավուն,
Արարան Աստվածաբատ, Աստղադ, Աստվածաբատ: ուակ են
սիրյուսի ստրակ գործարանը Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ
և արհեստ սարդը Բուզկինը մեծ է սավալ տակ
Զարմաբուկ ու կարմրավուն տեղադրում են արհեստ
տառատեսակ կարճ հարստում մեծ Բուզկին
և բերում սառը Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաբատ Աստվածաբատ` արհեստի ստրակ
և Աստվածաêt
SPIRITUAL HEALINGS FOR PHYSICAL AILMENTS:
A LATE MANUSCRIPT OF THE DIVERSITY
OF THE PSALTER

[Urpuqban Զավազազմարզար][ձեռ]

S. Peter Cowe

It is a truism that every manuscript is unique and unfolds before the viewer a valuable aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual legacy, which amply repays study and reflection. Although early Armenian manuscripts, in part because of their paucity, tend to attract wider scholarly attention, late codices, too, at the other end of the spectrum, are by no means devoid of interest. No longer do they represent the mainstream of Armenian book production, which by at least the end of the 18th century had been overtaken by printing, and hence their fascination often lies in the degree to which they highlight the more specific requirements of individual scholar scribes, whose needs could not be met by the current repertoire of mass-produced volumes. The fact that many of these copyists operated outside the bounds of the traditional monastic establishments that patronized the creation and preservation of manuscripts up to the modern period has the further corollary that this type of document is less typical of the holdings of our great public collections, some of which still perpetuate the monastic model, while others have fallen heir to libraries amassed from that type of matrix. Consequently, manuscripts still in private collections may be called on to expand the image we have formed of Armenian book culture.1 Thus the one under

discussion allows us to probe more deeply into the marginalized intersection between piety and superstition.

This brief study is dedicated in grateful tribute to Professor Nina G. Garsoian in celebration of her profound impact on the field of Armenology through her mentoring, teaching, and research over several decades and in acknowledgement of the self-avowed “less trodden path” she has so avidly pursued beyond the received tradition, wishing her many more years of fruitful labor to extend the bounds of the discipline.

The superscription of this miscellany on wholeness and well-being, Ծառական այս պատճառը վերջնական, would seem to suggest a terminus post quem of the early 18th century for the work in its present form. It was in that period that the opening formula ալմուրակ այս [booklet which is called] gained particular vogue, as is witnessed by titles such as Ծառական այս պատճառը զարմարում: [Booklet which is called Fruit of Wasted Effort] that was composed in 1733 and published in Constantinople in the same year. Thereafter the term came into its own in the pamphleteer literature later in the century, as in the new anti-monarchist overview of Armenian history and protreptic to reestablished statehood incorporated in the Հայ ալմուրակ այս պատճառը [New Pamphlet which is called Exhortation] by Movses Balranean, published in Madras in 1772-73. Indeed, one of the first citations of the term is drawn from the Unitor translation of the Latin Ritual book of

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2 The work cited appears to be the first employing the term ալմուրակ in its title to be published. For details see Ninel Oskanyan (et al.), Զուտ գիրք 1512-1800 թվականներին [The Armenian Book: 1512-1800], Erevan: 1988, 317-318. The term զարմարում appears to be an ironic subversion of the form անմարում [industry] more conventionally associated with the notion of fruition.

1337. As the vocabulary employed in their renderings tends to reflect an idiom closer to the vernacular than the style of ecclesiastical Armenian current in Armenian Apostolic circles, the significant lack of reference to the term in earlier Armenian writings may in part be due to its sub-literary character.

However, since the title of an ancient or medieval work is one of its least secure elements, frequently subject to modification or contemporization by its scribal tradents, it is highly likely that this type of collection outlining the diverse applications of the Psalter for different maladies existed from a much earlier era. Not only was it not a public liturgical text subject to fine illumination, which would render its copies valuable artistic artifacts worthy of careful attention and preservation, its contents were also non-normative, outside the official church sanction, and hence out of mainstream book circulation. Thus, its transmission history would have mirrored its non-canonical status.

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5 For scribal variation in the form of titles, see S. Peter Cowe, “Elisée’s ‘Armenian War’ as a Metaphor for the Spiritual Life,” in J.-P. Mahé and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoian* (Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 5), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997, 341-360; here, 343-344. Even modern editors have engaged in such practices. The Mxifarist Fathers preparing the second edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem’s *Catechetical Lectures*, for example, added the phrase ḥեξύασθαι ἁλατίας [Patriarch of Jerusalem to the title of the work despite both lack of manuscript authority and historical inaccuracy, since Jerusalem was exalted to the rank of patriarchate only at the Council of Chalcedon, several decades after the saint’s death. ḥεξύασθαι ἁλατίας [The Blessed Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem’s, Call to Dedication], Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1832.
Clearly, it relates to the praxis of spiritual healing associated with passages of the Gospels and other sacred texts like the Narek, which were further developed in the use of *hmayil* scrolls. Here too, one must presume that the currency of the latter significantly predates the 17th century when hand produced and printed copies become more abundant. In addition to prayers and images of various saints, they also manifest arcane whorls and line patterns with a generic similarity to the talismans found in the present manuscript. The application of such practices among the Armenian communities of the eastern vilayets of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 20th century is witnessed by the following citation from the writer Hamastel (Hambarjum Kelênean), native of the village of Perçenj in the vicinity of Xarberd, regarding a local teacher, Mamas: քար, քահ, ամապլա, քուր, զերկապ (He would write a note for shivering/fever, against the demon, anxiety, [and] aches and pains.)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Although still the bearer of ancient traditions of binding, the volume adduces many of the external features of 19th century Armenian manuscripts. It is bound with pasteboard, not wood, and conceals the attachment of the outer leather binding to the board on the inside front and back cover with paper pastedowns

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6 For a study of these scrolls, see Frédéric Feydit, *Amulettes de l'Arménie chrétienne*, Venice: San Lazzaro, 1986; for data on their currency, see *Hûnûm* 177-178, 215-216, 224, 227, 259-260, 266, 270, 277, 281-282, 288. 307. See also S. Peter Cowe, “Manuscript Production Associated with Hamshén,” *Le Muséon* 117 (2005), 141-160 (here, 157-158); for an excellent full-size reproduction, see *Armenian Talisman* (Matenadaran Manuscripts Treasures), Erevan: Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts [n.d].

7 For examples see Feydit, figs. 80-88.

rather than doublures.\textsuperscript{9} Copied by the scribe for his personal use, as an artifact this slim notebook is very plain both externally and internally, lacking artistic embellishment (illuminations, headpieces, marginalia). Consistent professional standards are frequently ignored as in irregularity in the number of folios per quire and lines of writing per page and frequent overspill of the lines of text into the outer margin.

The binding is of thin dark brown leather on card with external dimensions 17 x 10.8 x 2 cm. The leather is very worn throughout, except for the lower left side of the back cover. It is completely lacking in tooling or other ornamentation. There are holes on the upper and lower rims of the outer portion of the cover on both sides, revealing the card below. There are also holes on the spine revealing the white thread binding the quires to the cover. The inner edges of the leather binding on both sides are pasted down with a sheet of paper. There are no flyleaves.

Currently the binding encompasses what is clearly an older first portion of 43 folios of thick paper with dimensions 16.8 x 10.8 cm. followed by 42 folios of light checkered paper cut to size from a larger notebook. There is neither numeration of folios nor quire signatures throughout.

The folios of the first part of the book are gathered into seven quires, of which numbers 2-6 are composed of eight folios.\textsuperscript{10} Intended as an opening to the work, the first quire consists of two folios beginning with one blank ushering in the second, which sports the title page. The seventh quire currently adduces a single folio. The folios are arranged in one column of writing per page with the inner and outer margins of the textblock drawn up in red, the outer margins functioning as the


\textsuperscript{10} The quire scheme breaks down as follows: 1 (ff.1-2) 2 (ff.3-10) 3 (ff.11-18) 4 (ff.19-26) 5 (ff.27-34) 6 (ff.35-42) 7 (f.43). The normal number of folios per quire in Armenian manuscripts is twelve.
locus for numbering the psalms. The dimensions of the margins are as follows: inner 1.1, outer 2.1, upper 1.9, and lower 3.2 cm. The number of lines of writing per page varies within the range of 17-21, but is mainly 19. There is no indication that a stilus was employed for ruling.

The second part of the book consists of four quires of uneven size: no. 8 is composed of 8 folios, no. 9 of 12, no. 10 currently contains 21, while no. 11 is made up of 1. The tenth quire seems originally to have comprised 24 ff. Folio 69 is loose at the bottom and only held in place by the top stitch binding it to the rest of the bifolios. Only remnants of the corresponding half of the original bifolio remain between ff. 79-80 indicating that the rest has been torn out. Moreover, the textual non sequitur between ff. 68v. and 69r. suggests that a bifolio may have fallen out between them, the second half of which would probably have been blank like most of the other final folios of the book. Of the 85 folios in the codex, the following are blank: f.1v., 2v., 44, 47v., 69v., 70, 75v., 79v., 80v., 81-83, 84r.

The predominant script in the first part of the manuscript is notrgir (notary script), apart from bolorgir (minuscule) in the two-line superscription on f. 3r. and in a list of psalm verses on f. 1r. whose rather large ungainly forms in purple ink betray a later hand. In contrast, the predominant script in the second part is selagir (modern cursive), apart from bolorgir in the colophon on f.48r. and in the Armeno-Turkish text on f.80r., and notrgir in the tables on ff.75r. and 76r. and on the inside back cover. Several different hands may be distinguished in the second part:

(1) ff.45r.-50r.
(2) 50v.-77r.

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11 This technique also characterizes later manuscripts and does not become widespread till the 17th century, although more isolated examples occur from the mid-15th century, for which see M.E. Stone, D. Kouymjian, H. Lehmann, *Album of Armenian Paleography*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002, 399.

12 The breakdown of the quire signatures in the second part of the manuscript is as follows: 8 (ff.44-51: 8 ff.) 9 (ff.52-63: 12 ff.) 10 (ff.64-84: 21ff) 11 (f.85).
(3) 77v.-78r. with the birth data of the 1920s
(4) f.78r. with birth data of the 1930s
(5) ff.78r.-79r.
(6) f.80r.
(7) ff.83v.-84v.

Black ink marks the norm throughout the text especially in the first part; however the second exhibits much more variation. There black is found on ff. 50r.-77r., while a faded grayish ink features in secondary corrections on several folios (e.g. ff.6r., 10v., 11r., 13r., 16v.) and again in the main text of ff.45r.-50r. Additionally, blue ink highlights deletions on ff. 39v., 40r., and 41 as well as the birth dates of the 1930s on ff.78r.-79r., whereas orange is utilized briefly on f.79r. and exclusively on ff. 79v.-80r. Pencil appears on f.80r. and ff.84v.-85v. Purple ink is also encountered on the inside front cover and f.1r. as well as on the inside back cover and f.85v.\textsuperscript{13} Red is employed along with black in the opening colophon (f.2r.) and adorns the incipit of the work, offsetting the title and first two lines of text. The first initial is a large form of bolorgir letter, while the second is in erkatagir (uncial). Thereafter the first line of text opens with an extended ornate erkatagir initial and continues in bolorgir, while the second line affords a transition to the main script in red notrgir. Subsequent initials in the first part also tend to be red, though like most aspects of the codex under review, this too is far from being systematic.

STATE OF PRESERVATION

Though a little fragile, the manuscript is in relatively good condition. The central portion of the spine is detached on one side revealing the stitching binding the quire together underneath. There we note traces of the red coloring, which

\textsuperscript{13} It appears that in the process of affixing the second part of the codex most of the pastedown of the original inside back cover was excised leaving only the inner margin, which was then glued to the final folio of the additional section.
would also have marked the exposed edges of the folios, where this is now scarcely visible. Additionally, some of the inside stitching has become loose. Discoloration to the lower outer margin from thumb prints in some places indicates frequency of use. Cases of slight smudging are visible in center of f.10r., 11r., 12v., 22v., 34v., as well as a large ink blot in bottom right margin f.16r., a slight yellow discoloration on outer margin of 29v., and further discoloration from a burn perhaps by candle on f.37.

Textual corrections and additions are found, as follows:

f.3r. addition to text in outer margin
f.6r. later addition in outer margin in lighter ink
f.10v. addition in outer margin
f.13r. addition on first line of writing
f.16r. outer margin
f.16v. outer and lower margin additions
f.17v. outer margin
f.18v. lower lines of text
f.19r. outer margin
f.19v. lower margin
f.22v. outer margin
f.24r. outer margin
f.26v. in the textblock
f.27v.; 28r. outer margin
f.30v. outer margin
f.31v. outer margin
f.32r. outer margin
f.33v. outer margin
f.36r./v. outer margin
f.38v. in the textblock
f.39r. outer margin
f.40r. addition and deletions in the textblock and outer margin
f.40v. lower margin
f.41r. outer margin
f.42v-44v. some of the numerations of the PSS have been corrected in blue ink
f.43v. outer margin
DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS

I.
The first two lines of the superscription are written in red bolorgir, the rest in red notrgir. The first line of text is in red bolorgir and the second in red notrgir.

Superscription: Տհարբառը հրիպ առումներ
առահար Անահիտի
և Անուշի սուրան rtrim (sic) Հոռիան միտրաբոր
Ու[մի] Հատուկ եր
[Booklet, which is called Diversity of the Psalter produced by the Prophet Manieli by the grace of the all-powerful Holy Spirit]. Folios: 3r.—42r. Incipit: Երեկոյ կես մի ըն եր քաց
ի հորիսներ եր մեկ ե էր
քամ Հետագաբոր
ում և աուդամ էկ
Հոռիան էկ ներ
քամ մեկ ըն եր
աց
եր Յուսեի
այն իշխան
աստված
էկ հայկ
եր մեկ ըն եր
եր
(8) (Say [it] with regard to tree planting: it is good. Again say [it] seven times a day for trade dealings [and] so it will be successful by God. Again write [it] and give [it] to a pregnant woman for her to keep by her so that the child will be born with ease. Write up to the spot where it says “let its leaf not fall” [v.3] and write this talisman along with it.] Desinit: Օրսեքեք էկ Յուսեի
աստված
եր մեկ ըն եր
աց
եր
Յուսեւ
ում և աուդամ
էկ
Հոռիա
եր
Փառև Զոր եկ Նուեա
եկ Հոռիա
Եր մի ես
եր մեկ ըն եր.
(Bless God in holiness [Ps 150:1]. Say [it] with regard to selling and trade, in order to flourish from day to day with God’s prospering. Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit now and ever and unto ages....)
II.
The red initial introduces a series of paragraphs of similar content. **Superscription:** ՄԱ ԳՀ ԳՂԱԹ ԵՂՐԵՂ [Another counsel on the destroying of those who bear an ill will]. **Folios:** 42r.-43v. **Incipit:** ՄԻ ԱԶԴԻՄԻ ԲՈՒՋԻՄԻ, ՄԻ ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԲՈՒՋԻՄԻ ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԲՈՒՋԻՄԻ ՄԻ, ՄԻ ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԱԶԴԻՄԻ, ԱԶԴԻՄԻ (On Sunday, or Wednesday, or Friday morning before sunrise you should stand facing the sun and say this verse and blow in the direction of someone who bears you ill will. He/she will waste away and be consumed.) **Desinit:** ԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԻ, ՈՒՐՆՈՒՄԻ (Again on a runaway peasant or horse or any kind of robber: write these three talismans on a piece of paper, place under a stone [and] you will see its efficacy.)

III. **Superscription:** ՇԱՐԻ ՇԱՐԻ ՇԱՐԻ (List of the Chapters of the Psalter). **Folios:** 45r.-47r. **Incipit:** ԵՐԵՂ ԵՐԵՂ ԵՐԵՂ ԵՐԵՂ ԵՐԵՂ ԵՐԵՂ (On a pregnant woman [Pss.] 1, 41, 67, 102, 105, 143). **Desinit:** ՅՈՒՆԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔ (sic) ՅՈՒՆԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔԵՔ (On selling and trade [Ps.] 110).

The subject index incorporates the following headings: pregnant women, enmity, hardship, poverty, evil eye, fear, favor, madness, the impact of magic, demoniacs, tracing a thief, nasty reptiles, illness, headache and heartache, undoing the binding of a son-in-law, snakes and scorpions, release from hardship, infatuation, release from being bound and feverish, journeying, stillbirth, a child’s palor, movement of the blood, fever, animals, toothache, business success, peaceful sleep, stomachache, impeding word and deed, heartache, runaways, binding a person, fishing, all pains, attaining greatness, fortune telling, loneliness, a tree’s bearing fruit, dog bites and wounds, selling, a choppy sea, lovers, being infatuated, safe crossing of water and rivers, judges, a tyrannical person, terror, remuneration, foreign parts, travelers, blessings, being half
choked, binding the tongue, childbearing, wisdom, evil beasts, silver mining, subjugation, keeping house gardens and orchards free, becoming rich, earache, bloody flux, trials, knowing others’ thoughts, weaning a child, tracing a thief, attaining everything, scurf, afflictions, destruction, jail and detainment, the malevolent, suspensions and the evil eye, not permitting goods to be stolen, attaining all bounties, war, hunting, prayer, worth, digging a well, escaping evil thoughts, other types of illness, escaping snares, separating two people from one another, tyrants, mourners, expensiveness and new work, selling and trade.

IV.
**Superscription:** Զննողական/հաշի # [Accounting]. There follows a table of the numerical values of the Armenian alphabet in two columns. **Folio:** 48r. **Incipit:** a—1. **Desinit:** 30000.

V.
**Superscription:** Դառնող համերկներ մ.բ. համալիր երկր [Depth of the treasure from a; remove a sign from ‘է’ and it will reveal that to you]. **Folios:** 48v.–49r. F48v. is formed by a table of sixteen lines containing a variety of signs, their names and significance. This is followed on the upper part f.49r. by the subtitle զառնու եզրակացություն. ի. գործարան [it is necessary to know these four signs], which introduces a four-line table, each with a series of four signs followed by a name and its significance. Below is another subtitle: զառնու եզրակացություն. համերկի մասնավորություն [it is necessary to know good exteriors and bad exteriors], which is followed by eight lines in pairs, representing the good and bad types respectively, each composed of two or three signs accompanied by their name. In the blank right part of the folio written along a vertical axis is found the inscription զառնու եզրակացություն: (know these well [and] you will not err.)

VI.
**Superscription:** զառնու եզրակացություն (underlined) [On Shivering/Fever]. **Folios:** 49v.–50r. **Incipit:** 1: Երկր համերկ
(From You, Lord, [is] my thanksgiving). In all, seven such verses are listed in order, after which it is stated: [flee and hide for a little until the wrath upon you passes (cf. Is 26:20)], and [As dew that falls from Hermon upon Mount Sion (Ps 132(LXX):3)]. Finally on the upper part of f.50r. is located a table enclosing sixteen signs.

VII. Superscription: ζωήν ζημώνη [On the Sick Person]. Folios: 50r. Incipit: ζωήν ζημώνην ἀφί [On the sick person, see...]. Three outcomes are envisaged—that the patient will die, be completely cured, or survive but endure much suffering. Below is another table containing sixteen signs and their respective names. Desinit: ζωήν ζημώνη ἔ [On the distant one]. This is actually the title for a new subsection written at the bottom of the page; however, the folio verso commences a different text.

VIII. Superscription: ἡράμφοροι μάμυς τι ἀγαθώς τι ἀσερώνη μ [Horoscope of men and women and Solomon's questions]. Folios: 50v.-69r. Incipit: [Take a person’s name and add that of his/her mother and see how much it comes to]. Desinit: (f.68v.) ἐρατρομενόν ἠμάμουν ἐρατρόδων ἠμαρωματάν ἠμαρωματάν (69r.) ἐρατρομενοῖ ζημών ἀφί [It stands ready on Friday and Saturday... the moon... and to the Holy Spirit. Amen]. The textual non sequitur seems to imply that a folio has fallen out between ff.68 and 69. The final portion of text appears to derive from a typical

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14 The biblical text reads [Close your door. Hide for a time until the Lord’s wrath passes].

15 Solomon is widely associated with the wisdom tradition in both canonical and non-canonical texts. See also Feydit, 318-327, 352-353.
trinitarian doxology such as that with which the text of the *Diversity of the Psalter* concludes, which here lacks the first two components.

The work ends with a large circle drawn in ink on f.69r, which is divided internally into sixteen segments. In the outer portion of each of these is a title for one or other of the persons of the Trinity, while in the lower portion are various titles for angels.

IX.

**Superscription:** Untitled text on horoscopes divided into nineteen sections treating the signs of the zodiac, commencing with Aries and ending with Pisces, followed by treatments of the sun, moon, and five planets, concluding with Jupiter. The names of these nineteen components are set within a table at the opening of the opusculum. **Folios:** 71r.-74v. **Incipit:** 1. Ἱηνη—_nil ἑως ἰους ἀλήθεια διδασκαλία ὑποκείται ἐν ἦμιν ἀλήθεια ἁκαδοκαία. ἃ τίνος ἔργον ἐπετίθηκαν ἐν ἤριω ὑπερβολήν... [1. Aries—O man, may the fearful light of glory and its inextinguishable ray dawn upon you like the sun upon creatures...]. **Desinit:** nil ἑως...sil ἐσωτήρ ζητάω... ὑποκείται ἐν ἥμιν ἀλήθεια. ἀλήθεια ἐν ἱεραταῖς ἔργον ὡς ἐπετίθηκαν ἐν ἤριω... [O man... do not run away, for soon you will emerge from your affliction. May a bounty of a great man come your way. Be glad].

X.

**Superscription:** none. **Folio:** 75r. The folio is composed of a table drawn up in four columns of ten lines. The first lists the first ten letters of the alphabet, presumably with numerical value. The items in the next three columns are composed of two letters, the first continuing the alphabetical sequence, the other set adhering to another system. It is interesting to note that after arriving at the thirty-sixth letter, ρ, which marks the end of the original Armenian alphabet, the column interjects the digraph ew [ѣѣ] before continuing with the two letters (ο, ϕ) added in the Cilician period. The final, fortieth square is occupied by the term ὑπεργραφί [thought].
XI.
**Superscription**: Հայրօրերներին [Zodiacal Signs]. **Folios**: 76r.-77r. F.76r. is laid out as a four column table of twelve lines. The first column lists the signs of the zodiac, the second indicates the appropriate month, while the third column has been left blank, as are five squares of the final column. The others adduce the verbal form ուղ (has).

F.76v. The next portion of the work divides the twelve zodiacal signs into four groups according to their relation to the four natural elements (earth, air, fire, water), the cardinal points of the compass, and the humors (wet, dry, warm, cold). **Incipit**: 1. Հար, Անրիտն եւ Անհարեւտը կեղծգեր[i] (Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius are fiery...). **Desinit**: իրավիճակ (sic), գրիպուն եւ Կեչքին...ամեն գործը հարաձակված է տանօրին [Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces...occupy the northern expanse: they are [characterized by] greenery and rain).

F.77r. is made up of a list of heavenly bodies and their relation to different zodiacal signs. **Superscription**: none. **Incipit**: Մեծերին գրիպուն ուղե եւ գրիպուն [Mars has Aries and Scorpio]. **Desinit**: Լուսակցող որոշ գրիպատհուն [the Moon has Cancer]. Below this is a brief section entitled Կարի [On teeth], which reads: Քարերը եւ Բարենք Կարին եւ արմա կարե [Write Anthimos, and Bacchus, Milinos and whatever is necessary [and] it will be cured).

XII.
**Superscription**: none. The text is a prayer invoking the binding of the powers of evil, which is reproduced in full below. **Folios**: 78v.-79r. Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեւտուն եւ Երացքը ամենասերը Անհարեվ
In the name of almighty God and the nine ranks of angels and the seraphim and cherubim who stand in service to the throne of Your divinity, in the name of the Holy Trinity and the nine ranks of angels may every evil tongue and evil … stand bound before this servant of God Murat with afflictions as the prophet Elijah bound the sky for three years and six months, so may Christ God bind every evil spirit before this servant. And as Joshua bound the sun until he defeated his enemies, and as St. Pa...bound the sun until he went to his monastery and as the Holy Virgin Mariane persecuted the demons in prison, so so may Christ God torment and bind Satan and all his power and every evil tongue and evil eye and evil counsels.]

XIII.

Superscription: [This is what has to be written for someone in shock].

Folio: 80r. Incipit: [tamlixay eamllixay amlixay]. Desinit: [sazrixay eamazrlux].

XIV.

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16 It is noteworthy that the writer has included a particular beneficiary, Murat, for the prayer. In most cases the space is originally left blank as part of a general formula; sometimes a specific name is added secondarily.
17 1 Kgs 17-18
18 Jo 10: 12-13
19 The reference is to St. Mar[a]ne of Antioch.
20 For other variants of this text found in hmayils, see Feydit, 248-251.
21 Until today a number of rituals are practised under the rubric զամփիշ (lit. measuring fear/shock) in folk medicine, both in the Armenian Republic and in various diasporan communities.
Superscription: none. The text is a list of Psalms for use in the curing of particular ailments. Folios: 84v.-85r.

Incipit: Դնշ. Ուզնակու Ուզնակու. [On the demoniac

XV.  

Superscription: Դնշ. Ուզդկու Ուզդկու [On a Son-in-
Law's Being Bound]. Folios: back inside cover. Incipit:
Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր [Bless the Lord a blessing anew for He has done wonders.]

Desinit: Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր Ուզդեր
(U[unrestr]n]f (Write this talisman and have [him] bind it to his
arm [and] he will be released by God.)

Colophons

I. Scribal
(First and last two lines in red, central four lines in black). F.2r.

Stbnmph որ եղեք մարդուն գարունքը[Ե]ս[ե]ս երեք երև
Առենք Բարնաբաս հոգի երեք երեք երեք երեք 1872 հ.

Դնակ Ուզնակու Ուզնակու Ուզնակու Ուզդկու Ուզդկու Ուզդկու Ուզդկու Ուզդկու
(Booklet, which is called Diversity of the Psalter. I
Melgon Karumisean wrote [it] in the year of Christ 1872 in the
city of Van. And do you who delight [in it] say “May God have
mercy.”)

II. Subsequent

F.48r. ու Հրահարա 1887 ե Հրահարա (sic) 14/16
Հրահարա ու անոս ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու
ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ու ո
written it in my breast pocket notebook while I was in the ‘land’ and now I’m writing it here].

F.77v. թման ձմուշեր
1923 20: հուլիս 3.
(Vahan’s date of birth
Date: month month moon
June June 19
1923 20 [European] 3

նպտության թման ձմուշը 1923 հուլիսի 20-ին սպանամ
որպես ձայնավորական տարիք օր 5-ին
[So Vahan was born in 1923 on June 20 in the house on Muali Rumel Square at the fifth hour of the night].

F.78r. կույս թման ձմուշեր (sic)
1926 հուլիսի 31. և 12 հունիսի
համաձայն ձմուշի ամփոփման (այն ծաղր է գրած orange-red ink) [Nor Van’s birth: on May 31, 1926 half an hour after midday (i.e., 12:30 p.m.) according to Turkish reckoning].

18 հունիսի ձմուշն է ուսում 6-ին համաձայն
[According to the Turkish calendar Nor Van’s date of birth is May 18 at the sixth hour, half an hour past midday].

̄փոխմարտ ձայնավորական

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22 Erkör is the term applied to the traditional Armenian homeland in eastern Anatolia. Here it seems to be contrasted with life in the Ottoman capital of Constantinople.

23 The next notice documenting the same birth indicates that the date given here is according to the Gregorian, not the Julian, calendar. This is further confirmed by the later addition of the term փոխմարտ, relating to the practice in Western Europe.]
1936 Հայի ամիս 21-ին ընդունում է
Սիրվարի ծնունդ. Հայերեն ամիս Հայի ամիսով
դրիբ 21/2 ամիս
dr 21/2

[Sirvart’s birth: On January 21, 1936 according to European reckoning: Thursday morning at half an hour past the second hour Turkish time].

1936 Հայի ամիս 8-ին ամիս
dr 21/2

աճ 21/2 (աճ-ով, added in orange-red ink)

[Varfan’s birth: On January 8, 1936 according to the Turkish reckoning: Thursday at half an hour past the second hour Turkish time].

**Illuminations**

As indicated above, there are no illuminations, headpieces, or marginalia. Initials introducing new sections are written plainly in red: none are ornithomorphic, zoomorphic, or geometrical.

**HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT**

As stated in the opening colophon, the first half of the manuscript was copied in Van by Melgon Kalumisean clearly for his own enjoyment in 1872. As there are no colophons in the second section it is not possible to ascertain who made the additions, but several distinct hands can be discerned. An anonymous figure, possibly Melgon’s son, presumably writing in the early years of the 20th century (f.48) refers to his association with the Armenian lands of eastern Anatolia, which he has apparently left, and to his birth in 1887. Thereafter four more births in the family are recorded over the years 1923-1936, apparently in Turkey since the date is normally given according to what is referred to as Turkish reckoning. The family’s connection with Van is reaffirmed by naming one of the boys Nor Van (New Van); however, it seems that they were by that time living in Istanbul. The manuscript is now in the possession of the Minasian family of Los Angeles.
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NOTE TO CONTRIBUTORS

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HÜBSCHMANN-MEILLET-BENVENISTE SYSTEM

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U & ɾ & ʃ & ʒ & ɣ & ʁ & ʣ & .RestController & ʃ & ʒ & ʁ \\
\text{w} & p & ɾ & ʒ & ʁ & ʁ & ɾ & ʃ & ʒ & ʁ & ʁ \\
\text{a} & b & g & d & e & z & ę & ą & Ą & ą & ą \\
\text{i} & l & ɾ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ \\
\text{j} & n & æ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ & ʌ \\
\text{y} & ɾ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ & ʃ \\
\text{t} & r & c & w & ♥ & ã & ã & ã & ã & ã & ã \\
\end{array}
\]